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पुस्तकालय

R
विषय संख्या 954.06
पुस्तक संख्या C12P
आगत पंजिका संख्या 1922

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Proceedings and Transactions

of the

Second Oriental Conference,

Calcutta.

January 28th to February 1st, 1922.

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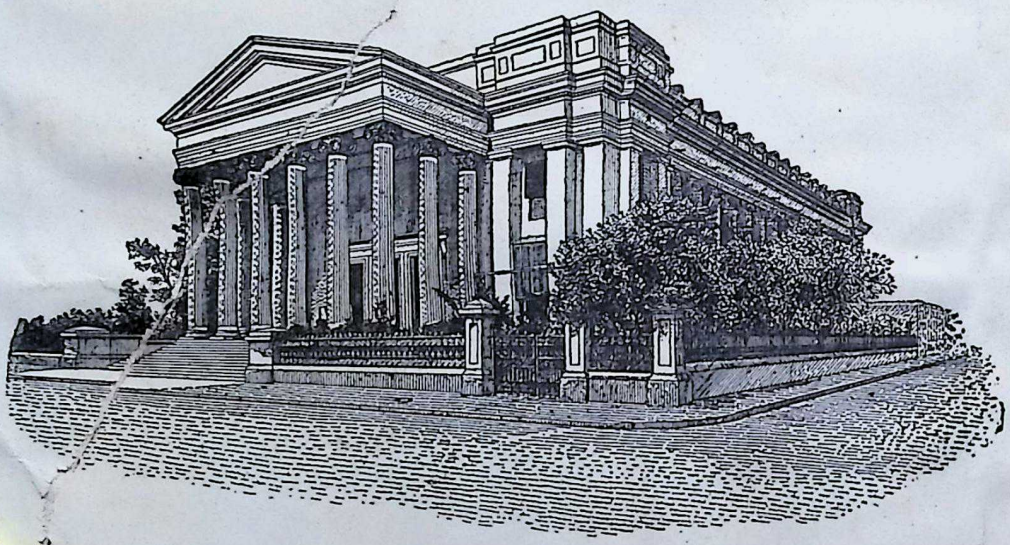

The Senate House where the Conference met.

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Proceedings and Transactions

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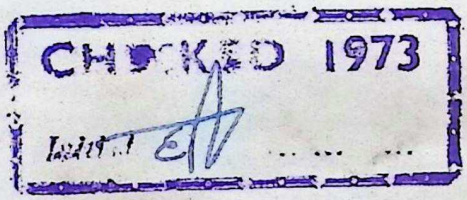

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ग्रन्थ लाभ मुक्तिः
पुस्तक सं० .....
आगत सं० .....
तिथि० .....
गुरुकुल ..... हरिद्वार

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The Second Oriental Conference, 1922.

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Rai Mani Lal Nahar Bahadur.
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Mr. Puran Chandra Nahar.
Mr. Jadu Nath Roy.
Mr. Jogendra Nath Roy.
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Colonel A. T. Gage.
Mr. Gaganendra Nath Tagore.
Mr. Hirendra Nath Dutta.
Rai Mani Lal Nahar Bahadur.

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Professor S. Radhakissen.
Dr. Gauranga Nath Banerjee.

V. Finances.

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The President of the Reception Committee
The Joint Secretaries.
Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy.
Mr. W. L. Carey.

VI. Subjects.

The Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.
Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda.
Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.

Working Committee.

The President of the Reception Committee.
The Joint Secretaries.
The Conveners and Representatives of the Sub-Committees.

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Members of the Reception Committee.

(*In alphabetical order.*)

A

Abbasi, Muhammad Amin, Madrassa, Chittagong.
Acharyya, Dhireschandra, 27-2, Ramkanta Mistri's Lane, Calcutta.
,, Susil Kumar, 8, Nilambar Mookerjee's Street, ,,
Afzal, Nawabzada K. M. Khan Bahadur, 8-10, Zakaria Street, ,,
Agharkar, Dr. S. P., 35, Ballygunj Circular Road, ,,
Ahmad, Muhammad Hafiz Nazir, 212-1, Linton Street, ,,
,, Nawabzada Syed Ashrafuddin, Khan Bahadur, Nawab Kothi, Barh.
Aiyar, N. A., 8, Clive Row.
Ali, A. F. M. Abdul, 3, Turner Street, Calcutta.
,, Munwar, University, Dacca.
Arab, Khalil, ,, ,,
Ashanullah, Khan Bahadur Maulvi, Inspector of Schools, Chittagong.

B

Bagchi, Prabodh Chandra, 5/1, Fakir Chand Mitra Street, Cal.
Bal, S. N., Indian Museum, Cal.
Banerjee, J. R., 15, Ram Kissen Das Lane, Cal
,, Pramatha Nath, 9, Mullick Lane, Cal.
,, Jay Gopal, 30-2, Beadon Row.
,, Muralidhar, 18-1, Fern Road, Ballyganj, Cal.
,, Dr. Gauranganath, 107-1, Machuabazar Street, Cal.
,, Jitendra Nath, 16, Goabagan Street, Cal.
,, Narayan Chandra, 30, Tarak Chatterjee Lane, Cal.
,, Dr. Sudhangsu Kumar, 92, Upper Circular Road, Cal.
,, Nani Gopal, University, Dacca.
,, Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath, Barrackpore.
Barua, Dr. Beni Madhab, 4, Heramba Chandra Das Lane, Cal.
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Basu, Prof. Satish Chandra.
Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R., 35, Ballyganj Cir. Road, Cal.
Bhattacharyya, Charu Chandra, 1, Kalu Ghosh Lane.
,, Guru Prasanna, University, Dacca.
,, Haridas, University, Dacca.
,, Siba Prasad, 19, Guru Prasad Chaudhuri Lane.
,, Mr. Dinesh Chandra.
,, Mr. Mahendra Mohan.
Bhikshu, Kukulnape-Devarakshita, 3, Madan Gopal Lane, Cal.
Biss, E. E., 32-6, Beadon Street, Cal.
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,, G. C., 86, South Road, Entally, Cal.
,, Rai Abinash Chandra—Bahadur, Senate House, Cal.
,, Dr. Girindra Sekhar, 14, Parseebagan Lane, Cal.
Brahmachari, Rai Upendra Nath—Bahadur, 82-3, Cornwallis Street, Cal.
Brown, Percy, 28, Chowringhee, Cal.
Brühl, Dr. P., 35, Ballygunj Cir. Road, Cal.
Buksh, S. Khoda.
Burhanuddin, F. M. M., University, Dacca.

C

Carey, W. L., Messrs. Bird & Co., Cal.
Chakladar, Haran Chandra, 28-4, Shahanagar Road, Cal.
Chakravarti, Tripurari, 27, Gopal Bose Lane, Cal.
,, Brajendra Nath, 6, Badurbagan Lane, Cal.
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,, Niranjan Prasad.

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Chanda, Kamini Kumar, Silchar, Assam.
,, Ramaprasad, 37A, Police Hospital Road.
Chatterjee, Nalini Mohan, 11A, Hara Kumar Tagore Street, Cal.
,, Nirmal Chandra, 52, Harish Mukharji Road, Cal.
,, Rai Lalit Mohan—Bahadur, Dacca.
,, Khagendra Nath.
,, Anath Nath.
,, Rakhahari.
Chaudhuri, Rai Yatindra Nath, Baranagore, Cal.
,, Rohini Mohan, 15/1A, Jhamapukur Lane, Cal.
,, Rai Satish Chandra—Bahadur, Bhowanipore, Mymensingh.
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Crohan, Revd. Father F. X., 30, Park Street, Cal.
Cuming, A. H., (Hon. Mr. Justice), 2, Alipore Park, Cal.
Cunningham, J. R., Shillong.

D

Das, Tarak Chandra, 5-1, Fakir Chand Mitra Street.
,, Abinash Chandra, 75/1, Harrison Road, Cal.
,, Bhupendra Chandra, 45, Russa Road North, Cal.
Das Gupta, Hem Chandra, 60, Chakraberia Road North, Cal.
Datta, Jogen Chunder, 171, Maniktala Street, Cal.
,, Nalinaksha, 7C, Ram Mohan Shaha Lane, Cal.
,, Subimal Chandra, 84, Bechu Chatterjee Street, Cal.
,, Bibhuti Bhusan, 8, Sitaram Ghosh Street, Cal.
,, Harendra Nath, c/o Mr. S. K. Roy, 52, Police Hospital Road.
,, Binod Behari.
De, Gokul Das, 25-2, Mohan Bagan Row, Calcutta.
Deb, Harit Krishna.
Dev, Kumar Prafulla Krishna, 106/1, Grey Street, Cal.
Dewick, Rev, E C., 33-1, Amherst Street.
Dhar, Sashindra Chandra, Morris College, Nagpur.
Dikshit, K. N., Indian Museum, Cal.
Dunn, T. O. D., 8, Dalhousie Sq., Cal.

G

Ganguly, O. C., 7, Old Post Office Street, Cal.
,, Manmohan, 50, Raja Rajballav Street, Cal.
,, Phanindra Lal, University, Cal.
Ghosal, U. N., Presidency College, Cal
Ghosh, J. C., 3, Mohan Bagan Row, Cal.
,, Mohit Mohan, 50/1, Patuatola Lane, Cal.
,, Satish Chandra, 34, Goabagan Lane, Cal.
Godfrey, Sir George, Railway Building, Kidderpore.
Goenka, Sir Hariram, 31, Banstala Street, Cal.
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Goswami, Kali, University, Dacca.
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Guha, Rajani Kanta, 7-A, Kalu Ghosh Lane, Cal.
,, Abhoy Kumar, 30, Alipore Road.
Gupta, J. N., Corporation, Calcutta.
,, N., 241, Lower Circular Road, Cal.
Gupte, Rai Bahadur, B.A., Victoria Memorial Hall, Cal.

H

Haider, Syed Muhammad, Sultainabad, Gardenreach, Cal.
Haldar, Dr. Hira Lal, 39/3/B, Sukea Street.
Hamid, Hossain Nomavi.
Hannah, H. B., Bengal Club, Cal.

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Haque, M. Mahfuzual.
Harley, A. H., The Madrassa, Cal.
Hartog, P. J., Ramna, Dacca.
Heaton, B., Bengal Engineering College.
Hidayatullah, Mr.
Hosain, Shamsul-Ulama Vilayet, 7/1, Ramsankar Roy Lane, Cal.
,, Khan Bahadur Musaraf, Jalpaiguri.
Howells, Rev. Dr. G., Serampore.
Huda, Hon'ble Nawab Sir Syed Shamsul, 220/2, Lower Cir. Road, Cal.
Huq, Abu Musa Ahmadal, 2, Mirzapur Street, Cal.

I

Irfan, Muhammad, Hooghly College.
Islam, Hon. Khan Bahadur Aminul, 7, Golam Sovan Lane, Cal.
Iyer, L. K. Anantakrishna, 1-2-G, Prem Chand Baral Street, Cal.

J

Jatia, Rai Onkar Mull—Bahadur, 21, Rupchand Ray Street, Cal.

K

Khalid, Usman, University, Dacca.
Khan, Fida Ali, University, Dacca.
Kimura, R., 22, Wellesley 2nd Lane, Cal.

L

Laha, Raja Hrishi Kesh, 96, Amherst Street.
,, S. C., 24, Sukea Street, Cal.
Langford James, J., 38, Theatre Road, Cal.
Langley, G. H., University, Dacca.
Law, Narendra Nath, 96, Amherst Street.
,, Bimala Charan, 24, Sukea Street, Cal.

M

Maitra, Susil Kumar, Queen's St., Serampore.
,, Dr. J. N.
Malia, Raja Pramatha Nath, Searsole.
Manen, Johan Van, 6, Temple Chambers.
Martin, Oswald, 6 & 7, Clive St., Cal.
Masthabir, Rajguru Bhagwan Chandra, 13, Upper Cir. Road, Ca .
Maulvi Muhammad Musa Khan Bahadur.
Mazumdar, N. K., University, Calcutta.
,, Biraj Mohan, 29, Chaulpati Lane, Cal.
,, Harendra Kumar, 21, Jhamapukur Lane, Cal.
,, Nani Gopal, 70, Russa Road North, Cal.
Majumdar, Dr. R. C., University, Dacca.
Mehta, R. D., C.I.E., 9, Rainey Park.
Misra, Pandit Babuya, 7, Dedar Buksh Lane, Cal.
Mitra, Panchanan, 116, Rajendra Lala Mitra Road, Cal.
,, Sarat Chandra, 8, Pratap Chatterjee Lane, Cal.
,, Ram Charan, C.I.E. 23, Bechu Chatterjee Street, Cal.
,, Rai Mahendra Chandra—Bahadur, Hooghly.
Mitter, S. N., University, Calcutta.
,, Dr. P. C., 22A, Garpar Road, Cal.
Mookerjee, Hon. Sir Asutosh, 77, Russa Road—(President).
,, Adhar Chandra, 51, Beadon Row, Cal.
,, Dr. Harendra Coomar, 1 & 2, Dehi Serampore Road, Cal.
,, Ramaprasad, 77, Russa Road, Calcutta
,, Bijoy Gopal, 15, Madhu Ray Lane, Cal.
,, Sanat Kumar, Uttarpara.
,, Prof. P., 47, Amherst St., Cal.

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Moosuddee, Rai Kanai Lal—Bahadur, 25, Bartala St., Cal.
Mullick, Dr. D. N., 36, Wellington Street, Cal.
Murray, Hon'ble Sir Alexander, 3, Clive Row.

N

Nag, G. C., Bakshi Bazar, Dacca.
Nahar, Rai Mani Lal—Bahadur, 5, Indian Mirror Street, Cal.
,, Puran Chandra, 48, Indian Mirror St., Cal.
Nahar (1) Bhamar Sing, (2) Bahadur Sing, (3) Kishari Sing, (4) Prithwi Sing, c/o Rai Mani Lal Nahar Br., 5, Indian Mirror Street.
Nakhat, Mati Chand c/o Rai Mani Lai Nahar Bahadur, 5, Indian Mirror St., Cal.
Nandi, Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra, Kassimbazar.
Niyogi, Jitendra Prasad, 41, Sankaritola Lane, Cal.

P

Pal, Rai Radha Charan—Bahadur, 108, Baranashi Ghosh St , Cal.
Pal Chaudhuri, Amarendra Nath, 2, Creek Row, Cal.
Purnanda, Samana, 1, Buddhist Temple Lane.

R

Radhakissen, Professor S., Bakul Bagan Road.
Rahaman. A. F., University, Dacca.
Rahman, A. S. M. Latifur, 16, Taltala, Calcutta.
,, Nawab A. F. M. Abdur, 16, Taltala.
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Raman, Dr. C. V., 1/53, Prem Chand Baral St.
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,, Manmathanath, 2, Bolaram Bose 1st Lane.
,, Kumud Bandhu, 24, Raja Lane.
,, Suhas Chandra, 16, Pathuriaghata Bye Lane.
,, Chaudhuri, Hem Chandra, 43-2, Amherst Street
,, Basanta Ranjan, 5/1, Fakirchand Mitter St.
,, Maharaj Kumar Jogindranath, of Natore.
,, Chaudhuri, Rai Mritunjoy—Bahadur, Sadyapushkarini, Rangpur.
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,, Jogendra Nath, 102, Sobhabazar Street, Calcutta.
,, Maharaja Jagadish Nath—Dinajpur.
,, Jamini Bhusan, 46, Beadon Street, Calcutta.
,, Sarat Kumar, 52, Police Hospital Road.
,, Rai Kiran Chandra, Bahadur, Narail House, Cossipore, Cal.
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,, S. C., University, Dacca.

S

Saha, Abinas Chandra, 92, Upper Circular Road
Saha Chaudhury, Mahendra Kumar.
Sanyal, Surendra Mohan, 74/1, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
Sarkar, Bijoy Kumar, 2, Brindaban Pal Lane.
Sen, Rai Dinesh Chandra—Bahadur, 7, Viswakosh Lane.
,, Saileswar, 29-A, Bolaram Ghosh's Street.
,, Dr. Surendra Nath, Kasba Road, Dhakuria, 24-Parganas.
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,, Girin.
,, Sasanka Mohan.

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,, ,, Prabodh, 74, Serpentine Lane.
,, ,, Lalit Mohan.
Seth, Pandit Haragobinda Das, 26, Zakaria Street, Calcutta.
Shahidullah, Muhammed, University, Dacca.
Shastri, Mahamahopadhaya Hara Prasad, C.I.E., Dacca University.
,, Pandit N. S. Anantakrishna, Vedantabisarad, 56/1- A Srigopal Mullick Lane.
Shastri, Pandit Iswar Chandra, 16, Nabin Kundu Lane.
Shastri, Pashupati Nath, 41, Bagbazar Street, Calcutta.
Shirazi, Aga Muhammad Kazim, 23, Lower Chitpore Road.
Siddhartha, Samana R.—Shastravisarad, Vinayacharyya, 3, Madan Gopal Lane, Calcutta.
Singh, Rajkumar, 153, Harrison Road.
Singh Roy, Rai Lalit Mohan—Bahadur, 15, Lansdowne Road.
Sinha, Pandit Gangapati, 105, Harrison Road.
,, Raja Bhupendra Narain Bahadur, Nashipur.
,, Hon'ble S., Patna.
Sircar, B. N., 9, Clive Street, Calcutta.
Smrititirtha, Pandit Lalit Mohan, Naogaon, Rajshahi.
Sterling, T. S., U.S. Club.
Suhrawardy, Hon'ble Mr. Justice Z. R. Zahid, 3, Wellesley 1st Lane, Calcutta.
,, Dr. A., 56, Mirzapore Street, Calcutta.
,, Dr. H., Lilooah.
,, Hussain S., 3, Wellesley 1st Lane, Calcutta.

T

Tagore, Maharaja Sir Prodyot Kumar, Tagore Castle, Calcutta.
,, Gaganendra Nath, 5, Dwarkanath Tagore's Lane, ,,
,, P. N., 1, Darpanarain Tagore Street, ,,
,, Dr. Abanindra Nath, 5, Dwarka Nath Tagore's Lane, Calcutta.
Taraporewala, Y. J. 77/9, Dhurrumtolla Street.
,, Dr. I. J. S., 77/9, Dhurrumtolla Street.
Tarkadarsantirtha, Mahamahopadhaya Gurucharan, Sanskrit College, Calcutta
Tarkalankar, Pandit Krishna Chandra, 60, Maniktola Street.
Thakur, Pandit Amareswar, 24, Harachandra Mullick Street.
Thomson, Dr. David, Cotton Street, Gauhati.

V

Vidyabhusan, Rajendra Nath—" Saraswat Kutir," Kankulia Road, Ballygunj, Calcutta.

W

Waheed, Shamsul-Ulama, A. N., Madrassa, Dacca.
Wahab, Abdul, University, Dacca.
Wali, Khan Sahib Abdul, 3, Alimuddin Street, Calcutta.
Watt, Revd. Dr. J., 4, Cornwallis Square, Calcutta.
Wheeler, Sir Henry, Bengal Club.

Y

Yusuff, Khan Sahib Muhammad, Head Master, Madrassa, Calcutta.

Local Governments and Indian States which were invited to send delegates.

Governments.

Government of India.
Government of Bengal.

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Government of Bombay.
Government of Madras.
Government of the United Provinces.
Government of Burma.
Government of Bihar and Orissa.
Government of the Punjab.
Government of the Central Provinces.
Government of Assam.

States.

His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bhavnagar.
His Highness the Maharaja of Dhrangadhra
His Highness the Holkar of Indore.
His Highness the Nawab of Junnagadh.
His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad.
His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.
His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.
His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior.
His Highness the Maharajadhiraj of Jaipur.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.
His Highness the Maharaja of Karpurtala.
His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha
His Highness the Maharaja of Nabhanagar.
His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.
His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa.
His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore.
His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur.

Learned Institutions invited to send Delegates.

Allahabad University.
Bombay University.
Calcutta University.
Madras University.
Punjab University.
Patna University.
Benares Hindu University
Aligarh University.
Dacca University.
Lucknow University.
Indian Museum, Calcutta.
King Edward Museum, Bhopal.
Watson Museum, Rajkot.
Barton Museum, Bhavnagar.
Dacca Museum, Dacca.
Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, Calcutta.
Anthropological Society, Bombay.
Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Bharat Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandal, Poona.
Birbhum Research Society, Hetampur.
Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay.
Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Gujrat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad.
Jarthoshti Din ni Khol Karnari Mandali.
Karnatak Itihasa Mandal, Dharwar.
Karnatak Sahitya Parishad, Bangalore.
Lingayat Education Association, Dharwar.
Literary and Philosophical Club, Poona.
Nellore Progressive Union, Nellore.
Sanatan Dharma Sabha, Ahmednagar.
Sanskrit Sabha, Etawah.

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Punjab Historical Society, Lahore.
Hyderabad Historical and Archaeological Society, Hyderabad (Deccan).
United Provinces Historical Society, Allahabad.
Calcutta Historical Society, Calcutta.
Calcutta University Institute, 1-a, College Square, Calcutta.
Panini Office. Allahabad.
Sahitya Bhushan Mandali, Benares.
Sahitya Sabha, 106-1, Grey Street, Calcutta.
Mahomedan Literary Society, 25, Popham's Broadway, Madras.
Gujrat Puratatta-Samsodhana-Mandira, Ahmedabad.
Sanskrit Association, Calcutta.
Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta.
Banga Bibudha Janani Sabha, Navadwip.
Sahitya Parishad, Chittagong.
Vidyabinodini Sabha, Chittagong.
Eastern Bengal Saraswat Samaj, Dacca.
The Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.
Kamrupa Anusadhan Samiti (Assam Research Society), Assam.
Kalidas Research Committee, Calcutta.
National Council of Education, Bengal.
Madura Tamila Sangam.
Rangpur Branch of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Rungpur.
Dacca Sahitya Parishat, Dacca.
Dacca Sahitya Samaj, ,,

List of Delegates who have paid their fees.

Bengal.

Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.	Dacca University; Bangiya Sahitya Parishat.
Mr. Jyotish Chandra Ghatak, M.A.	
Mr. Khirod Behari Chatterjee.	
Mr. Manmatha Nath Bhattacharyya ..	Kalidas Research Committee.
Mr. Uma Charan Bannerjee, M.A. ..	Kalidas Research Committee.
Mr. Kamal Krishna Basu.	
Pandit Ramkaran.	
Rai Saheb Nagendra Nath Basu ..	Bangiya Sahitya Parishat.
Mr. R. N. Saha.	
Mr. Haridas Mitra.	
Kumar Gangananda Sinha, M.A.	
Dr. Abinash Chandra Das, M.A., Ph.D.	
Kaviraj Girija Prasanna Vidyabhusan.	Sahitya Sabha.
Mr. Bhudeb Mookherjee	Sahitya Sabha.
Mr. Anubhuti Bhattacharyya.	
Mr. Satish Chandra Mitra.	
Subedar Major D. N. Roy Chaudhury.	
Mr. Akshoy Kumar Maitra, C.I.E. ..	Varendra Research Society; Bangiya Sahitya Parishat.
Mr. Henmi.	
Mr. R. K. Kulkorni.	
Mr. N. G. Majumdar, M.A.	
Kaviraj Kalibhusan Sen Kaviratna ..	Sahitya Sabha.
Mr. Amrita Lal Chatterjee	Sahitya Sabha.
Kumar Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B.L., P.R.S.	Bangiya Sahitya Parishat.
Pandit Amulya Charan Vidyabhusan..	Bangiya Sahitya Parishat.
Mr. Khagendra Nath Chatterjee ..	Bangiya Sahitya Parishat.

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Ray Yatindra Nath Chaudhury ..	Bangiya Sahitya Parishat; Sahitya Sabha; National Council of Education.
Mr. Salil Kumar Mookerjee.	
Mr. Kiran Chandra Dutta ..	Sahitya Sabha.
Mr. D. Dutt.	
Mr. Lalit K. Mitra.	
Mr. Kamaluddin Ahmed.	
Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, M.A. ..	Dacca Museum.
Mr. Binoytosh Bhattacharyya, M.A.	
Pandit Sitikanta Bachaspati ..	Banga Bibudha Jananī Sabhā.
Pandit Janaki Nath Sahitya Sastri.	
Mr. Abdul Gani.	
Mr. Durgamohan Bhattacharyya.	
Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee ..	Bangiya Sahitya Parishat.
Mr. B. N. Ghosh.	
Dr. Ekendra Nath Ghosh	Bangiya Sahitya Parishat.
Dr. Naresh Chandra Sengupta ..	Dacca University.
Mm. Asutosh Tarkaratna.	
Maulavi Md. Shahidullah	Dacca University; Bangiya Sahitya Parishat.
Mr. Rampran Gupta.	
Mr. Kedar Nath Majumdar.	
Dr. J. N. Farquhar.	

Bombay.

Mr. N. G. Sardesai	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
Mr. N. B. Utgikar, M.A. ..	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D. ..	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute; Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala Mandira.
Dr. R. D. Karmarkar, M.A., Ph D. ..	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
Dr. P. N. Daroowallah.	
Mr. Shaikh Abdul Kader	K.R. Cama Oriental Institute.

Madras.

Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri ..	Archæological Department, Madras.
Mr. A Ghosh.	
Mr. R. S. Raghava Ayangar ..	Madras Government.
Mr. V. Subba Rao.	
Mr. S. V. Viswanatha.	
Mr. T. Rajagopala Rao.	
Mr. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A. ..	Madras Government.
Mr. A. Rangaswami Saraswati ..	Archæological Dept., Madras.
Dr. S. Krishnswami Ayangar, M.A., Ph.D.	Madras University; Madura Tamil Sangam.
Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, M.A., LL.B.	Madras Government.
Mr. D. B. Deodhar.	
Mr. R. Gopala Iyer.	
Mr. R. Subba Rao.	
Mr. S. V. Venkateswara.	

Punjab.

Rao Bahadur Dayaram Sahni ..	Archæological Dept., Northern Circle.
Mr. Md. Shafi	Punjab Government.

United Provinces.

Mr. Ziaul Hasan Alavi	U.P. Govt.
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Dr. P. K. Acharyya, M.A., Ph.D., D.Lit.	U.P. Govt.
Dr Radhakumud Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D.	Lucknow University.
Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D.	Lucknow University.
Mr. K. A. Subramania Iyer ..	Lucknow University.
Mr. A. B Dhruba, M.A, LL.B. ..	Hindu University.
Hon'ble Dr. Gangnaath Jha, M.A., D Litt.	Allahabad University; U.P. Government.
Mr. Kalika R Quanango, M.A.	
Mr. Prayag Dayal	Lucknow Museum.

Bihar and Orissa.

Mr. J. N. Samaddar, B.A. ..	Patna University; Bihar and Orissa Research Society; Kalidas Research Committee.
Mr. Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A. ..	Patna Museum.
Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.	Patna University.
Mr. A. M. Muhammad Latif ..	Patna University.
Mr. K. P. Jayaswa, M.A.	Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
Mr. Manindra Bhusan Bhaduri, B.L.	

Central Provinces.

Mr. V. V. Mirashi, M.A.	C.P. Government.

Assam.

Mr. R. Bardolai.	
Mr. Sarat Chandra Goswami.	
Mr. Hem Chandra Goswami ..	Kamrupa Anusandhana Samiti.
Mr. Durgeswar Sarma.	

Mysore.

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Rao Bahadur R. Narasinhachar, M.A.	Mysore Government.

Hyderabad.

Mr. Abdul Huq	The Nizam's Government.
Mr. G Yazdani	The Nizam's Government.
Dr. A. S Siddiqui	The Nizam's Government.
Maulvi Sayed Abbas Husain Saheb ..	The Nizam's Government.
Mr. M. Subba Rao	The Nizam's Government.
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Mr. Ram Chandra Kak	Kashmir Government.

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Mr. B. R. Arte	Baroda Government.
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A. B.	

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Government of Bombay	1,500
Bengal Government	1,000
Government of the Punjab	1,000
The Nizam's State	1,000
Baroda State	1,000
U.P. Government	1,000
Madras Government	1.000
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Preface.

Part 1. The Organisation of the Conference.

1. When the First Oriental Conference was sitting in the historic city of Poona in the month of November 1919, the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, on behalf of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching of the Calcutta University, invited the assembled Orientalists to hold their Second Session in Calcutta. This invitation was placed before a general meeting of the First Oriental Conference held on the 7th November, 1919, and was unanimously accepted. In pursuance of another resolution of the same meeting viz., "That the next session of the Conference be held not earlier than 1921", on the 20th of August, 1921, a letter was addressed to all the delegates of the Poona Conference in order to give them the earliest intimation possible of the date which had been suggested for the Conference. On the same date, the *ad-interim* Joint-Secretaries issued the following letter to about 200 residents of the Province of Bengal, inviting them to attend a meeting to be held on the 27th August at the Senate House. The letter and the agenda which accompanied it are produced below :—

> "We beg to invite you to attend a meeting to be held on Saturday, the 27th August, at 4 o'clock at the Senate House, to consider what steps should be taken to form a Committee to make arrangements for the reception in Calcutta of the members of the second session of the Oriental Conference.
>
> At the conclusion of the First Oriental Conference held at Poona in November 1919, the following recommendation of the Committee to consider the suggestions made to the Conference was adopted :—
>
> > "That the invitation from Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, on behalf of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching of the Calcutta University, to hold the next session of the Conference in Calcutta, be accepted."
>
> Pending the calling of a meeting we have been asked to act as *ad-interim* Joint-Secretaries, and it is in this capacity that we venture to issue this invitation which, we hope, you will be able to accept, and so enable our great city and the oriental scholars whom it represents, to offer a fitting reception to the scholars who will assemble from all parts of India.
>
> An agenda of the business to be put forward is enclosed.

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Agenda.

1. To elect a Chairman for the meeting.

2. To lay on the table the following extract from the proceedings of the first Conference:—

"That the invitation from Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, on behalf of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching of the Calcutta University, to hold the next session of the Conference in Calcutta, be accepted."

3. To consider statement of preliminary steps taken by the *ad-interim* Joint-Secretaries.

4. To constitute those present and any others suggested at the meeting as a Reception Committee.

5. To appoint a Chairman, Secretaries and Treasurer.

6. To confirm the dates suggested for the Conference, *viz.* Saturday, January 28th, 1922, to Tuesday, January 31st, 1922.

7. To authorize the issue of a financial appeal to the public for a sum of approximately Rs. 5,000 to meet the expenses of the Reception Committee.

8. To appoint Sub-Committees to deal with—

(*a*) the provision of hospitality,
(*b*) the meeting of the guests at the stations and provision of transport and locomotion,
(*c*) the entertainment of the guests,
(*d*) the arrangements connected with the meetings of the Conference,
(*e*) the finances, and
(*f*) the subjects.

9. To constitute a Working Committee consisting of the Chairman and one man elected by each Sub-Committee, the Secretaries and the Treasurer *ex-officio*, to be presided over by the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

10. To fix a place and date for the first meeting of each of the Sub-Committees (before 7th September, if possible).

11. To fix a place and date for the next meeting of the Reception Committee at which Sub-Committee reports would be presented (second Saturday in November suggested).

12. Any other business brought forward with the permission of the Chairman."

The day chosen was one on which the Senate was holding an ordinary meeting and the attendance was a happy augury for the success of the Conference. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of the University, was unanimously elected Chairman. He gave a short and lucid address explaining the history of the Conference and the steps which it was now proposed to take It was resolved that those present should constitute themselves a Reception Com-

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mittee for the purpose of making arrangements in Calcutta, for the Second Oriental Conference. The Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was unanimously elected President of the Reception Committee The *ad-interim* Joint-Secretaries were confirmed as Honorary Joint-Secretaries and Mr. W. R. Gourlay, C.S.I., C.I.E., was elected Honorary Treasurer. Different Sub-Committees were formed and other important resolutions were passed.

The following is a full account of the proceedings of this meeting :—

"(1) On the motion of Mr. Gourlay it was unanimously agreed that the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of the University, should be elected Chairman of the meeting.

(2) Sir Asutosh Mookerjee addressed the meeting shortly on the subject of the Second Oriental Conference: reminding those present of the circumstances under which the invitation to meet in Calcutta had been extended to the members at the First Conference and of how it had been unanimously accepted by them.

(3) The Joint-Secretaries made a short statement intimating the action taken in calling the present meeting and in issuing to societies and individuals likely to be interested intimation of the dates proposed for the Conference.

(4) It was resolved that those present constitute themselves a Reception Committee for the purpose of making arrangements for the Second Conference to be held in Calcutta and of giving a fitting welcome to the delegates: it was further resolved that the Working Committee be empowered to add further members to the Reception Committee.

(5) It was unanimously resolved that the following be elected officers :—

President of the Reception Committee:

The Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, C.S.I., etc., Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

Honorary Joint-Secretaries:

Mr. W. R. Gourlay. | Professor D. R. Bhandarkar.
Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda.

Honorary Treasurer:

Mr. W. R. Gourlay.

Bankers:

The Imperial Bank of India.

(6) It was unanimously resolved that the dates of the Conference be Saturday, January 28th, 1922, to Tuesday, January 31st, 1922.

(7) It was unanimously resolved that a formal invitation be

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extended in the name of the Reception Committee to His Excellency the Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.I.E., F.R.G.S., etc., to be the Patron of the Conference and to preside at the opening session on the forenoon of Saturday, January 28th, 1922.

(8) It was resolved that an appeal be made to the public in the name of the Reception Committee for a sum of Rs. 5,000 to meet the cost of the Conference.

(It was explained that this was independent of the subsidies anticipated from Local Governments and Indian States and also exclusive of such delegates' fees as it might hereafter be determined to prescribe. The question of requiring a contribution from each member of the Reception Committee was considered: but it was left to each individual to subscribe according to his ability.)

(9) The following Sub-Commitees were appointed with power to add to their numbers:—

I.—Provision of Hospitality.

1. Mr. A. H. Harley.
2. The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy Bahadur.
3. Maharaja Sir Pradyot Kumar Tagore.
4. Sir Hari Ram Goenka.
5. Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy.
6. Dr. A. Suhrawardy.
7. Dr. Hasan Suhrawardy.
8. Mr. Gaganendra Nath Tagore.
9. ,, L. K. Ananth Krishna Iyer.
10. Dr. V. S. Ram.
11. Rai B. A. Gupte Bahadur.
12. Mr. Puran Chandra Nahar.
13. ,, Percy Brown.
14. Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewalla.
15. Rai Mani Lal Nahar Bahadur.

II.—Meeting of Guests and Provision of Transport.

1. Mr. P. N. Tagore.
2. Rai Onkar Mull Jatia Bahadur.
3. Mr. Pachanan Mitra.
4. ,, Niranjan Prasad Chakravarti.
5. ,, Prabodh Chandra Bagchi.
6. Mr Tarak Chandra Das.
7. ,, Nani Gopal Majumdar.
8. ,, Hem Chandra Ray.
9. ,, N. C. Chatterji.
10. ,, S. N. Mitter.
11. ,, S. C. Ghosh.
12. ,, N. K. Mazumdar.
13. Mr. Hussain S. Suhrawardy.

III.—Entertainments.

1. Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy.
2. The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy Bahadur.
3. Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri.
4. Mr. O. C. Ganguly.
5. ,, Abanindra Nath Tagore.
6. ,, Khagendra Nath Chatterjee.
7. Mr. Puran Chandra Nahar.
8. ,, Jadu Nath Roy.
9. ,, Jogendra Nath Roy.
10. ,, Manmohon Ganguly.
11. Rai Chuni Lal Bose Bahadur.
12. Sir P. C. Roy.
13. Professor C. V. Raman.
14. Colonel A. T. Gage.

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IV.—Meetings Committee.

1. The Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.
2. The Registrar of the Calcutta University.
3. Professor S. Radhakissen.
4. Dr. Gauranga Nath Banerjee.

V.—Finances.

1. Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
2. The President of the Reception Committee.
3. The Joint-Secretaries.
4. Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy.
5. Mr. W. L. Carey.

The President and Joint-Secretaries were appointed *ex-officio* members of each Sub-Committee.

(10) The question of appointing a Subjects Committee was left for subsequent discussion, after the Working Committee had had an opportunity of preparing proposals.

(11) It was unanimously resolved that the Working Committee consist of—

1. The President as Chairman.
2. The Joint-Secretaries.
3. The Convener of each Sub-Committee and one member to be elected by each Sub-Committee, and that the Committee have power to add to its numbers.

(12) The question of fixing dates for meetings of Sub-Committees and of further meetings of Reception Committee was left to the discretion of the Working Committee.

(13) The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for presiding."

2. A copy of this *Minute* was sent to all the delegates of the Poona Conference and also to the members of the Reception Committee and to others likely to be interested. A formal letter was addressed to each of those who were invited to the meeting, requesting them formally to accept the invitation to become a member of the Reception Committee.

On the 3rd of September, 1921, the five Sub-Committees as constituted in the meeting of the 27th August, 1921, held a joint meeting at the Old Council Chamber at Government House, with Sir Asutosh Mookerjee on the Chair, when conveners and representatives on the Working Committee were elected. This was immediately followed by a meeting of the Working Committee. It was decided to invite Prof. Sylvain Lévi to preside over the Conference. His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay had meanwhile intimated that he

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accepted with much pleasure the office of Patron and the invitation to open the Conference.

The following *Minute* explains the details settled at this meeting :—

"Mr. A. H. Harley was appointed Convener of the Hospitality Sub-Committee and Mr. N. A. Aiyer was added to the Sub-Committee.

Mr. P. N. Tagore was appointed Convener of the Sub-Committee dealing with transport and Mr. S. C. Ghose with Mr. Hussain Suhrawardy was asked to take charge of recruiting volunteers, in connection with this Sub-Committee. Mr. S. C. Laha was added to the Sub- Committee.

Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy was appointed Convener of the Entertainment Sub-Committee and the following names were added :—

Mr. Gaganendra Nath Tagore. Mr. Harendra Nath Dutt. Rai Mani Lal Nahar Bahadur.

The Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was appointed Convener of the Meetings Sub-Committee and Sir R. N Mookerjee was appointed Convener of the Finance Sub-Committee.

It was unanimously decided that no special exhibition should be organised but the Entertainment Sub-Committee should enter into correspondence with those in charge of the various exhibitions in Calcutta, with a view to arranging for special facilities for the delegates."

The following *Minute* gives the details of the matters settled at the meeting of the Working Committee :—

"The following were added to the Reception Committee :—

Mr. P. J. Hartog, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University. Mr. Srish Chandra Chakravarti. Mr. Radhagovinda Basak. Mr. Guruprasanna Bhattacharyya. Mr. Shahidulah. Mr. Nonigopal Banerjee. Shams-ul-Ulema A. N. Waheed. Mr. Abdul Wahhab. Mr. Khalil Arab. Mr. Munawar Ali. Mr. Usman Khalid. Mr. Fida Ali Khan. Mr. Fakhrul Muhaddisin. Md Burhanuddin. Prof. G. H. Langley, M.A. Mr. S. C. Roy, M.A. Prof. R. C. Majumdar. Mr. A. F. Rahman. Mr. A. S. M. Latifur Rahman.

The Joint-Secretaries were asked to draft and to issue after the President's approval has been obtained, a circular to the delegates who attended the last Conference and to all institutions represented last session, formally inviting delegates to attend. The circular to follow the line of that issued on the previous occasion.

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The Joint-Secretaries were asked to write to local Governments asking for support.

It was decided to invite Professor Sylvain Lévi to preside over the Conference—Invitation to be issued by the President.

The Joint-Secretaries were asked to write to all members of the Reception Committee inviting subscriptions.

The Joint-Secretaries were asked to address each Convener of the Sub-Committees asking him to convene a meeting of the members as early as possible.

The question of Subjects Sub-Committee was left over for subsequent discussion.

Mr. Gourlay informed the members that His Excellency had accepted with much pleasure the office of Patron and the invitation to open the Conference."

3. The following is a copy of the circular issued to the delegates of the Poona Conference and to all institutions and learned Societies in India (the names of which are given on a previous page of this Report) concerned with Oriental learning, inviting them to send representatives :—

Circular.

"At the last sitting of the First Oriental Conference held at Poona in 1919, the members unanimously adopted the recommendation of the Committee appointed to consider the suggestions of scholars regarding the constitution of the Conference (1) that the invitation from Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, on behalf of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching of the Calcutta University, to hold the next session of the Conference at Calcutta, be accepted : and (2) that the next session of the Conference be held not earlier than 1921.

In accordance with this resolution a meeting was held on 27th August, 1921, in the Senate House of the Calcutta University, to consider the steps to be taken to welcome to Calcutta the members of the Second Oriental Conference. This meeting was largely attended and a Reception Committee was appointed with the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee as its President to make the necessary arrangements.

The dates provisionally fixed for the Conference are Saturday, January 28th, 1922, to Tuesday, 31st. His Excellency the Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.I.E., F.R.G.S., etc. Governor of Bengal, has accepted the invitation to be the Patron of the Conference and to preside at the opening ceremony.

The Reception Committee have already appointed various Sub-committees to deal with the provision of hospitality and

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entertainment for our guests and intimation of the details of their arrangements will be communicated to you in due course.

We enclose for your information a memorandum dealing with the aims and objects of the Conference, the subjects to be discussed, membership, etc.

In the name of the Reception Committee we extend to you a hearty invitation to take part in the Conference and to assist us with your co-operation and advice.

The names of delegates, who hope to be able to attend, should reach the Joint-Secretaries as early as possible and information regarding the subject of any paper which a delegate proposes to read should be communicated before the end of October.

MEMORANDUM.

I. *Aims and Objects.*

1. To bring together orientalists of all provinces of India, in order to take stock of the various activities of oriental scholars in India.

2. To facilitate co-operation in Oriental Studies and Research.

3. To afford opportunities to scholars to put forth their views on their respective subjects and to ventilate the difficulties experienced in the way of their special branches of study.

4. To promote social and intellectual intercourse among oriental scholars.

5. To keep pace with the march of scholarship in Europe and America.

II. *Subjects to be included in the programme of the Conference.*

(1) Sanskrit Language and Literature, (2) Avesta in its relation to Sanskrit, (3) Pali, (4) Jain and other Prakrits, (5) Philology of Indian Languages, ancient and modern, (6) Modern Languages and Literature in their oldest phase, (7) Archæology, Epigraphy, Numismatics and Ancient Art, (8) History (Ancient), Geography and Chronology, (9) Technical Sciences (e.g. Ancient Medicine, Music, etc.), (10) Ethnology and Folk-lore, (11) Persian and Arabic, (12) General:—(*a*) Present position of the academical study of Sanskrit and allied languages (e.g. in Universities, Sanskrit Colleges, Pathashalas, etc.), (*b*) Old Shastric Learning, (*c*) A uniform Transliteration System.

III. *Membership.*

1. All scholars and learned persons interested in the advancement of Oriental Studies, are eligible to become members of the Conference.

2. All Governments, Indian States and Learned Institutions are requested to send members and representatives to the Con-

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ference, and to allow scholars in their employment to take part in its deliberations.

IV. *Deliberations, etc.*

Scholars in India, Burma and Ceylon are requested to attend or send papers. In order that the discussion may take a fruitful turn, it may be necessary to have summaries of the papers sent well in advance, so that they may be printed and supplied to members. All papers and important points for discussion to be ready in manuscript.

The proceedings will be published after the Conference is over, containing, as circumstances permit, abstracts of papers or discussions.

V. *Ways and Means.*

It is hoped that the Committee will receive sufficient offers of hospitality to render a substantial contribution under this head unnecessary. In any case it is their desire that none of the cost of food and lodging in Calcutta should fall upon the delegates. In addition to expenditure under this head a sum of from Rs. 8,000 to Rs. 10,000 will be necessary to meet other expenses connected with the Conference. The Reception Committee are appealing to the Governments and institutions interested for monetary assistance as well as to the public at large, and in addition to this a delegate's fee of five rupees will be charged."

Delegates were invited to take an active part in the deliberations of the Conference by reading papers and taking part in the discussion. In response to this invitation, about 175 papers were received from scholars from all parts of India. The subjects dealt with in these papers traverse every part of the wide field of Oriental learning. A large number of letters, expressing good wishes and promising sympathetic co-operation, were received from well-wishers scattered throughout India.

4. To meet the expenses of the Conference the Working Committee relied upon three main sources: the liberality of the Provincial Governments and of the Indian Princes, the fees of the delegates and the generosity of the patrons of learning among the public of the Province. Letters to the Provincial Governments, to the Government of India, and to the Durbars of the Indian Princes were addressed asking their sympathetic co-operation and financial support.

The following Governments and Princes responded to our appeal and the undermentioned sums were realised :—

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Governments:	Rs.
Government of Bengal	1,000
Government of Bombay	1,500
U.P. Government	1,000
Government of the Punjab	1,000
Government of Madras	1,000
Government of Burma	500
C.P. Government	500
States:	
Hyderabad State	1,000
Baroda State	1,000
Kashmir State	1,000
Mysore State	500
Junagadh State	500
H.H. the Maharaja Bahadur of Benares ..	250

Members of the Reception Committee were addressed and asked to help according to their ability to enable Bengal to give a fitting welcome to the delegates coming to our great city. In response to this appeal we received Rs. 2,419.

The fee for each delegate was fixed at Rs. 5 in accordance with the Poona precedent, and from this source Rs. 510 was realised.

5. From September 1921 to January 1922, the different Sub-Committees and the Working Committee carried on their works of making the necessary arrangements for the work entrusted to them.

The Committee for the Provision of Hospitality under the able guidance of Mr. Harley, the Convener, made all arrangements for accommodating the delegates coming from distant parts of the country. It was their aim as far as possible to secure that no guest would be put to any expense on account of board and lodging. The following gentlemen generously offered to receive the delegates as their personal guests :—

Acharya, A. S., Esq.
Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R.
Bhattacharya, Pandit Kokileswar.
Brown, Percy, Esq.
Chanda, Ramaprasad, Esq.
Chari, N. S. T., Esq.
Chaudhury, Ray Yatindra Nath.
Fallon, Rev. Fr., St. Xavier's College.
Ganguli, O. C., Esq.
Gourlay, W. R., Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E.
Gupta, B. C., Esq., Sibpur.
Gupte, Rai Bahadur, B. A.,
Haraprasad Sastri, Mahamahopadhyaya.

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Harley, A. H., Esq.
Islam, Aminul, Khan Bahadur.
Iyer, Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananth Krishna.
Iyer, N. R., Esq.
Kalidas Research Committee, Secy.
Kasimbazar, Hon., Maharajah of, K.C.I.E.
Madan, J. F., Esq., O.B.E.
Maitra, Dr. Jatindra Nath.
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh.
Nahar, Rai Bahadur Mani Lal.
Nahar, Puran Chand, Esq.
Radhakissen, Prof.
Raman, Prof. C. V.
Rao, C. S. Raghunatha, Esq.
Rao, P. Appaji, Esq.
Roy, Kumar, Sarat Kumar.
Saklat, J. R., Esq.
Suhrawardy, Dr. Abdullah.
Suhrawardy, Dr. Hassan.
Yusuf, Md. Khan Sahib.

H.E. Lord Ronaldshay graciously invited our President to be his guest at Government House. Our heartiest thanks are also due to all those who entertained our guests in their own homes.

The following is the Report of the Sub-Committee for the Provision of Hospitality :—

"Three meetings of the Hospitality Sub-Committee of the Conference were held at intervals to consider methods of finding accommodation for the delegates to the Conference. Copies of the lists of delegates sent from time to time by the Joint Secretaries were typed by the Convener and distributed to the members of the Committee, who selected from them those whom they could themselves accommodate or for whose accommodation they could arrange with their friends.

The Convener corresponded with all the delegates from outside Calcutta, about 160 in number, to ascertain the nature of the accommodation they might require and the style of living they adopted. As these requirements became known, he approached local members with a statement of such particulars. As a rule local members gave a favourable reply to the request. Rai Mani Lal Nahar Bahadur, worked unsparingly, and we owe it to his suggestion that the residence of the Maharajah of Kasimbazar with provision for over thirty of our members was generously placed at our disposal. This accommodation was very prudently kept as far as possible in reserve for such as were late in signifying their intention to join the Conference. It undoubtedly saved us much confusion in the end.

Rao Bahadur L. K. A. Iyer made himself generally responsible for the Brahmins from Southern India, and Rai B. A. Gupte Bahadur, for Hindus from Western India, and as both had considerable members to deal with, their services deserve grateful acknowledgment.

Those Muhammadan delegates for whom hosts were not available were put up in the Carmichael and Baker Madrasah Hostels, and the arrangements there made proved very satisfactory.

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Each delegate was duly informed of the name and address of his host, and was requested to let the Convener of the Transport Committee know the date of his arrival in Calcutta so that volunteers might meet him at the station and convey him to his quarters.

A complete list of the names of the outside delegates and their hosts was supplied to the Transport Committee, the Information Bureau, and to several members of the Hospitality Committee. The Volunteers were assiduous in their attentions to our guests, and no complaint of inattention has reached the Hospitality Sub-Committee."

6. The Transport Committee conveyed the delegates from the railway stations to the houses where the Hospitality Committee had arranged for their entertainment. They also helped by means of special tram cars to transport them to the various places where entertainments had been arranged. In this work the assistance of the Post-Graduate students of the University College was invaluable. About 70 young men were selected, who worked under the guidance of Mr. S. C. Ghose. Every day some members were present at the two railway stations of the city at all hours to guide and convey the delegates. Motor cars and gharries were provided for this purpose.

7. The Meetings Committee under the efficient guidance of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, decided to hold the Conference at the Senate House and Darbhanga Buildings. The University authorities kindly consented to lend us the rooms required for the Conference and helped us with furniture. The Senate Hall was decorated and arrangements were made for the accommodation of about 700 persons. The two general meetings of the Conference were held in this Hall. For the sectional meetings four rooms of the Darbhanga Buildings were used. The Meetings Committee also prepared the programme of business for each day of the Conference in consultation with the other Committees. We have received the following report about the working of this Committee.

"The General Meetings were held in the Senate House of the Calcutta University and the Sectional Meetings in the various rooms of the Darbhanga Buildings.

The Opening Meeting was held on the 28th of January, 1922, in the Main Hall of the Senate House. On the dais (which was decorated for the occasion) three Central Seats were provided for His Excellency the Patron, the President of the Conference, and the Hon'ble the President of the Reception Committee.

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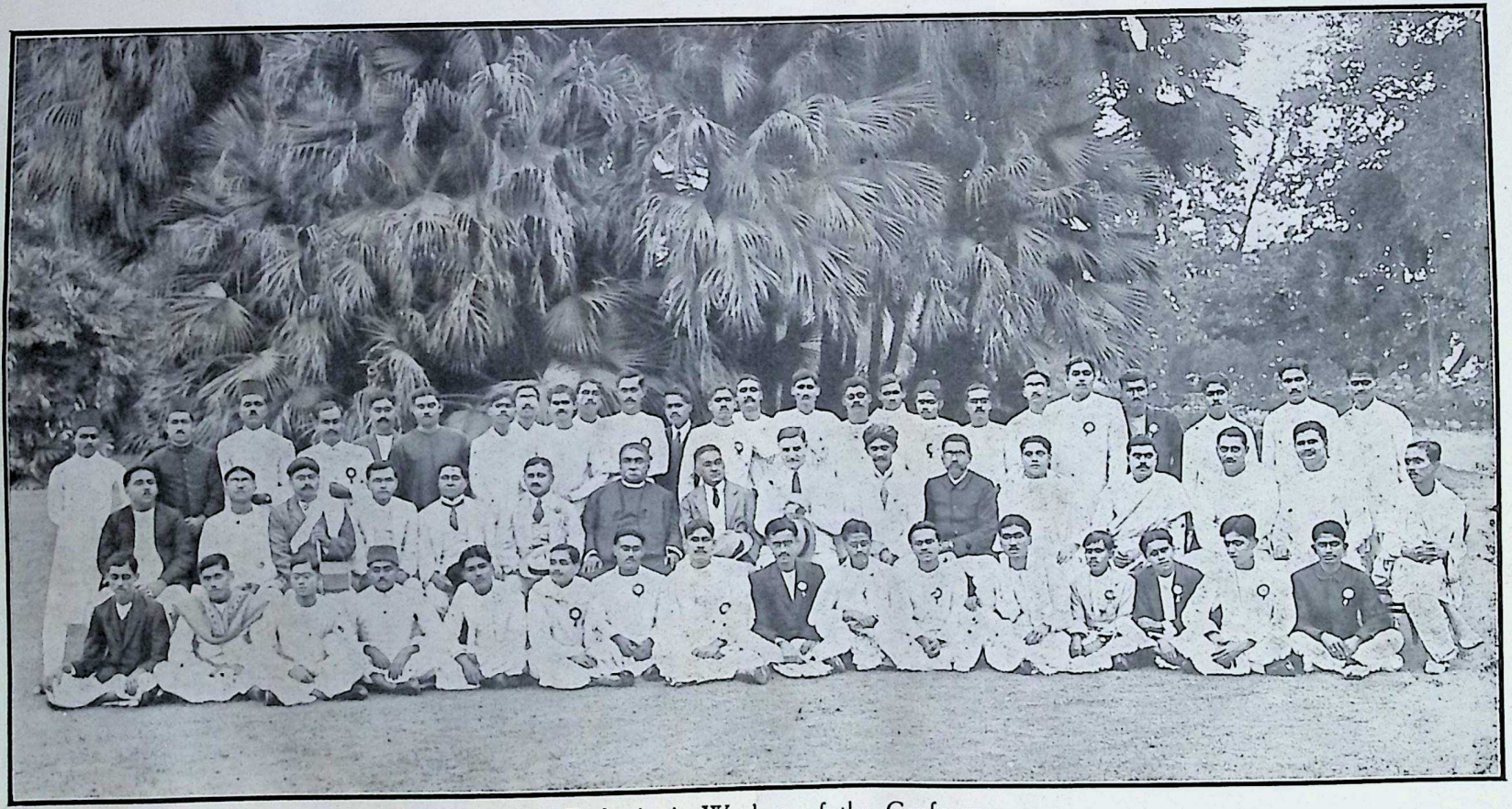

The Enthusiastic Workers of the Conference.

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On the dais too, on the two sides, seats were provided for the Sectional Presidents of the First Oriental Conference and the President-elects of the various sections of the Calcutta Conference. Besides these, a number of distinguished persons was also accommodated on the platform.

On the floor different blocks were reserved for the delegates, the members of the Reception Committee, visitors, students and the Press. Graduate-guides under the supervision of their organiser were posted to conduct gentlemen to their seats and also to help them generally.

The Second General Meeting was held in the same hall on the 1st of February, 1922.

The Sectional Meetings which were held on the 29th, 30th and 31st January and the 1st February were accommodated in Room No. 1, Room No. 2, the University Library Hall and the Post-Graduate Library Hall—all in the Darbhanga Buildings.

Raised seats were provided for the President and the Assistant Secretary. Guides were posted at the doors and also at the main gate to conduct gentlemen to their respective sections and also to keep them in touch with the Information Bureau which was situated in Room No. 8 of the same building.

The arrangements were entirely satisfactory and gentlemen coming from outside were understood to express their approval of the convenience of the arrangements made and accommodations provided.

All articles of furniture were supplied by the University."

8. Last though not the least comes the Entertainments Sub-Committee. The great enthusiasm with which this Committee under the inspiring guidance of Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy, the Convener, took up its duty, cannot be exaggerated. From the very beginning, the aim of this Committee was to arrange for such amusements and recreations as would alleviate the strain of taking part in the learned deliberations of the Conference and at the same time show the best cultural institutions of Calcutta with the least inconvenience possible.

The following Report of the Entertainments Sub-Committee will give a good idea of the efforts made by Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy and his colleagues :—

"The Entertainments Sub-Committee was formed at the meeting held on Saturday the 27th August, 1921.

It held its first meeting on September 3rd, 1921, when Mr. Sarat Kumar Roy was unanimously elected Convener and Mr. Manmohan Ganguli Secretary. Altogether four meetings were held.

The Sub-Committee arranged the following programme for the entertainment of the Delegates and the members of the Conference, which carried out successfully.

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28th January, 1922 (Sunday).—3-5 p.m.: Visit to the Nahar Collections, Kumer Sing Hall, 46, Indian Mirror Street.

Rai Bahadur Manilal and Mr. Puranchand Nahar very kindly invited the delegates and the members of the Conference to the Hall, took them round their valuable collections and treated them to refreshment at their own expense.

5·30–7·30 p.m.: Visit to the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat.

The authorities of the Parishat held an exhibition of their valuable relics for the inspection of the delegates, and entertained them with music. The President M.M. Haraprasad Sastri read a short address welcoming the delegates of the Conference.

29th January, 1922 (Sunday).—2·30–5 30 p.m.: River trip on the Bhagirathi, from Chandpal Ghat to the Royal Botanical Gardens, Sibpur.

Mr. Gourlay (Joint-Secretary) arranged for the purpose the commodious steamer "Buckland" from the Commissioners of the Port of Calcutta.

Mr. Satish Chandra Ghose with his Graduate-guides were in attendance on board the steamer. Refreshments were served to the delegates both in English and in Indian style. Mr. Manomohan Ganguli and Mr. Girindranath Sen assisted by Babu Dhirendra Nath Dey were specially in charge of the refreshments. The delegates got down at the Garden at 4 p m. after tea and were shown round by Mr. Lane, the Curator of the Garden Herbarium.

30th January, 1922 (Monday).—Through the courtesy of the Trustees, the Indian Museum was open to the delegates of the Conference from 2·30–4·30 p.m., and the Superintendent of the Archæological Section, Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda (Joint-Secretary of the Conference) with his staff kindly showed the delegates round.

The Exhibition Committee of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts were also very kind in keeping their exhibition open the whole of this afternoon, specially for the delegates of the Conference and Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore and Dr. Abanindranath Tagore took the delegates round.

His Excellency the Governor kindly gave an Evening Party to meet the delegates at Government House. The programme included a theatrical performance of Sir Rabindranath's 'Post Office' in English, by the members of the Shakespeare Society which was highly appreciated by the delegates. A light supper followed. The delegates and their friends much enjoyed the opportunity of meeting Lord Ronaldshay, and many had an opportunity of talking with His Excellency.

31st January, 1922 (Tuesday).—A visit to the Victoria Memorial Hall by the delegates was arranged for from 2·30 to 4·30 p.m. and after that there was an "Afternoon Party" at the University Institute Hall, the Hall being kindly placed at the disposal of the Sub-Committee by the authorities of the Institute.

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Refreshments both in English and in Indian style were served under the able management of Messrs. Manomohan Ganguli and Girindranath Sen assisted by Messrs. Dhirendranath Dey and N. C. Bhattacharya.

After refreshment, the delegates and the members were entertained to a very choice programme of Indian Music, under the kind direction of Maharaja Jagadindranath Roy of Natore assisted by his son Maharajkumar Jagindranath Roy and Babu Shyamlal Khetri. The members of the Sanskrit Mahāmandal thereafter entertained the delegates and the members to a performance of the Sanskrit drama of *Mṛcchakaṭika*. The entire programme was highly appreciated by the delegates.

Messrs. Ramaprasad Chanda, Narayanchandra Banerjee, Sailendranath Mitra, Amarendranath Pal Choudhury, Mahendra Kumar Saha Choudhury, Tarak Chandra Das, Hem Chandra Ray and Satis Chandra Ghose with his Graduate-guides supervised the arrangements.

1st February, 1922 (Wednesday).—There were two lantern lectures this afternoon, one on the Ancient Cave Temples of India by Mr. B. C. Bhattacharya and the other on Child Training on Ancient Lines by Prof. R. K. Kulkarni in the Western Hall of the Senate House."

9. About ten days before the sitting of the Conference an Information Bureau under Mr. Satis Chandra Ghose, was established in the Darbhanga Buildings and the office of the Joint Secretaries was also removed to the same place and placed in charge of the four Honorary Assistant Secretaries, for co-operation with the Information Bureau and also with the intention of centralising all kinds of activities.

10. In the meeting of the Working Committee held on the 19th December, a "Subjects Committee" was formed which received and classified the papers according to their subject-matter and sent them to their respective Sectional Presidents for preliminary perusal.

11. A detailed "Provisional Programme," containing information regarding the Conference, for the guidance of its members was drawn up and sent to the members of the Reception Committee about a week before the sitting of the Conference and personally handed over to the delegates when they reached the city. A supplement to this was also given to all the members on the first day of the Conference. Both of these will be found at the end of the Preface.

12. The following is the Treasurer's report and statement of accounts :—

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Treasurer's Statement.

At a meeting which was summoned by the *ad-interim* Secretaries at the Senate House on August 27th, 1921, the question of the constitution of the Reception Committee and the various Sub-Committees was taken up. The Finance Sub-Committee was constituted as follows:—(1) The President, (2) The Secretaries, (3) Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy, (4) Mr. W. L. Carey, (5) Sir R. N. Mookerjee.

A joint meeting of the members of the Sub-Committees was held on 3rd September, 1921, with the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in the Chair. At this meeting Sir R. N. Mookerjee was appointed Convener of the Finance Sub-Committee.

At a meeting of the Working Committee held immediately after the joint meeting on 3rd September, 1921, it was decided to approach the local Governments asking for support, and accordingly the Secretaries addressed the attached appeal to the following Governments and Durbars of Indian Princes:

Governments –

Government of India.
Government of Bengal.
Government of Bombay.
Government of Madras.
U.P. Government.
C.P. Government.
Behar and Orissa Government.
The Punjab Government.
Government of Burma.
Assam Government.

Durbars of Indian Princes—

His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad.
His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.
His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda.
His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.
His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore.
His Highness the Holkar of Indore.
His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.
His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.
His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.
His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa.
His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bhavnagar.
His Highness the Maharaja of Dhrangadhra.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.
His Highness the Maharaja of Nabhanagar.
His Highness the Nawab of Junagadh.
His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha.

Appeal.

"I am directed by the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the President of the Reception Committee of the Second Oriental Conference, to address you on the subject of the Conference and to seek from $\frac{\text{the Government of .....}}{\text{His Highness's Government}}$ some small measure of financial assistance.

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The Conference (in accordance with the unanimous resolution passed at Poona in 1919) will meet in Calcutta and the dates provisionally fixed are 28th to 31st January, 1922. A strong representative Reception Committee has been formed and His Excellency the Right Hon'ble The Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.I.E., F.R.G.S., has accepted the invitation to take the Conference under his patronage and to preside at the opening ceremony.

A separate invitation has been issued to your Government / the Durbar to depute one or more delegates to the Conference. The object of this letter is to secure your co-operation and sympathy with us in our undertaking and to request the Government of ..... / His Highness's Government to make some small contribution towards our funds. A list of the principal contributions made from the Local and State Governments to the Poona Session of the Conference is appended for information."

An appeal was made to members of the Reception Committee, and to Local Governments and States and the response was as follows :—

Subscriptions of Rs. 50 and above—	Rs.
Government of Bombay	1,500
Government of Madras	1,000
Government of Bengal	1,000
U.P. Government	1,000
Government of the Punjab	1,000
The Nizam's State	1,000
Baroda State	1,000
Kashmir State	1,000
Government of Burma	500
C.P. Government	500
Junagadh State	500
Mysore State	500
H.H. The Maharaja Bahadur of Benares	250
Oxford University Press	125
Raja Pramathanath Malia of Searsole	100
Sir Hariram Goenka, Kt., C.I.E.	100
Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E	100
W. L. Carey, Esq.	100
Sir Alexander Murray	100
Hon. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee	100
P. N. Tagore Esq.	100
Revd. Father F. X. Crohan	50
P. J. Hartog, Esq., C.I.E.	50
Raja Satya Niranjan Chacravarty of Hetampur	50
Maharaja Jagadish Nath Roy, of Dinajpur	50
Kumar Profulla Krishna Deb	50
W. R. Gourlay, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.	50
Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy, ...	50
Mr. J. Langford James	50
Total Subscriptions under Rs. 50	1,194

The sum received in delegates' fees, was Rs. 510.

The total receipts up to date amount to Rs. 13,746 As. 10, and Rs. 225 is still outstanding.—

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SECOND ORIEN

Statement of

RECEIPTS.	Rs.	A.	P.
Delegates fees	510	0	0
Subscriptions from Members of Reception Committee ..	2,419	0	0
Contributions from Govt. and Native States	10,750	0	0
Fees from Students and Visitors	65	0	0
Sale of Programmes	2	10	0

Total Receipt up to date Rs. 13,746 10 0

15th April, 1922.

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TAL CONFERENCE.

Accounts.

EXPENDITURE.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
1. *Information Bureau.*		
Pay of menials, stationery, Postage and Telegram, advertisement and other contingent charges as detailed in separate list ..		228 7 0
2. *Meeting Section.*		
Decoration and arrangement of seats ..		45 4 0
3. *Printing Section.*		
Printing of Cards and Programmes ..	165 8 0	
Govt. press for printing Circular Letters, etc. ..	56 14 11	
Art Press for printing Circular Letters, etc. ..	363 12 0	
		586 2 11
4. *Transport and Conveyance Section*		
Tram Company for Tram arrangements ..	95 0 0	
Tram fare, Taxi hire, Carriage hire and Coolies	390 4 6	
		485 4 6
5. *Entertainment Section.*		
(*a*) River party :—		
Refreshments, etc.	499 10 0	
Port Commissioners for Steamer hire ..	250 0 0	
(*b*) Indian Music and Theatre at the University Institute	605 6 0	
(*c*) Cost to Shakespeare Society for costumes, etc., in connection with production of 'Post Office'	451 13 0	
(*d*) Tea Party at the University Institute ..	230 10 0	
		2,137 7 0
6. *Hospitality Committee.*		
Guest charges :—		
Mr. Harley far reception	235 0 0	
Mr. Rao	8 3 6	
Rai B. A. Gupte Bahadur	41 15 6	
Stationery	23 12 0	
		308 15 0
7. *Honorary Secretary's Expenses.*		
Office Expenses :—		
Honorarium to Asst. Secretary from February to November 1922.. ..	494 10 3	
Honorarium to Office Assistants ..	180 0 0	
Pay of an extra clerk during February and March	78 9 1	
Cost of Typewriting to Mr. Chanda ..	4 2 0	
Stationery and Postage and other contingent charges (including an advance of Rs. 25 to Babu Tarak Ch, Das) ..	259 4 6	
Entertainment to Post-Graduate Volunteers	82 14 0	
Johnston and Hoffman for a photo of His Excellency	6 0 0	
		1,105 7 10
TOTAL EXPENDITURE UP TO DATE ..		4,897 0 3
Balance in Bank on 31-12-22 ..		8,849 9 9
	Rs.	13,746 10 0

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Part II. The Meetings of the Conference.

The following appreciation of the general work of the Conference has been prepared from notes supplied by the Presidents of the Sections. The Sections are dealt with in the order in which they appeared in the Programme:—

1. The Vedic Section was presided over by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D. The Vedic Section unfortunately was one of the poorest as regards original contributions, and owing to the fact that summaries had not been available for circulation, the too short period allowed for discussion was almost useless. The Veda and Avesta papers were taken alternately to ensure the continued interest of those attending. It is sincerely hoped that the Vedic Section will be more fully represented on subsequent occasions. The paper by V. P. Ramachandra Charlu on *The Adhvaryu's Duties* was appreciated. It was written in Sanskrit in the Telegu character. Unfortunately the time was too short for more than extracts to be read. The paper on the *Literary Strata in the Ṛgveda* by the President will be found amongst the Proceedings.

2. The Section of Iranian Language and Literature.—In the absence of Professor Turner some changes had to be made in the Presidents of the various Sections and Dr. J. J. Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., presided over this Section. It was decided that the Presidents of the Vedic and Iranian Sections should sit together and call for papers alternately from each Section. Dr. Modi having been asked to preside at the very last moment, had no time to prepare an elaborate address. But he offered a few remarks upon the importance of Avestic and Iranian studies to Indian scholars.

The two papers of the President were extremely interesting in their detailed information. The one upon Alexander the Great evoked some discussion, specially in view of the fact that only one Arab writer has spoken evil of the great conqueror in strange contrast to the universal execration poured upon him by the preceding Pahlavi writers. The two papers by Prof. Taraporewala were also well received. In the first, *Three passages from the Yasna*, he sought to prove that the word *Nighva* occurring in one of them stood for the ancient *Ninivah* and he cited a number of geographical and

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metrical reasons in favour of that interpretation. His other paper tried to prove that the six "Holy Immortals" of Zoroastrian Theology were not originally arranged in the present order of their greatness and importance, but that the second one (of the present day) once occupied the first place as next to God Himself. The last paper on *Caste system in the Avesta* by Mr. B. K. Chatterjee was also an interesting contribution to the comparative study of this social institution in the two great branches of the Aryan Stock.

3. The Ethnology and Folklore Section, under the presidency of Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananth Krishna Iyer, B.A., L.T., was opened with the Presidential Address on the *Study of Anthropology in India: Its Importance and Necessity.* The following papers were also read:—

The Home of Ancient Hindus and their policy of Racial Fusion. By Dr. R. Shamasastry, B.A., Ph.D.

Offering of Human Sacrifices to the Water Spirits. By Mr S. C. Mitra, M.A.

Sun worship. By Mr. Tarak Chandra Das, M.A.

Indian Cultural and Racial Origins. By P. Mitra, Esq., M.A.

The Astronomy of the Mundas and their Star-Myths. By M. B. Bhaduri, Esq., B.L.

The Gipsies and their spread of Indian culture. By B. Mookerjee, Esq., M.A.

Disā Pothī or the Note-book on the Anniversary of Deaths. By Dr. Modi, B.A., Ph.D.

The second sitting of the section was held on Wednesday, the 1st instant, when Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte read a paper on *The Origin and Folk-lore of Maṅgal-Caṇḍī*, after which the following papers were read:—

Autonomy and Expansion of the Village Pañcayet. By Dr. R. K. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D.

Some Bull and Boar fights in India. By Khitischandra Sarkar, Esq., B.A.

The Cult of Maqadheswari. By R. K. Bhattacharya, Esq., B.A.

Pre-historic Home of Man. By B. Roy, Esq.

Twelve papers were read, and they were all interesting. A lively discussion took place after the perusal of every paper, in which the gentlemen present took part. The attendance of the members was also fair. On the whole the section of Ethnology and Folklore, which met for the first time, was successful.

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4. The paper in the Sanskrit and Prakrit Section regarded as of greatest merit by the President was on Dandin's *Avantisundarīkathā*, by Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi. The President has given the following note:—"Dandin's work has a preface, which like the one in *Harṣa-carita* devotes a *śloka* to one of the preceding poets. These verses throw much light on the history of *Kāvya* literature in ancient India. Thus we get an account of Bhāravī, a very welcome piece of information, for up to now nobody knew anything about him except that he has been mentioned in the Aihole Inscription. Dandin, the author, was related to him in the third degree. They both adorned the Courts of the Pallava kings of Kāncī. In another paper entitled *Vasubandhu or Subandhu* by Mr. Rangaswami Saraswati attempt has been made to prove that Subandhu was a poet in the Court of Candragupta Maurya whose son, Vindusāra was a great admirer of him. He wrote a drama, *Vāsavadattā* by name, in the acting of which Vindusāra is said to have taken part. In another paper, Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya gives an account of Lakṣmanamāṇikya, Rājā of Bhulua in Eastern Bengal, who was a patron of Sanskrit Literature and who entertained the Hindu princes assembled at Kurukṣetra, at its re-establishment with performances of Sanskrit dramas. Mr. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya wrote a paper on *The Popular Element in Classical Sanskrit Drama* and used materials from Sanskrit Rhetoric, Dramaturgy and Musical works with cleverness and erudition. A paper of much higher merit is that by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Ganganath Jha, M.A., M.L.A., on the historical and geographical information to be gleaned from the commentary by Medhatithi on *Manu-Saṃhitā*. Pandit Jha thought that Medhātithi belonged to Western India probably Kashmir and flourished in the 8th or 9th century A D."

5. The Archæology Section, under the presidency of Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Shastri, B.A., held three sittings. Of the twenty-four papers, fifteen were read. Papers relating to ancient Indian Architecture attracted much attention and lively discussions kept up the interest of a large circle of scholars.

Mr. Jayaswal's *A Voussoir from Pāṭaliputra* was a typical one in which the author, admitting it to be decidedly one of the Mauryan or pre-Mauryan period by the polish it bore on its upper and lower carved surfaces and the three masons' marks that were cut on its lower surface resembling Brahmi characters, wanted to prove

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the stone to be one—probably the key-stone—of a circular arch of that period. The objections raised and the replies given to the questions by the author categorically, were clear and reasonable. Two other papers in which similar vehement denunciation and arguments drew a large number of scholars into the ring of discussion were Mr. R. Chanda's *Palaeographic Tests and the Date of Khāravela*, *The Benares School of Sculpture* by Mr. B. C. Bhattacharya, and Mr. Kak's *Discoveries at Haravan, Kashmere*, *The Prehistoric Paintings at Singhanpur and Mirzapur* by Mr. Manoranjan Ghosh and the *Indian Columns* by Mr. P. K. Acharya were also papers of much interest. The origin of the Brahmi alphabet, a subject of long standing controversy was studied with scholarly acumen both by Mr. A. C. Das, the author of *Rig-Vedic India* and by Mr. R. N. Saha. Neither of them however referred to the pictorial hieroglyphics used in the Tantric literature traced by Dr. Shamasastry to the very early period of the *Atharvaveda*. These hieroglyphics properly analysed prove the indigenous origin of the Devanagari alphabet and with it also that of the Brahmi. *Texts on Ancient Indian Painting*, by Mr. Rangaswami Saraswati attracted attention of scholars though the Encyclopaediac nature of Somesvara's *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* was already drawn attention to by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his *History of the Dekkan*. The *Identification of a Bharhut Bas-relief*, by N. G. Mazumdar and the *Identification of Avalokiteśvara Images*, by Benaytosh Bhattacharya were good productions of intelligent research. A paper on *The newly discovered Gaṅga copperplates of Mārasimha of the 11th century A.D.*, by Rao Bahadur Narasimhacharya, was one of the few papers that never left a single point discussed in it without leaving on it the stamp of genuine historical scrutiny and scholarship.

6. Out of the twenty-two papers presented to be read in the section dealing with Social and Religious History, five were taken as read, as the authors were not present. As to the rest, only summaries were read. As there were no controversial points in any of the papers, there was no discussion. Dr. R. Shamasastry, B.A., Ph.D., presided.

Among the papers read, three dealt with the literature on social and religious customs, two on marriage, five on ancient Indian polity, three on industry, economics and famine relief, two on the spread of Hindu culture and civilization, one on *Vaiṣṇavism in Kāmarūpa* and one on the *Armed Ascetics of Ancient India*.

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Professor Farquhar's paper on armed ascetics of India was very interesting. Though now almost forgotten, it is a historical fact that the Kāpālika and Bhairava orders of ascetics armed themselves and regarded human sacrifice as an indispensable religious practice enjoined upon them. Equally interesting was Mr. Sarat Chandra Goswami's paper on *Vaiṣṇavism in Kāmarūpa.* The interesting fact brought to light in this paper is the grafting of a new religion on an old stem to humour the people with the belief that their change is merely a growth: with the substitution of Vaiṣṇavism for Buddhism by Śaṅkaradev in Kāmarūpa or Assam, the images of Buddha began to be worshipped as those of Viṣṇu. In his interesting paper on *Marriage Laws and Regulations under the Peshwas,* Dr. Surendranath Sen has shown how by executive orders the Peshwas succeeded in legalising illegitimate marriages and births in the land of Mahārāṣṭra. Though the spread of the Hindu spiritual and religious culture in India and abroad, as expounded by Mr. Narendranath Law and Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, is an admitted historical fact, the Doctor's endeavour to attribute the spread of the Vāsudeva or Kṛṣṇa cult in the south to the Andhakas of the Yadus depends upon the doubtful philological identity of the word Andhaka with the Tamil word Ander. Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari's paper on some glimpses in ancient Tamil polity is an important contribution on the subject. As some of the political ideas, especially the four *Upadhās* or tests of character taught in the *Kurul,* an ancient Tamil work (1st or 2nd century A.D.), are all borrowed from the *Arthaśāstra,* it cannot be denied that the ancient Tamils owed many of their political ideas to the Aryans. No less important are the papers presented by Mr. Pramathanatha Banerji on *Machiavelism in Ancient Indian Polity* and by Mr. Hemachandra Ray on *Elements of State Socialism in Kauṭilya.* The one deals with the theory of the expedient or the end justifying the means. It is a theory which was upheld and preached by the ancient Mīmāṃsakas in support of their immolation of sacrificial victims to secure a happy berth in *Svarga* and which is not even now dead. The other points in vivid colours the picture of the unlimited state interference with individual liberty. Mr. Narayanachandra Banerjee's paper on *Governmental Ideals of Ancient India,* on the other hand, is an endeavour to prove the existence in ancient India of a benevolent patriarchical form of government. The titles of other papers read by Messrs. S. V.

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Visvanath, P. V. Kane, S. N. Muzumdar and P. C. Bagchi and others are too significant to need an explanatory foreword.

7. The Section of Philosophy and Religion, under the chairmanship of Mr. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., held its sitting from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m., on Monday, the 30th January, 1922. As set forth in the printed provisional and supplementary programmes placed in the hands of the Chairman, this Section has to deal with fifteen papers; and just before the commencement of the meeting, one paper in Sanskrit on the *Philosophy of the Bhagavadgītā*, by Brahmasri N. S. Anantakrishna Sastri, Vedāntavisārada, of the Calcutta University, was allowed to be added to the list. Of the sixteen papers to be read, Nos. 6 and 7 in the printed programme on the *Nyāya of Bhāsarvajña* and on the *Theory of knowledge from the Indian Śāstras* were not actually forthcoming. As Mr. P. K. Gode, Swami Virupaksha Wodeyar, Mr. Susil Kamar Maitra and Mr. M. Hiriyanna (who sent two papers) did not attend the Conference, the contents of their papers, five in all were briefly indicated by the Chairman on the basis of the summaries sent by the respective authors. The remaining nine papers were actually read before the meeting by their respective authors. In the case of some papers, a brief discussion of certain relevant questions also followed. The papers of (1) the Chairman, (2) Mr. M. Hiriyanna, (3) Mr. Mirashi, (4) Mr. S. C. Roy and (5) Mr. Vidhusekhara Sastri were particularly appreciated for the suggestive lines of research pursued and the valuable facts set forth therein. The papers placed before the Section of Philosophy and Religion dealt with a variety of valuable and interesting subjects that could, broadly speaking, be brought under the following general heads :—(1) textual criticism of the basic texts of the philosophy of *Bhakti* and *Vedānta*; (2) the history of the *Purva-mīmāṃsā*; (3) estimative elucidations of the metaphysical and ethical aspects of the religion and philosophy of the *Vedānta* system; and (4) Hindu ethics. It would be felt somewhat strange that the Section of Philosophy and Religion in the Calcutta Oriental Conference, happened to miss the subject of *Nyāya*, which has such glorious associations with Navadvipa in Bengal. The strength of the audience during the sitting of the Section was fairly good and ranged from twenty to nearly forty. The Chairman of the Section delivered an address with particular reference to the contents of his paper on the Prābhākara School of Purva-mīmāṃsā and closed the

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sitting of the Section at 1 p.m., with pertinent observations on the work achieved.

8. In the Section of Philology, the President-elect being absent, Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala took the chair. The President reserved his Presidential speech to the end, when he gave a brief outline of the work to be done in India as regards the study of Linguistics. The paper submitted by the President-elect, on *The loss of Vowel Alternation in Indo-Aryan* was a very interesting one tracing the phenomena known generally as Ablaut and Vowel gradation from the earliest records up to the modern vernaculars of modern India. Mr. Divatia's paper (which was read by Mr. Dhruva) was also a carefully worked out paper but the President disagreed with some of the important points raised by it. The paper by Mr. Saileswar Sen on *The Kol Language* was a new matter to most of the people present there and it was put in an interesting manner as well. That on the *Khasi Language* dealt with the wealth of Persian loan-words in that language and incidentally pointed out the immense cultural influence of Islam in civilising the border tribes. The paper of Mr. Charandas Chatterjee tracing some Sinhalese words was also a good contribution in the hitherto untouched field of work and evoked some interesting discussion. Dr. Woolner of Lahore exhibited a few specimen pages of the MS. of a new dictionary of the Panjabi language which is now undertaken by the scholars at Lahore. Mr. Shahidulla of Dacca submitted two papers of which the Sanskrit version of the Parsipolis inscription of Darius was a remarkable achievement. The paper of Mr. T. Rajagopala Rao on *The South Indian stem of the Indo-Germanic Group* was startling in its title as well as its contents. But it was nevertheless well worked out and promises to open out an entirely new line of research in Dravidian Linguistic origins. The two papers of the President too were well received. That on Sanskrit Compounds sought to prove that the development of the terrible long compounds in Classical Sanskrit was the result of the working of the natural tendency in language development from synthesis to analysis. In Sanskrit this natural tendency was stiffled on account of the rigid rules of Pāṇini's Grammar. His second paper on *Contamination* endeavoured to give a more extended meaning to the term than is given by Paul, as well as to arrange the various varieties of this phenomenon on a systematic basis.

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9. Anagarika Dharmapal presided over the Section dealing with Buddhism, and he has furnished the following note :—

"It became clear to my mind the importance of the Buddhist Section in the Oriental Conference held in Calcutta, when I listened to the several papers read before the Section. A clear presentation of Buddhist views by competent scholars would be helpful in removing the errors that are commonly accepted by the intelligent people of India in as much as they are unable to distinguish the principles of the Middle Doctrine promulgated by the Blessed One, the Buddha, from the extreme ascetic views of Jainism. The remark was made that the Oriental Conference was not sufficiently advertised to bring a large number of people. The educational view of the Conference should be considered, and every effort should be made to arouse the interest of the people in the analysis of religious beliefs. The Executive Committee, I venture to suggest, should begin operations at least six months before the sessions begin and should write to scholars in distant countries to send in their theses to be read at the Conference. An Advisory Council may be established with members in different countries in Asia who shall be in communication with the Secretaries. The holding of Religious Conferences in India is not a new idea for we read in the Pali Suttas that such Conferences were held 2500 years ago. In the "*Life of Hwen Thsang*" an account of a Religious Conference held under the patronage of King Harṣa is given. We are told that a Religious Conference was held in the reign of Akbar. It is hoped that under the enlightened and tolerant rule of England, India will have annual Conferences in the future, and it was a joy to me that Buddhism after seven centuries of oblivion, had a place at the Conference. I venture to suggest that at the next Conference there should be papers on Oriental Christianity, Confucianism, Taoism, Shintoism and Judaism read by competent scholars, such religions having had their origin in Asia.

10. The Science Section, presided over by Rai Bahadur Jogesh Chandra Rai Vidyanidhi, is to be congratulated on the variety of topics discussed. One paper related to Mensuration; three to Astronomy; two to Mechanics or Engineering; and one each to Civil Engineering, Metallurgy of Iron, Surgery, Botany.

Some of the papers were very valuable. For instance apart from its antiquarian interest, street planning as carried on in ancient times in Indian environment is of practical value to us now when town

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planning is in demand. The paper on the metallurgy of iron showed the advanced state of the art of iron smelting and forging at the time of Kaniṣka.

It was, however, a matter for regret that the audience was very small, too small indeed for an All-India Conference of Oriental Scholars, for a seat of a large University which has Faculty of ancient Indian culture and civilisation, and for the metropolis of India. Some of the papers were no doubt highly technical, yet I was constrained to observe in the concluding portion of my address that scientific subjects have less attraction than literary ones. There was another factor. The Science Section met on the 5th and the last day of the Conference, when many scholars had left Calcutta.

11. The Arabic and Persian Section held its session on January 31st, between the hours of 10 a.m. and 1 p.m. The attendance was not as large as might have been expected, only some fifty members being present. The session was opened by an address from the President which was much appreciated. The President has furnished the following note :—

"Dr. Modi's paper was highly interesting but owing to the shortness of time allotted for each paper it was only possible for the author of this paper to read more than a small portion of it even with an extension of ten minutes, and this was only sufficient for Dr. Modi to give his audience a brief sketch of the subject. The paper will however be published and will be a valuable contribution to the subject of the influence of Eastern upon Western literature.

The title of Mr. M. A. Shustery's paper was perhaps misleading as nothing in it throws any new light upon the History of Sufiism properly so-called. Dr. Saha's paper, it was considered, hardly offered any satisfactory evidence of the proposition put forward by its author. Mr. Khuda Bakhsh's paper, on the *New World of Islam* was interesting, but suffered, in the same way as Dr. Modi's paper, from insufficient time to do justice to its subject. Mr. Hafiz Nazir Ahmad's paper was listened to with interested attention. The paper by Maulavi Abdul Latif raised a question of primary importance, and his criticisms of existing methods of teaching and the system of examinations in Arabic and Persian were just and trenchant. The paper deserved to elicit a discussion which was however denied to it for some unaccountable reason. Professor Tritton's paper on *Life in Yemen* was interesting and should be published."

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12. The President of the Ancient Geography Section, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-Law, has furnished the following note :—

"There were not many papers on Ancient Geography before the Conference but I was favourably impressed with the net result of the contributions contained in the seven papers read under my presidency. Mr. Surendra Nath Mazumdar Shastri, formerly Lecturer in Ancient Geography to the Calcutta University, showed that Hindu Geographers include what we call to-day *Further India*, in their limits of the *Bhārata-varṣa*. This was a paper on Hindu Geography proper. I hope, as I said in my presidential address, attention of scholars is more pointedly drawn to the examination of the method and scheme of Hindu Geographers. Dr. Majumdar of the Dacca University dealt with the identification of the mountain called the *Śuktimat* in the *Purāṇas*. He identified it with the Suleiman Range on philological and topographic grounds. The author was supported by Mr. Harita K. Deb who also had independently come to the same conclusion; Dr. Raychaudhuri, on the other hand, contested the conclusion on the authority of inscriptional evidence. In my opinion the philological equation is untenable; yet the proposed identification is not without value. It is a good working hypothesis; the point is not concluded. Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahani, and Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Superintendents, Archæological Survey, gave two notes on two localities mentioned in inscriptions. Mr. Dikshit established his identification conclusively and Mr. Sahani also seemed to be convincing. These papers were examples of devotion to working out details. Mr. Chakravarti of the Presidency College brought forward a piece of evidence proving that once—necessarily in pre-Buddhan times—Aṅga included Magadha by conquest. Mr. D. N. Sen, Principal, B.N. College, Patna, discussed the topography of ancient Rājagṛha with reference to Buddhist sites with a wealth of personal knowledge. One point in his paper stood out for its general importance. He showed from an ancient text Ajātaśatru, king of Magadha, really repaired and strengthened the 'New Rājagṛha,' he was not its builder as stated by Dr. Rhys Davids. This adds to our knowledge the fact that the new Rajgir of the Buddhist texts, the fort which is in ruins near the Inspection Bungalow at Rajgir, really belongs to a period before Ajātaśatru and the Buddha. Mr. Chakladar, Lecturer to the Calcutta University, discussed the colonization of Bengal in Vedic times. His thesis was

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assailed by the scholars of Bengal and a lively controversy followed. A young scholar read a paper on Ancient Bengal. The discussions were carried on in a very scholarly way and the desire of the members to reach truth and nothing but truth was most impressive. Scholars were very critical and tended rather on the side of scepticism than on the authority of the authors in accepting their theses."

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Part III. Conclusion.

1. At the next Conference it would be wise to insist on scholars submitting summaries a month at least beforehand, so that these can be printed and circulated. This procedure would add immensely to the interest taken in and value of discussions. The time allowed for papers should also be extended where necessary and it would be better to leave a discretion in the matter to the President of the Section and to leave it to him to arrange for extra sittings whenever necessary.

2. Since the Conference was held the following actions have been taken :—

i. According to Resolution No. 6 of the General Meeting of the Conference (*vide* p. cv) an application has been sent to the Federation of Inter-allied Societies for affiliation, through Prof. Sylvain Lévi.

ii. Mr. W. R. Gourlay was deputed to represent the Conference in the last sitting of the Federation of Inter-allied Societies.

iii. A Draft-constitution of the Conference has been drawn up according to Resolution No. 8 of the General Meeting of the Conference (*vide* p. cvi).

The work of seeing the proceedings through the Press has been supervised by Babu Tarak Chandra Das, M.A., and the Committee are greatly indebted to him for his devotion to this duty.

3. The Secretaries and the Assistant Secretaries desire to record their gratitude to all the members for the courtesy shown to them. The readiness of the members to overlook all deficiencies, and to co-operate in making the Conference a success, made their duties very light, and they will always look back with feelings of pleasure to the work they did together for the Second Oriental Conference.

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Programme.

Presidents of Sections.

Vedic	Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.
Iranian Language and Literature	Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. J. J. Modi, B A., Ph.D., C.I.E.
Ethnology and Folk-lore ..	Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthkrishna Iyer, B.A., L.T., F.R.A.I.
Sanskrit and Prakrit Literature	Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, M.A., F.A.S.B., C.I.E.
Archaeology	Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.
Political History and Chronology	Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, M.A.
Social and Religious History ..	Dr. R. Shamasastry, B.A., Ph.D.
Philosophy and Religion ..	Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A.
Philology	Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D.
Buddhism	The Anagārika Dharmapal.
Sciences	Rai Bahadur Jogesh Chandra Rai, Vidyanidhi, M.A.
Persian and Arabic ..	Lieut.-Colonel G. S. Ranking, M.A., M.D.
Ancient Geography ..	Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., *Bar.-at-Law.*

Senate House, College Square.

Saturday, January 28th.

11 a.m. to 1 p.m.—Opening Address by His Excellency the Patron.

Welcome Address by the President of the Reception Committee.

Election of the President of the Conference.

Presentation of the Report of the First Oriental Conference.

Presidential Address.

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3 p.m. to 5 p.m.—Visit to the Nahar Collections of Oriental Art (Kumer Sing Hall, 46, Indian Mirror Street).

5-30 p.m. to 7-30 p.m.—Visit to the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat (243-1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta).

Sunday, January 29th.

10 a.m. to 1 p.m.—

(1) Vedic Section.

(2) Iranian Section.

10 a.m. to 1 p.m.—Archaeology Section.

10 a.m. to 1 p.m.—Ethnology and Folk-lore Section.

10 a.m. to 1 p.m.—Sanskrit and Prakrit Literature Section.

2-30 p.m. to 5 p.m.—Steamer trip from Chandpal Ghat. The steamer, "Buckland," starts from Chandpal Ghat, arrives at Royal Botanical Gardens at 3-30 p.m.

3-30 p.m. to 4-30 p.m.—Halt at Botanical Garden. Returns 4-30 p.m.; arrival at Chandpal Ghat at 5 p.m. Tea on board the steamer.

Monday, January 30th.

10 a.m. to 1 p.m.—Archaeology Section.

10 a.m. to 1 p.m.—Political History and Chronology Section.

10 a.m. to 1 p.m.—Social and Religious History Section.

10 a.m. to 1 p.m.—Philosophy and Religion Section.

2-30 p.m. to 7-30 p.m.—Visit to the Exhibition of the Indian Society of Oriental Art (Samavāya Buildings, 6, Hogg Street).

2-30 p.m. to 4-30 p.m.—Visit to the Indian Museum.

9-30 p.m.—His Excellency the Governor's Evening Party (Government House).

Tuesday, January 31st.

10 a.m. to 1 p.m.—Philology Section.

10 a.m. to 1 p.m.—Buddhist Section.

10 a.m. to 1 p.m.—Arabic and Persian Section.

10 a.m. to 1 p.m.—Ancient Geography Section.

2-30 p.m. to 4 p.m.—Visit to the Victoria Memorial Hall.

4-30 p.m.—Tea. (Place—Calcutta University Institute Hall, Top Floor).

5-15 p.m. to 7-45 p.m.—Indian Musical Entertainments. (University Institute Hall, Ground Floor).

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8 p.m. to 9 p.m.—Sanskrit Drama—*Mṛcchakaṭika* by the Sanskrit Mahāmaṇḍala.

Wednesday, February 1st.

10 a.m. to 1 p.m.—Political History and Chronology Section.

10 a.m. to 1 p.m.—

(1) Social and Religious History Section.

(2) Ethnology and Folk-lore Section.

10 a.m. to 1 p.m.—Science Section.

10 a.m. to 2 p.m.—Archaeology Section.

3 p.m. to 5 p.m.—General Meeting.

5-30 p.m. to 6-30 p.m.—Lantern Lecture on the *Ancient Cave Temples of India*, by B. C. Bhattacharya, Esq., M.A. (Place —Senate House, Calcutta).

6-30 p.m. to 7-30 p.m.—Lantern Lecture on *Child Training on Ancient Lines*, by Prof. R. K. Kulkarni. (Place—Senate House, Western Hall).

9-15 p.m.—Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1, Park Street).

Vedic Section.

President:—Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.

1. Literary Strata in the Ṛgveda. By S. K. Belvalkar.
2. Chronology and Aryanism with special reference to Vedic Origins, Racial and Cultural. By H. Bruce Hannah.
3. Vyuṣṭi or the Vedic New Year's Day. By R. Shamasastry.
4. Mitra Mithra. By S. K. Hodivala.
5. The Dialogue between Yama and Yami in the Ṛgveda compared with Mashya and Mashyani in the Bruddehish. By A. K. Vesavala.
6. The Adhvaryu's Duties: Prescription and Practice. By V. P. Ramachandra Charlu.
7. Errors and Imperfections of Sāyaṇa as a Bhāṣyakāra. By S. V. Venkatesvara Ayer.
8. Vedic Mantras as explained by Durgadas Lahiri. By Pramathanath Sanyal.
9. The word Ahura in Sanskrit and the home of the Gobhilas. By I. J. S. Taraporewala.

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Section of Iranian Language and Literature.

President:—Dr. J. J. Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

1. Three Passages from the Yasna. By I. J. S. Taraporewala.
2. The Doctrine of Karma from the Zoroastrian point of view. By J. J. Modi.
3. Alexander the Great and the devastation of the ancient literature of the Parsis. By J. J. Modi.
4. The Amesha Spentas. By I. J. S. Taraporewala.
5. A Note on some Foreigners who stealthily saw the Parsi Tower of Silence from within. By R. N. Munshi.
6. The Persian Rivāyats of the Parsis and the Smṛtis of the Hindus and the Talmud of the Hebrews. By J. J. Modi.
7. Caste System in the Avesta. By B. K. Chatterjee.

Section of Ethnology and Folk-lore.

President:—Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthkrishna Iyer, B.A., L.T., F.R A.I.

1. The Home of Ancient Hindus and their Policy of Racial Fusion. By R. Shamasastry.
2. On some vestiges of the custom of offering Human sacrifices to the Waterspirits. By Saratchandra Mitra.
3. Sun-worship in Eastern India. By Tarakchandra Das.
4. The Suvacani-vrata: One of the female folk-rites prevalent in Bengal. By Prabodh Chandra Bagchi.
5. Indian Cultural and Racial Origins. By Panchanan Mitra.
6. Divorce. By S. S. Mehta.
7. Pre-Vedic Civilisation and the Influence of the Vedic Civilisation thereon. By S. V. Ketkar.
8. The Astronomy of the Mundas and their associated Star Myths. By Manindra Bhusan Bhaduri.
9. Gipsies and the spread of Indian Culture. By Bhoodeb Mookerjee.
10. The Origin and Folk-lore of Maṅgalcaṇḍī. By Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte.
11. Importance of and Necessity for the Study of Anthropology in India. By L. K. Ananthkrishna Iyer.
12. Some Bull and Boar Fights from India. By Kshitischandra Sarkar.

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13. Disa-Pothi or the Book of Anniversaries of Deaths. By J. J. Modi.
14. The Prehistoric Home of Man. By Binodbehari Roy.
15. The Autonomy and Expansion of Village Pañcāyet. By R. K. Mukherji.
16. On Two New Types of Accumulation Droll. By Saratchandra Mitra.
17. The Cult of Magadheswari in Chittagong. By Rajendrakumar Bhattacharya.

Section of Sanskrit and Prakrit Literature.

President :—MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PROFESSOR HARAPRASAD SASTRI, M.A., F.A.S.B., C.I.E.

1. Kalidasa and Hinduism. By C. Venkataramanayar.
2. Medhatithi as revealed in his Manubhāṣya. By Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganath Jha.
3. The Sanskrit Language and Literature. By Satyendriya Chowdhury.
4. The Date of Mṛcchakaṭika from Astrological Data. By Jyotish Chandra Ghatak.
5. Avantisundarīkathā of Dandin. By M. Ramakrishna Kavi.
6. Māgha on the Bhinna-ṣaḍja. By V. V. Sovani.
7. Kālidāsa. By Khirod Bihari Chatterjee.
8. Aesthetic Function in Sanskrit Literature. By Shrinivasa Rao.
9. Vasubandhu or Subandhu. By Rangaswami Sarasvati.
10. The Chronological order of Kālidāsa's Works. By R. D. Karmarkar.
11. A Note on the Jaina Classical Sanskrit Literature. By P. C. Nahar.
12. The World-poet Kālidās was a Bengali. By Manmatha Nath Bhattacharyya.
13. Sidelights from the Dhammapada on the Origin and Growth of Poetry in Indian Literature. By B. M. Barua.
14. A note on the Popular Element of the Classical Sanskrit Drama By Sivaprasad Kavyatirtha.
15. The Story of Ṛṣi Aṇī-Māṇḍavya. By N. B. Utgikar.
16. The Long lost Sanskrit Vidyāsundar. By Sailendranath Mitra.

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17. A Forgotten Family of Royal Poets in East Bengal. By Dineschandra Bhattacharyya.

Section of Archaeology.

President:—Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.

1. Pre-historic Paintings of Singhanpur and Mirzapur and other Researches. By Monoranjan Ghosh.
2. Art of Writing in Ancient India. By Abinash Chandra Das.
3. The General Development of Hindu Iconology. By S. V. Venkatesvara Ayer.
4. A Voussoir from Pāṭaliputra. By K. P. Jayaswal.
5. Dravidian and Aryan Elements in Indian Art. By Sir John Marshall.
6. Indian Columns. By P. K. Acharya.
7. Palaeographic Tests and the Date of Khāravela. By Ramaprasad Chanda.
8. Evolution of Vajrapāṇi. By N. G. Majumdar.
9. The Benares School of Sculpture. By Brindavan Chandra Bhattacharyya.
10. The Mitra Coins of Magadha. By S. V. Venkatesvara Ayer.
11. Nālandā Copperplate grant of Devapāla. By Hirananda Sastri.
12. Texts on Ancient Indian Painting. By Rangaswami Saraswati.
13. The Land system in accordance with Epigraphic Records. By K. M. Gupta.
14. Daudig Copperplate Inscription of Kasasati, Śakābda 1725. By K. M. Gupta.
15. Some old Mārāṭhā Gold Coins. By R. Srinivasa Raghava Ayengar.
16. Aśoka's Dhammalipis. By Harit Krishna Dev.
17. Archaeology and Ancient History. By A. Ghose.
18. Identification of a Bharhut Bas-relief. By N. G. Majumdar.
19. Samoli Inscripts of Gohila Silāditya. By Ram Karan.
20. Identification of Avalokiteśvara Images. By Benayatosh Bhattacharya.
21. Kedarpur Copperplate of Śrīcandra. By Haridas Mitra.
22. Origin of Alphabet. By R. N. Saha.

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23. Harvan Excavations. By Ramchandra Kak.
24. A Few Notes on Kashmir from an Antiquarian Point of View. By J. J. Modi.

Section of Political History and Chronology.

President :—Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, M.A.

1. Sources of Indian History from Telegu Literature. By Vanguri Subba Row.
2. Connection of Malloi (of Alexander) and Mallani of Marwar. By Bisheshvar Nath Reu.
3. Ancient Goa. By A. D. Braganza Pereira.
4. The Order of Succession of the Later Imperial Guptas. By Hemchandra Raychaudhury.
5. On the Identification of Meru uprooted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indra III. By Surendra Nath Majumdar Sastri.
6. The Epithet of Samudragupta (*Cirotsannāśvamedhahartā*). By D. B. Dishkalkar.
7. The First Year of Toramāna's Rule in Central India. By D. B. Dishkalkar.
8. The Brāhman Kingdom of the Deccan. By T. N. Subramanium.
9. Determination of the Epoch of the Parganait Era. By N. K. Bhattasali.
10. Aryan Colonisation of Eastern India. By Haranchandra Chakladar.
11. Śaka-Pahlava Dynasties of Northern India. By Harit Krishna Deb.
12. A Glimpse into the Pallava History. By R. Gopalan.
13. Origins of some South Indian Dynasties. By Rangaswami Sarasvati.
14. The Ethics of Cālukya Vikramāditya VI's accession and vindication of his character. By A. Venkataramayya.
15. Historical Basis and Model for Kālidāsa's description of Raghu's Conquest. By R. G. Basak.
16. The Origin of the Sena Kings. By R. C. Majumdar.
17. The Western Gaṅgas of Talkāḍ. By R. Narasimhachar.
18. The Chronology of the Maukharīs. By K. N. Dikshit.
19. Glimpses of the Mauryan Invasions in Tamil Literature. By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

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20. The Place of Videha in Ancient and Mediaeval India. By Kumar Ganganand Sinha.
21. A Note on the Kushana Kings. By Dayaram Sahni.
22. The Jats of Hariana (Hissar, Rohtak and Karnul). By K R. Qanungo.
23. The use of Cycles of Recurrence in Chronological Investigation. By L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai.

Section of Social and Religious History.

President :—Dr. R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A., Ph.D.

1. The Tantravārtika and the Dharmaśāstra Literature. By P. V. Kane.
2. On the Interpretation of a passage of Manusaṃhitā. By Surendra Nath Majumdar.
3. A Dissertation on the Earliest Stratum in the Development of the Jaina Canonical Literature. By Prabodh Chandra Bagchi.
4. Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Industrial Life. By S. V. Vishwanath.
5. Famine Relief in Ancient India. By S. V. Vishwanath.
6. Position of Brāhmaṇa in Kauṭilya. - By Hemchandra Ray.
7. Economic Culture as depicted in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa. By J. N. Samaddar.
8. Elements of State Socialism in Kauṭilya. By Hemchandra Ray.
9 An Interesting Folk Movement and the light it throws on Indian Culture. By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.
10. The Evolution of Marriage Ritual in Ancient India. By Nareschandra Sen Gupta.
11. Governmental Ideals of Ancient India. By Narayan Chandra Banerjee.
12. Marriage Laws and Regulations under the Peshwas. By Surendra Nath Sen.
13. Machiavellism in Ancient Indian Polity. By Pramatha Nath Banerjee.
14. The Spiritual Culture of the Hindus and the Interpretation of their Civilisation. By Narendra Nath Law.
15. Some Glimpses of Ancient Tamil Polity, Ideal and Real. By C. S. Srinivasachari.

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16. Vaiṣṇavism in Kāmrupa. By Sarat Chandra Goswami.
17. Manners and Customs of the Licchavis. By Bimalacharan Law.
18. Female Education in Ancient India. By Bhababibhuti Vidyabhusan.
19. Patria Potestas in Ancient India. By Nirmalchandra Chatterjee.
20. Kauṭilya's Place in the History of Hindu Political Theory. By Upendranath Ghosal.
21. The Armed Ascetics of Ancient India. By J. N. Farquhar.

Section of Philosophy and Religion.

President :—Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A.

1. Prābhākara School of Karma Mīmāṃsā. By S. Kuppuswami Sastri.
2. The Traditional Author of the Vedānta Sūtras—Bādarāyana or Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana. By V. V. Mirashi.
3. The Bhaktisūtras of Nārada and the Bhagavadgītā. By P. K. Gode.
4. Theory of Interpolations in the Bhagavadgītā as held by Prof. R. Garbe and other Western Scholars. By S. C. Roy.
5. Religion and Belief in the Arthaśāstra. By Narayan Chandra Banerjee.
6. Nyāya of Bhāsarvajña. By Visvanath P. Vaidya.
7. Theory of Knowledge from Indian Śāstras. By Srinivas Rao.
8. Gauḍapādakārikā on the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad. By Vidhusekhar Sastri.
9. On Viśiṣṭādvaita Philosophy. By Swami Virupaksha Wodeyer.
10. Two old Vedantins. By M. Hiriyanna.
11. The Psychological Basis of Hindu Ethics. By Sushil Kumar Maitra.
12. The Ethics of the Upaniṣads. By M. Hiriyanna.
13. Rādha is the centre of World-religion. By M. N. Bhattacharyya.

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14. The Bhakti Doctrine in the Śāṇḍilya Sūtra. By B. M. Barua.
15. The Date of the Purvamīmāṃsā Sūtra By Abhaykumar Guha.
16. Philosophy of the Bhagavadgītā. By N. S. Anantakrishna Sastri.

Section of Philology.

President:—Dr. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B.A., Ph.D.

1. The Influence of Bengali on the Mon-language of Indo-Burma. By Shew Zan Aung.
2. The South Indian Stem of the Indo-Germanic Group. By T. Rajagopala Rao.
3. A note on the guttural (Kh) sound of the cerebral sibilant (ṣ). By N. B. Divatia.
4. On some unexplained forms in Sanskrit. By Amrita Row.
5. The loss of Vowel Alternation in Indo-Aryan. By R. L. Turner.
6. A note on Sanskrit Compounds. By I. J. S. Taraporewala.
7. The Etymologies of kubha, lagh, gevaya, etc., in the Inscriptions of Aśoka. By Md. Shahidullah.
8. Analogical changes in the Noun Declension in the successive changes of the Aryan Language. By Md. Shahidullah.
9. Contamination in Language. By I. J. S. Taraporewala.
10. The Kol Language. By Saileswar Sen.
11. Some Sinhalese words traced. By Charandas Chatterjee.

Buddhist Section.

President:—The ANAGĀRIKA DHARMAPAL, Esq.

1. Pali Nirutthi. By Kodaguda Upasena Thero.
2. Religion of Aśoka. By Manoranjan Ghosh.
3. The Historical Study of the Terms 'Mahāyāna' and 'Hinayāna.' By R. Kimura.
4. Traces of Cānakyanīti in Tibetan Vinaya. By Johan Van Manen.
5. Historical Significance of the terms Hinayāna and Mahāyāna. By B. M. Barua.
6. The internal forces in the Spread of Buddhism. By Nalinaksa Dutt.

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7. The Maṅgalasutta and the Rock Edicts of Aśoka. By Sailendranath Mitra.
8. Jātaka Stories in the Daśakumārcarita. By Nilmani Chakravarty.

Science Section.

President :—Rai Bahadur Jogeschandra Rai, M.A., Vidyanidhi.

1. Streets and their Planning in Ancient India. By Binodbihari Datta.
2. Aviation in Ancient India. By Umacharan Banerjee.
3. The Astronomical Consideration of the Jātaka of Rama. By Ram Chandra Charlu.
4. The Irrigation Works in Northern India in Ancient Times. By D. B. Dishkalkar.
5. On the different Śulba Sūtras By N K. Majumdar.
6. On Laghu-mānasam of Muñjala. By N. K. Majumdar.
7. Precession in Hindu Astronomy. By Paresprasad Majumdar.
8. Hindu Almanac Reform. By Satkari Chatterjee.
9. A flying story in the Pali Commentary. By B. M. Barua.
10. Difficult Labour and its Treatment according to the ancient Hindu Physicians. By Ekendra Nath Ghosh.

Arabic and Persian Section.

President :—Lieut.-Col. G. S. Ranking, M.A., M.D.

1. History of Sufism. By Md. Abbas Shusteri.
2. The Influence of the Persian Poet Hāfiz on German Poet Goethe. By J. J. Modi.
3. Discovery of America by the Arabs from the evidences of Koran. By R. N. Saha.
4. The New World of Islam. By S. Khuda Buksh.
5. Criticism on the teaching of Arabic and Persian in Indian Universities. By A. M. M. Latif.
6. Yemen in the 17th Century. By A. S. Tritton.
7. Humayun and the Rajput princes. By K. R. Qanungo.
8. Note on the Library of A. Rahim Khan Khanan, the First Prime Minister of the Emperor Akbar. By Hafiz Nazir Ahmad.

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Ancient Geography Section.

President :—K. P. JAYASWAL, Esq., M.A., *Bar.-at-Law.*

1. Rajagṛha in the Buddhist Scriptures. By D. N. Sen.
2. The Localities mentioned in the Vallabhi plates. By D. B. Dishkalkar.
3. Some notes on the Ancient Geography of India. By Surendra Nath Mazumdar, Sastri.
4. Geography of Ancient Bengal. By Anubhuti Bhattacharya.
5. The Identity of Śuktiman Mountain. By R. C. Majumdar.
6. On the localities mentioned in the Bhandaka plates of Kṛṣṇarāja I. By K. N. Dikshit.
7. Political Divisions of India long before the Rise of Buddhism. By Nilmani Chakravarti.

General Meeting—Topics for discussion.

1. "Sanskritic Studies." By Rai Bahadur Lalitmohan Chatterjee.
2. "On a Uniform Braille System for Indian Vernaculars by Prof. P. M. Advani." By I. J. S. Taraporewala.
3. "A scheme for a simplified phonetic script for Bengali by a Committee consisting of Sir G. A. Grierson and others." By Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala.
4. "A proposal to open a numismatic section in the next Conference." By K. N. Diksit.

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Photo by Messrs. Johnston and Hoffmann.]

His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay.

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Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference.

THE Second Oriental Conference met at the Senate House in College Square, Calcutta, on Saturday the 28th January at 11 a.m. There was an attendance of between 400 and 500 delegates, members of the Reception Committee and friends.

The President, Professor Sylvain Lévi, arrived at 10-45 a.m., and was received by the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee (Chairman of the Reception Committee), by the Conveners of the different Sub-Committees, and by the Secretaries. His Excellency the Governor, the Patron of the Conference, arrived ten minutes later, and was conducted by the President and the Chairman of the Reception Committee to the platform. Many distinguished individuals supported the President on the platform, including the Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi, K.C.I.E., of Cassimbazar; Mr. P. J. Hartog, C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca, and Raya Yatindra Nath Chaudhuri.

His Excellency the Earl of Ronaldshay, the Patron of the Conference, in opening the Second Oriental Conference said :—

"SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It gives me the greatest possible satisfaction to welcome to Calcutta so large a gathering of distinguished Orientalists. I have looked through the programme of the subjects upon which papers will be read during the next few days; and I can well understand the keenness of appetite, if I may apply to the intellect a metaphor culled from the things of the flesh, with which you are about to take your seats at the feast which has been prepared for you. For the alluring prospect which lies before you, you are indebted to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and those associated with him; and great, if I may say so, is your debt. In particular I should like to mention the splendid work done for this Conference by the Joint Secretaries, Mr. Gourlay, Dr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda, and the Chairmen of the different Sub-Committees, Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, Messrs. A. H. Harley, Saratkumar Roy, P. N. Tagore, Satischandra Ghosh, and Registrar of the University, Mr. Jnanchandra Ghosh.

It is perhaps not inappropriate that in opening the Conference

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I should ask a question which at first sight may appear to some of you superfluous or even foolish, namely, what is the object with which such Conferences as these are held. The immediate object is doubtless clear enough; it is to trace the threads which in the past have gone to the making of the splendid and variegated tapestry of Indian civilisation. Much in the detail of the pattern of the tapestry has been obliterated by the hand of time; and the immediate and conscious task of those who take part in the proceedings of these Conferences is to make known the extent to which progress has been made in rescuing such details from oblivion. Look at the titles of the various papers and you can see at once that they are the work of men who have dived deep into the past and who are laying before us to-day the results of their researches. Very well, then, we have a number of scholars each working in his own particular department to bring before us of the present day the modes of thought, the beliefs, the hopes and the fears, and finally the achievements of the men of a past age. So that when we have brought together at a Conference such as this the results of their several labours we are able to see with increasing clearness as the work of research proceeds the general nature of the pattern of which the tapestry of Indian civilisation consists. Yes; but to what end? Is the object of such research nothing more than the intellectual satisfaction of the individual scholar? Or again, is this fascinating though difficult task of reconstructing the past, being undertaken simply to gratify the national vanity of a people by recalling to them the greatness of that which they have inherited from their ancestors? Surely not. The ultimate object which consciously or unconsciously those who attend these Conferences are pursuing, is something more than that. The ultimate object, surely, is the speeding of the corporate mind of India along the path of its natural development so that it may contribute its special share to the shaping of the destiny of the human race.

The intellectual life of a people seldom proceeds with undisturbed uniformity. It has its periods of activity and of stagnation. Who can doubt that India has again started on one of its periods of activity? Here in Bengal there are ample indications of a fresh stirring in the world of thought. You will find them in the proceedings of the Post-Graduate work of the Calcutta University; in the operations of the Varendra Research Society—a purely non-official body in Northern Bengal; in the modern school of Indian painting inspired by the genius of Abanindra and Gaganendra Nath Tagore; or again in the achievements of the Bose Institute whose founder and director, Sir Jagadish Bose, has combined with such success the analytical methods of the West with the imaginative insight of the East. And finally, you will find it in the systematised effort to reconstruct a comprehensive picture of all that the mind of India has stood for in the past of which this Conference is an illustration, and in which it is easy to perceive an instructive

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process of preparation for a fresh advance The ground won by past generations is being consolidated to provide a sure foundation for the next step forward.

I am well aware of the danger of generalising; but if I now asked what seemed to me to be the distinctive characteristics of the thought of Europe and of India respectively, I should certainly reply, a tendency to direct and analyse phenomena in the one case and to look behind phenomena in the other; or to express myself somewhat differently, I should describe the outstanding feature of Western thought to be its achievements along the pathway of natural science, while I should on the contrary, describe the outstanding feature of Indian thought to be the success with which it has resisted the natural tendency of mankind to accept the phenomenal universe at its face-value. As an observer from the West, I have found this idealism in its art and literature alike, particularly in its philosophic speculations. It is the substance behind the shadow, the reality behind the appearance that the mind of India is ceaselessly striving to grasp.

We may then ask ourselves if this fact—namely, that the mind of one great section of the human race is working along one particular channel and the mind of another great section is following another channel—has any particular significance for us? I think it has. It will not be disputed, I suppose, that the ultimate goal towards which humanity is struggling, is truth. Nor will it be disputed that the stronghold of absolute truth will not fall to anything but strenuous and dogged attack. Very well then, it is obvious that there are great advantages in attacking from different directions; or to change the metaphor slightly, in pushing our advance towards the goal by different methods. One of the great advantages is that the conclusions reached by one act as a check upon those reached by the other. If the conclusions reached by both methods agree, our confidence in the correctness of the conclusions is immensely strengthened. May I try to give you an example? I take a case in which it seems to me that the conclusions arrived at along the road of Indian metaphysics are being confirmed by the discoveries made in Europe in the domain of physics. There are many Vedantins, who in agreement with Śaṅkara, hold the view that the universe as we perceive it cannot be said to possess the quality either of "being" or of "non-being." Those holding this view would I think apply to the universe as we perceive it, the much debated Sanskrit term "*māyā*." Here I must pause for a moment to ask what exactly is meant when it is said of anything that it does not possess the quality either of "being" or of "non-being"? The late Professor Benoyendra Nath Sen has pointed out that the characteristic of all knowledge of the universe is that it rests upon the super-imposition of a concept upon the object which attempts but is unable to express its true being. Hence it becomes necessary to change the concept the moment it seems that a truer realization of the object has been attained; but this

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again has to be given up like the first and thus the process of super-imposition after super-imposition goes on because the true "being" of the object is never reached. If now we consider the nature of manifested things the meaning of this becomes clear. Let us ask ourselves, for example, if the name or form under which a thing presents itself to us is rigid and constant? The material objects which we see around us, such for example, as this building or this chair, present themselves to us in the form of solid and inert mass and under names appropriate to objects so constituted. And prior to certain recent discoveries in physical science, we should have been justified in saying of these names and forms that they possessed the quality of "being," that is, the assumption that they corresponded to the objects with which they were associated, was valid. Recent progress in physical science has shown, however, that the smallest particle of the so-called solid matter is a universe of infinitely minute entities in violent motion and we now see, therefore, that the name and form which previously possessed for us the quality of "being," that is to say validity, no longer do so and in the light of present knowledge would have to be characterized as "non-being" that is, invalid. And when we begin to think about it, we perceive that what we are in the habit of regarding as absolutely true is, in reality, only relatively true. Take as an example, our bodily sensations. We label them with names such as heat and cold. Have these names any real validity? Is cold anything more than an absence of heat? And where precisely is the dividing line between the two? Can we mark any particular point on a thermometer at which we can say that heat exists, that is to say, can be characterized as "being" or ceases to exist, that is, must be described as "non-being"? And would the denizen of the polar regions be in agreement with the inhabitant of Bengal on the point?

Even in those regions of knowledge in which until quite recently we were wont to think that we had laid hold of truths which were absolute, we are now learning that the foundations on which we had built up vast and elaborate structures under the belief that they were of immovable rock are in reality nothing but shifting sand. Professor Einstein has, I believe, convinced a large and important section of the scientific world that laws hitherto regarded as absolute, such as Newton's Law of Gravitation and the Laws of Geometry formulated by Euclid, are in fact, only relatively true. And it certainly seems to me that from the point of view from which I have been looking at the matter the conclusions as to the nature of things arrived at by Professor Einstein and his fellow-workers in the domain of physics bear a remarkable resemblance to those arrived at by the sages of India in the domain of metaphysics.

From the mechanical I could pass on to the moral sphere and ask if it is possible to lay down any absolute line between good and evil. But to do so would lead me into a discussion of

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Ashutosh Mookerjee 1922

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unconscionable length and I have already taken much time in my endeavour to illustrate my main contention, namely, that the modes of thought of East and of West are complementary to one another and that it is of the utmost advantage to mankind that each should develop on its own characteristic lines. If I have succeeded in making this my belief clear to you, it is hardly necessary for me to add that when I say that I wish this Conference and those which will undoubtedly succeed it all possible success, I am giving expression to something more than the conventional phrases which etiquette demands of the person who happens to occupy the honorary position of Patron of the Conference. I am giving expression to a very real and deeply felt hope that this Conference will facilitate that further advance along the characteristic lines of Indian thought for which, I believe, the times are ripe. And it is in the confident belief that it is this same hope and determination that will serve as a beacon light to guide and inspire you in all your labours, that I now declare this Conference open."

The Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates and spoke as follows:—

"YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I rise to discharge the pleasant duty assigned to me as Chairman of the Reception Committee, and to extend a cordial welcome to this distinguished gathering of oriental scholars and patrons and promoters of oriental studies. More than two years ago when, as the spokesman of the Teachers of this University who constitute the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, I was privileged to invite the Oriental Conference, then assembled in the historic city dear to patriotic Mahrattas, to meet on the next occasion in the capital of Bengal, I did so not altogether without hesitation and misgiving. But we felt assured of the inspiring sympathy of Your Excellency as our Chancellor as also of the invaluable co-operation of Mr. Gourlay who has himself long been an assiduous and a discerning student of Indian history. The invitation thus sent out from our University was, I venture to think, eminently befitting, and was warmly accepted. This University has been the first, in academic circles, to recognise the supreme value of oriental studies, by the foundation of a Chair in Ancient Indian History and Culture, by the establishment of a new department for advanced instruction and research in that fascinating domain, and by the institution of a special degree for the encouragement of meritorious students. I trust you will thus not deem it unbecoming on my part when you find me ready to emphasise the importance, and if need be, to defend the cause of the studies which have been pursued by many of you with lifelong devotion.

Let me frankly acknowledge at the outset our never-failing gratitude to our European friends who have undeniably taken

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the lead in the field of Indology. They have had the advantage of approaching problems in an attitude of detachment, though this very circumstance may have, in some instances, operated as a drawback, rendering it impossible for them to appreciate the full significance of traditional teachings; yet it cannot be disputed that the progress which has been hitherto achieved in various branches of the subject has been, in a substantial measure, due to their persistent efforts. The bright example set by them has not been lost upon Indian scholars, who have come forward, in steadily increasing numbers, to undertake investigations of a high order in every department of Indo-Aryan research. The result has been a growing recognition in recent years of the benefits likely to follow from scholarly co-operation between India and the West. It cannot but be a matter of regret, however, that the chief impediment in our way is the remarkable lack of unity, in this country, even in the limited circle of votaries of the subject of Ancient Indian History and Culture. I hope you will bear with me indulgently, if I avail myself of this occasion to take a rapid survey of what has been achieved in recent years and thereby to indicate in the briefest outline the magnitude, the variety, the complexity of what still remains to be explored. This alone can make us realise the imperative need for constant mutual co-operation amongst our scholars, such as can be most effectively secured by regular periodical conferences, held from time to time in the chief centres of intellectual activity.

Let me place, in the very forefront of our long catalogue of works urgently needed, of tasks not yet undertaken, a systematic and comprehensive survey of Ancient Indian History and Culture in its manifold aspects. Far be it from me to minimise the utility of the well known volume on the *Early History of India* by the late Dr. Vincent Smith, for though its short compass made it impossible for the author to do full justice to all the topics, yet in it as a whole we have the first attempt at a systematic political history of both Northern and Southern India. What is equally to its credit is the fact that it is a successful protest against the theory that the history of ancient India deserves no more than an introductory chapter in a college text-book, based on fact and fiction woven into an attractive texture. My aspiration, however, will not be satisfied till we are able to produce a treatise on Ancient Indian History and Culture, of the type of the encyclopædic surveys of modern and mediæval history prepared under the auspices of the University of Cambridge. For such a gigantic task, we require a continuous series of monographs, composed by a band of specialists and welded together into a homogeneous whole under the inspiring guidance of scholars with an appreciative vision of our past civilisation. I recall with pride that the pioneer in this field was our first president Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, whose *Early History of the Deccan* is the first critical account ever written of any province of India. With that striking work

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may be coupled the *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* by John Faithful Fleet and the *History of Gujarat* by Bhagwanlal Indraji. It is high time, however, that we should now make an organised attempt, on an extensive scale, to review the history of Ancient India, from century to century, from province to province, from movement to movement, so that we may be able to understand how the genius of the Indian people manifested itself in diverse regions of activity, intellectual and spiritual, political and social, how Indian Culture developed through the ages gone by, and wherein lies the keynote of our civilisation.

Let me emphasise in this connection the study of the Geography of Ancient India, and its influence on her history and development. It is to Sir Alexander Cunningham, the originator of the Archæological Survey, that we owe the first Geography of Ancient India. Though now largely out of date, it has not yet been surpassed, much less superseded, by any other treatise composed by an individual scholar, notwithstanding that important investigations have been carried on by the late Mr. Anandoram Barooah and Mr. Nundolal Dey. The former collected valuable materials in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* and the latter in his *Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval Geography of India* which is now passing through its second edition in the *Indian Antiquary*. But a systematic work describing the gradual development of our knowledge of Indian Geography, specially in successive historical periods, is still a desideratum, and I hope the day is not far distant when an enterprising Indian scholar will attempt to describe the geography of ancient India, from the point of view not only of the geographer but also of the historian.

It is a truism to assert that the reconstruction of Ancient Indian History must be based on a study and investigation of Indian Archæology, which was established on a regular scientific footing when Lord Curzon reorganised the Archæological Department two decades ago. Whatever differences of opinion may prevail as to his other administrative activities, the beneficent results of his endeavour to widen the sphere of archæological research and to secure the preservation of ancient monuments, will be remembered with gratitude by generations yet unborn. But even before his time, commendable progress had been made in the same direction, chiefly through the efforts of scholars in Germany, France, England and America, while the achievements of some Indian scholars in the same field were of a highly creditable nature. To mention only a few, the pioneers in the difficult task of decipherment of ancient Indian inscriptions were Prinsep, Cunningham, Burnouf, Wilson, and Kern in Europe, and Bhau Daji and Rajendralala Mitra in this country. Amongst their successors, stand pre-eminent George Bühler, Frank Kielhorn, John Faithful Fleet, Dr. Hultzsch, Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, Bhagwanlal Indraji and Emilè Senart. There is not a branch of Indology in which Bühler was not an expert. The subject of Indian Epigraphy and Palæography

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received a great impetus at his hands. His critical edition of the inscriptions of Aśoka is a lasting monument of his wonderful patience, while his masterly work on Indian Palæography, which has been made easily accessible in the English version by Dr. Fleet, contains the first systematic treatment of the origin, growth and development of the Indian alphabets. The memory of Kielhorn is still cherished in the Western Presidency as the Superintendent of Sanskrit studies in the Deccan College at Poona; but though his literary activities commenced as early as 1868, two years after his arrival in this country, his attention was attracted to our ancient inscriptions only after he had left India in 1881. The volumes of the *Indian Antiquary* between the years 1888 and 1896 contain in surprising abundance a formidable array of papers on Indian inscriptions contributed by him All his writings are characterised by thoroughness and accuracy, and students of epigraphy will for ever remain grateful to him for his two lists of Northern and Southern Indian inscriptions published in the fifth and seventh volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica*. Dr. Fleet and Dr. Hultzsch have, on the other hand, accomplished work of abiding value in the field of South Indian epigraphy. Dr. Fleet has further given us his Corpus of Gupta Inscriptions discovered up to the year 1888, while Dr. Hultzsch has undertaken to re-edit the inscriptions of Aśoka and thereby to modernise Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, which has already been rendered obsolete by lapse of time and progress of knowledge. Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar and Bhagwanlal Indraji have both contributed papers of great value, which have secured for them an honourable place in the Temple of Fame. The former was the first to edit the famous Nasik Cave inscriptions in the *Transactions of the London Congress of Orientalists*, while the latter has to his credit the edition of the inscriptions on the Mathura Lion Capital, now in the British Museum, and the inscriptions from Nepal. Prof. Sènart's epoch-making work, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, revealed to me an enchanting territory when I first acquainted myself with its contents which have justly made his name immortal. Of the numerous younger scholars, both Indian and European, who have made their mark in Epigraphy, we cannot forget Dr. Theodore Bloch, Professor Vogel, Professor Sten Konow, Professor Lüders, Professor Bhandarkar and Mr Rakhaldas Banerjee. Among these, the accurate list of Brahmi Inscriptions by Lüders, the learned papers of Bhandarkar on the inscriptions of Aśoka, the Raṣṭrakuṭas and the Chahamanas, and the editions by Banerjee, of various Northern Indian inscriptions, such as the Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena and the inscriptions of the Palas, are familiar to students of epigraphy and do not require detailed enumeration in a learned assembly.

I now turn for a moment to Numismatics which has already proved an attractive subject of study and research in our University. The pioneers in this field, even men of massive

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intellect like Prinsep, Thomas, and Wilson, did not venture upon a systematic survey of the subject and contented themselves with notes on various types of Indian Coinage; and it was left to their successors, Cunningham and Bhagwanlal Indraji, to place the study of Numismatics on a truly scientific basis. Cunningham's treatment of the Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Scythian coins and Bhagwanlal Indraji's description of the Kshatrapas are so fundamentally important that no numismatist even of the present day can afford to ignore them, notwithstanding that numismatic research has progressed with rapid strides in recent years. But the most scientific and systematic work in this field has been carried out by Percy Gardner, Von Sullet, Vincent Smith, Rapson, Allen, Whitehead, Nelson Wright and a host of others to whom we owe a series of excellent and reliable catalogues of the coins deposited in various museums in India and Europe. Professor Rapson, who is now perhaps the leading authority on the subject, has further earned the gratitude of students and laymen by his modest work called *Indian Coins*, which furnishes an intelligible and instructive account of the various types of Indian Coinage. A fuller treatise has been published in Bengali by Mr. Rakhaldas Banerjee, entitled the *Prācīn Mudrā*, which brings to a focus much valuable information and cannot fail to be highly useful to the novice. It is remarkable, however, that in spite of the labours of so many eminent scholars, little or no serious effort has been made, till quite recently, to investigate and describe, in a connected form, the origin and history of coinage in ancient India. This has, however, been now attempted, and with some degree of success, by Professor Bhandarkar, who delivered a course of attractive lectures on this subject last cold season; they have been published by this University and set forth many a debatable problem for critical study and investigation.

Let me pass on to another field not yet trodden by many a scholar, I mean Indian Iconography in its three sections so intimately connected with the study of Buddhism, Brahmanism and Jainism. The study of Buddhist Iconography, begun by Cunningham, pushed forward by James Burgess with the help of Bhagwanlal Indraji, first received a scientific treatment at the hands of the French savant Prof. Foucher, who conceived the idea of writing systematic treatises on Buddhist icons when he first visited India and lighted upon the manuscript of *Sādhanamalā* discovered in Nepal and deposited in the library of the Asiatic Society. He was soon followed by Professors Grunwedel and Sergius d'Oldenbourg; but it must be conceded that though all these scholars have worked assiduously and unflaggingly, much remains yet to be accomplished by Indian scholars when they come forth to contribute their share to the advancement of the subject. Brahmanical iconography has, on the other hand, had a more fortunate career. The pioneers in this field, men like Cunningham, Burgess and Bhagwanlal Indraji,

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who never suspected the existence of works like *Sādhanamālā* dealing with Brahmanical icons, were fortunately followed by Rajendralal Mitra whose penetrative intellect realised their value and utility, and his great work on the *Antiquities of Orissa* will remain a monument of his industry and scholarship. Professor Bhandarkar's *Reports of Archæological Survey, Western Circle*, also contain descriptions of many images in the light of these treatises. The subject, however, first received a systematic treatment at the hands of an investigator, too early snatched away from amongst us by the cruel hand of Death, the late Mr. Gopinath Rao, whose monumental work, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, no student or investigator can ever afford to ignore. He has been followed by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri who has rendered valuable service in this field, and I am delighted to find that a young scholar, Mr. Brindaban Chandra Bhattacharyya, has already furnished indication of his ability and willingness to explore a territory where so many schools and types had been developed in different ages. It is a matter of great regret, however, that nothing substantial has yet been achieved in the field of Jaina Iconography; for though we have had valuable notes and papers by the late Dr. Burgess and Bhagwanlal Indraji, and recently by Professor Bhandarkar, it cannot be denied that this subject has not yet received adequate attention.

I pass on to what may be called the Fine Arts section of Archæology Many of us can recall a time when European Archæologists found little in Indian sculpture and Indian plastic arts which could call forth their enthusiasm and admiration. But thanks to Mr. Havell, Professor Abanindranath Tagore and Mr. Gaganendra Nath Tagore, there has been a silent revolution in this department, and we have learnt to evaluate the ideals which rendered possible the wonderful constructive skill of our predecessors in painting, sculpture and architecture. The intelligent interest which it has evoked in cultured circles is further indicated by the deserved success of periodicals like the *Rupam* and the *Indian Arts Journal*. The study of the subject has been facilitated by the *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon* by Dr. Vincent Smith, but much remains still to be investigated and interpreted, as has been amply shown by the strikingly original and thoughtful work of Sir John Marshall, specially relating to the Gupta period, which will command the attention and respect of scholars for many a year to come. This leads me on to the ancient architecture of India, which was first treated in a comprehensive manner by James Fergusson, whose works may rightly be regarded as of transcendent merit, when we recall the insuperable difficulties which beset his path. Since his death, however, not only have new materials been brought to light, both underground and on the surface, but new points of view have emerged for consideration. In such circumstances, what is urgently required is, not a mere revision of his work, as a mere guidebook, such as was under-

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taken by Burgess, but a fresh analysis, a new authoritative exposition of the subject in its manifold aspects.

It would not be right for me to pass away from the subject of Archæology without some mention of two other sections, namely, the excavation of ancient sites and the conservation of ancient monuments, which, it may be maintained without fear of contradiction, have been placed on a systematic and scientific basis by Sir John Marshall, the present Director General of Archæology. The work of excavation, before he came to India, was carried on by fits and starts, without an exhaustive programme for the extension of the sites of ancient cities and without a well thought-out plan to excavate them strata by strata. Various sites have, however, now been excavated or are in course of excavation, either under his direct supervision or under his advice and direction by distinguished scholars, many of whom are well-trained Indians. Old Nalanda, the site of Buddhist Monasteries and University, Saranath, the place where Buddha first promulgated his religion, Kasia, where he attained his *Nirvāna*, Sahet Mahet, the ancient Sravasti, Besnagar, the ancient Vidisa, are only a few of the important seats of ancient Indian civilisation, which have been thus restored to the sight of this generation. The site of paramount interest and supreme value is, however, Taxila, the old Takṣaśila, where centuries ago, the East and West met, where Hellenic and Indian cultures came into contact and acted and reacted, each on the other. This is a topic of perennial interest to all Indian minds and forms the subject of a valuable thesis by Dr. Gauranganath Banerjee; most important results have already been achieved, but they are, I doubt not, only an earnest of far more to come.

Let me next invite attention to a topic, which is of unquestionable interest, but has not yet been worthily treated. It is really surprising that though there is no paucity of materials for the reconstruction of the Social History of Ancient India, no scholar has yet attempted to write a comprehensive work on the subject. It has attracted considerable attention in recent years, since the discovery of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* by Dr. Shamasastry, which throws considerable light on the state of society and administration in India in the fourth century before the Christian era. To Mr. Kashiprasad Jayaswal belongs the credit of bringing the subject of the ancient Administrative History of India to the prominent notice of Orientalists, who have now long waited in anxious expectation of his treatise which, we know, abounds in fruitful and illuminating ideas. The subject and the literature bearing upon it have, meanwhile, been systematically treated by Professor Bhandarkar in the first course of his Carmichael Lectures. Among those who have worked on the same lines and have given us their valuable contributions may be mentioned Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, Minto Professor of Economics, Mr Pramathanath Banerjee, University Lecturer in Comparative Politics, Mr. Narendranath Law, Mr. Jogendranath Samaddar of the University of Patna,

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Dr. Rameschandra Majumdar who has migrated from this University to the University of Dacca with a view to establish there a school of Indian History, and Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee who has sown what may prove to be fruitful seeds successively at Benares, Mysore and Lucknow. These and other scholars have no doubt helped to increase the bounds of our knowledge of Ancient Indian Administration; but I call upon all who are engaged upon this branch of Indian studies to bring forth a comprehensive work on Indian Polity and Administration, not only of the days of Candragupta but also of subsequent periods, utilising, for this purpose, all possible data and sources of information, whether they be embodied in literature, coins, inscriptions or monuments.

Another subject of paramount interest which has not yet received the full share of attention it deserves is the history of Indian Religions. The subject is so vast and the materials are so manifold that a complete history cannot possibly be undertaken by a single scholar. The researches of Professor Max Müller, Oldenberg, Bloomfield and Leopold Von Schroeder have facilitated our understanding of the religion of the Vedic Aryas. The history of Buddhism has been recovered by Professors Oldenberg, Rhys Davids and Kern. But this religion, it is a truism to assert, did not and could not develop separated from the main current of Indian thought and culture; and the background of Buddhism and its connection with the previously existing religious systems have now been carefully investigated by a thoughtful and erudite lecturer of our University, Dr. Benimadhab Barua, in his work on *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*. A brief account of Jainism we owe to Professor Bühler and a more adequate treatment of Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems to Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar. But these books do not cover the whole field; there are materials that are yet untouched and problems that yet remain to be solved. The two books which attempt to give accounts of the principal religious systems are *Religions de l'Inde* by M. Barth and *Religions of India* by Professor Hopkins; they only serve to whet our appetite and do not profess to satisfy our needs. Here then is a domain of absorbing interest, worthy of the efforts of the acutest intellect, affording ample scope for critical and comparative study.

It is a matter for congratulation that much progress has been made in recent years in the domain of the history of Sanskrit Language and Literature. Prof. Max Müller, whose *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* was a work of unquestionable merit when first published in 1849, was followed by Prof. Weber who made the first systematic attempt to collect critical data from the contents of Indian literature, with a view to the establishment of its internal chronology and history. His *History of Indian Literature*, first published in 1852, was an improvement on its predecessor in more than one sense, as it took into account not only the Vedic and Post-Vedic Sanskrit literature but

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also works concerned with Buddhism. Prof. Schroeder, who came next, published his attractive work, *Indiens Literatur and Cultur*, in 1887. In 1900 Professor Macdonell of Oxford brought out his useful compilation entitled "*A History of Sanskrit Literature.*" But amongst the available historical works on the literary movements of the early period of our civilisation, the most authoritative, up-to-date and comprehensive is the truly great work of Prof. Winternitz, which fairly covers the entire field of ancient Indian Literature, dealing not only with Brahmanic literature, Vedic and Post-Vedic, but also with the literature of the Buddhists and of the Jainas. It is inexplicable why a systematic history of the entire range of Sanskrit Literature should not be attempted on this scale by a band of orientalists in India. While still on this topic, it is only fair that I should draw your attention to two monumental tasks recently undertaken by Indian Scholars. The first of these is an encyclopædic *History of Indian Philosophy* in eight volumes supplemented by two volumes of sources and a general Index volume. Professors Belvalkar and Ranade of Poona, who have made themselves responsible for this laborious enterprise, have already published a brief outline of their scheme of work, and there is little doubt that when the attempt fructifies, it will materially advance the world's knowledge of our philosophy. The second is a new and critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*, undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona and designed to be carried out by a band of Maharashtra scholars, the most conspicuous of whom is Mr. N. B. Utgikar. The need for a critical and reliable edition of the *Mahābhārata* has been acutely felt for more than half a century, and if the Institute, under the inspiring and controlling presence of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, succeeds in its endeavour, it will do a real service to the cause of Indian scholarship. But the magnitude and complexity of the task, requiring as it does a minute study and comparison of all the editions and translations of the *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa* printed up till now and of all the manuscripts of the work known to be in existence, will make an exacting demand on our time and money. The members of the editorial committee have already issued a prospectus detailing their scheme of work and appealing for public support; I venture to hope that in view of the national importance of the undertaking, their appeal will meet with ready and adequate response.

It is impossible for me, within the limited time at my disposal, to take a peep into every department of the activities so dear to oriental scholars,—such as the history of Indian Mathematics and Astronomy which engaged the attention of profound scholars like Bapudeva Shastri, George Thibaut and Sudhakar Dvivedi; the history of Indian Sciences, Physical, Natural and Socio-religious, which has occupied the thoughts of men like Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray, Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal and Prof Benoy Kumar Sarkar; the history of Indian Medicine and

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Surgery which has drawn to its service men like the Thakore Saheb of Gondal and Girindranath Mookerjee; the history of Indian Grammar which has attracted men of the type of Kielhorn and Belvalkar; the history of Indian Philosophy which has called forth devotees of the type of George Thibaut and Ganganath Jha; Indian Lexicography which fascinated generations of scholars like Wilson, Bohtlingk, Roth, Goldstücker, Monier Williams, Macdonell, Anandaram Barooah and Taranath Tarkavachaspati; the Philology of the Vernaculars which has enlisted in its cause men like Sir George Grierson, Hoernle, Tessitori and Bijaychandra Majumdar; Indian Race Origins which has roused the spirit of enquiry in men of such diverse types of intellectual interest as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Sir Herbert Risley, Ananthakrishna Iyer, Herbert Bruce Hannah, Abinashchandra Das and Ramaprasad Chanda; the mysteries of South Indian History and the diversifying effects of Dravidian Culture which have been so ably investigated by Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar and his pupils; and, last but not the least Exploration in search of relics of Indian civilisation, which has fired the enthusiasm of men like Saratchandra Das and Sir Aurel Stein. The field, we all feel convinced, is limitless and the toilers innumerable; still I have not yet suggested other enchanting territories opened out in recent years—the problem, so dear to Prof. Sylvain Lèvi, of the extra-territorial influence of Indian Civilisation in far distant or inaccessible lands, Tibet, China, Japan, Central Asia, Siam, Annam, Cambodia, Java and the other Islands of the Indian Archipelago, or the problem of investigation of the mutual influence of Aryan and Semitic civilizations within the very boundaries of this continent. I hasten to assure you that my omission to refer to workers in these directions is not due to lack of appreciation of the importance of their labours.

There is, however, one topic of absorbing interest, which cannot be here passed over in silence. During many years past, scholars have set themselves assiduously not only to study published and available works but also to discover manuscripts which had for centuries remained concealed from the eyes of Orientalists. The activities of private individuals in this field have been almost romantic and can be traced back to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. As early as 1774, Sir Robert Chambers, who was for some time Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, succeeded at an approximate cost of £25,000 sterling in collecting a vast and unique collection of Sanskrit manuscripts. This was purchased by the Prussian Government in 1842 and was subsequently deposited in the Imperial Library at Berlin. Similar attempts to collect manuscripts were made by Colonel Mackenzie, Sir William Jones, Horace Hayman Wilson and Thomas Edward Colebrooke. The idea of collecting manuscripts on behalf of the State and printing their lists or catalogues seems to have originated in a letter to that effect ad-

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dressed to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in 1868 by Pandit Radhakrishna of Lahore. The suggestion was readily taken up by the Government of India who allotted an annual sum of Rs 24,000 for that purpose for the whole of India. The task was entrusted, in this province, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and a systematic search for ancient manuscripts was begun by the late Raja Rajendralala Mitra. After his death the work was ably continued by Professor Haraprasad Sastri. The collection, which is deposited in the Library of the Asiatic Society, contains several unique manuscripts on Buddhism which are yet unedited, but are described in Dr. Mitra's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature* and Mr. Sastri's *Descriptive Catalogue.* Most valuable in this connection are Bendall's *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library* and Mr. Sastri's *Catalogue of Palmleaf Manuscripts in the Nepal Durbar Library.* In Bombay, the work was undertaken by Dr. Bühler, Dr. Kielhorn, Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, Dr. Peter Peterson and a band of other scholars, and it was due to their unceasing efforts that the Bombay collection can now claim to be one of the largest of its kind in the world. In the course of his search Dr. Bühler visited various places in Rajputana, Central India and Kashmere, and the result was the discovery of whole branches of literature till then scarcely known. In 1874 he searched the Library of Jesalmir and was the first to start a systematic search in the Jaina Bhandaras. His famous *Detailed Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, published from Bombay in 1877, is a mine of information and has become almost a classic with Sanskritists. The achievements of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar in this field are no less conspicuous. Not only did he succeed in collecting almost twice the number of manuscripts purchased by his two predecessors together; but his reports, which give us scraps of historical information generally contained in the old manuscripts at the beginning and the close and also lucid summaries of works connected with Indian religions and philosophic systems, are marked by rare erudition and painstaking research. I should be failing in my duty if I were not to mention here two other great works, namely, Weber's *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Royal Library of Berlin* which is the first full and scientific catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts, and Aufrecht's masterly *Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The Descriptive Catalogue of the Bombay Collection* has been long delayed, and the volume recently published covers only a limited field. On the other hand, thanks to Mr. Seshagiri Sastri, Mr. Rangachari and Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri, the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Madras Government Oriental Collection of Manuscripts* has made rapid progress, and nearly thirty volumes are already in the hands of scholars.

Here I must bring to a close this inadequate and imperfect survey of the scope and result of the many-sided activities of oriental scholars, chiefly in this country, during the last half

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a century. The vistas they have opened out, in many a direction never before thought of, enable us to obtain a glimpse of a panorama, exceedingly beautiful and attractive. You will forgive me, if I feel tempted to enquire how exalted must have been the intellectual and spiritual attainments of the race that inhabited this vast continent during centuries past, which has left to mankind a legacy of inestimable value, so rich and varied as to have arrested the attention and excited the curiosity of successive generations of scholars in almost every civilized country of the modern world. Truly irresistible are the problems which are presented in ever-recurring sequence by the remnants of the contributions of Ancient India to Literature, Grammar, Philology, Lexicography, Poetics, Dramaturgy, Prosody, Phonetics, Metaphysics, Ethics, Religion, Sociology, Folklore, Polity, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Numismatics, Mathematics, Astronomy, Medicine, Surgery, Agriculture, Biology and other departments of knowledge essential for the progress of humanity. Do not, pray, misunderstand me and impute to me the untenable position that humanity has not advanced and thought has not developed since those precious contributions were made; but I do confess to an instinctive feeling that Indians of old had discovered the root-ideas in many a branch of human activity which the modern world has hitherto failed to appreciate and assimilate. Who, for instance, could have realised that the Doctrine of Unreality, so dear to the philosophic Indian, might have its counterpart in the all-pervading Theory of Relativity. But believe me, I do not refer to the achievements of our illustrious predecessors in a spirit of exultation due to patriotic sentiments. On the other hand, I venture to ask you, in all humility, to discover what mighty forces were in operation, perhaps silent and unperceived, which arrested the development of this ancient civilisation and helped to make it dormant. Such an investigation might have been only of academic interest if we had to study the remains of the civilisation of extinct races like those that flourished in Babylonia and Assyria in ages past and then faded away from human memory. But we are confronted here with the highest intellectual and spiritual manifestations of a nation which, we all trust and hope, still retains, though often unperceived and unrecognised, the indestructible germs of life that only require to be revivified so as to enable it to reconquer for itself an honourable place in the front rank of the civilised peoples of the modern world. Let me, therefore, appeal to you, with all the emphasis at my command, not merely to content yourselves with the investigation of the facts of Ancient Indian History but also to make a supreme effort to ascertain their real significance, so as to illustrate that search after truth is after all far more ennobling than quest after facts. You will then have justly earned the ever-lasting gratitude of every man and woman in this vast continent, for you will have discovered and thereby helped us to eradicate the deadly causes of this

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intellectual stagnation. I now cordially extend to you the respectful welcome of all the cultured people of the Presidency of Bengal.

Babu Akshay Kumar Maitra, Director of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi, then in a few felicitous sentences proposed that Professor Sylvain Lèvi should be elected President of the Conference. The proposal was seconded by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar of Madras and Mr. G. Yazdani of Hyderabad and, when put to the assembly by His Excellency, was carried unanimously. Lord Ronaldshay thereupon asked Professor Sylvain Lèvi to take the Chair.

Professor Sylvain Lèvi addressed the Conference as follows:—

"YOUR EXCELLENCY, SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE AND MY DEAR *Confrères*, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I first beg to thank you for electing me as President of the Oriental Conference. It is a great honour, the value of which I fully appreciate. The chief duty of a President is to keep silence and to listen. This is exactly my programme. I have come to India not to teach but to be taught. In the West, we have books, libraries, collections; but we have not the life moving before the eyes, we miss that intimate feeling of tradition which can reveal even to the simplest souls some deep truths which will escape the scholar working on texts at his desk. I had a clear instance of it a few months ago, first when reaching the soil of India I had landed at Colombo for going to Calcutta. The night train took me through Ceylon to some ferry boat, and in the dawn light, as coming out of a dream, I saw before me Dhanuṣkoṭi, Rāmeśvaram. These are names full of recollections for any Sanskrit scholar, and some of you may know that I have been myself working not such a long time ago on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. I had happened to find out a Buddhist *Sūtra*, and a very big one, the *Saddharmasmṛty-upasthāna Sūtra*, the original of which has been lost for many centuries, but we have a Chinese translation, dated 6th century A.D., and a Tibetan translation later by four or five centuries. And there I had discovered a faithful copy of the description of the world as given by Sugrīva to the monkeys sent in search of Sītā; it came out that the text of the *Sūtra* was rather in favour of the recension, and still more of the Kashmirian recension, and that the whole, comparison of all texts (including the *Rāmāyaṇa-mañjarī* of Kṣemendra, and even parts of the *Harivaṃśa*), testified to an unexpected knowledge of the far eastern isles and seas. This is a work a scholar can do. But as the train began to run, I saw flocks of poor, obscure, unknown men who had come from far, far away, to worship the holy footsteps of Rāma exactly as Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsang and Yi-tsing and many more anonymous pilgrims had been crossing long stretches of

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land and sea, over deserts, mountains and oceans, just to worship the holy footsteps of the Master who had, in a small remote corner of India, taught for the whole world lessons of mildness, bounty, sacrifice. Dimly, confusedly these poor anonymous pilgrims of Dhanuṣkoṭi and Rāmeśvaram were holding up an old, noble tradition the secret of which they had suddenly revealed to me. They had come because they had to come, because the Aryan genius of India wanted somebody to come once for its "*jayaśabda*," its cry of triumph after achieving its noble task. When after long strivings of missionaries and kings, the Aryan started from his northern home along the Ganges, and saw that he had reached the southernmost point of the country which had been allotted to him by Fate, he looked back with a feeling of pride to the task he had now accomplished. And he was right indeed in doing it, for his work had been magnificent. Having to deal with races less advanced in their culture, or even still wild, he had known how to reduce them without destroying them. He had won them through the prestige of a civilisation more complete, more developed, and in the frames of the social order he had organised, he had managed for them regular, settled places, where they could assist him in the maintenance of order or even rise up to a higher stand. It depended only on them, adopting the language of the Aryans or refining their own idioms in order to enable them to express new doctrines, new conceptions, richer and deeper. The growth of the Tamil literature, for instance, is an evidence which speaks highly in favour of the Aryan colonisation. Southern India did not lose anything of her own originality by this beneficent contact; she only gained from it.

Great civilisations do not grow in the narrow frames of a local culture; nothing is more childish, more false, more harmful than the mean conceits of a narrow nationalism which pretends to reject or to disown anything coming from outside. A civilisation is great on account of the part of humanity included in it, expressed by it and the larger is the part of humanity it could absorb, the more is it fit to appeal to general mankind. If the Greek civilisation has been great beyond any comparison, it owes this privilege to the richness and variety of elements which contributed to its shaping. Classical Greece has gathered the inheritance of all great civilisations of the past, Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Phœnicia, Crete, and many more in the Near East. I do not say nor mean that a civilisation is a kind of mosaic work artificially combined. It is necessary that mind transforms and assimilates the loaves just as the body grows stronger only by the food which is digested. It is necessary that with that infallibility which only instinct can confer, the nation, or rather the men of genius who make out a nation know how to draw out of accidental features what is the permanent, out of local features what is general, out of particulars what is universal: "*nityasya nityataḥ prāptiḥ.*" This is the inspiration under which the Aryan genius has made the greatness of India. And, as it

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usually happens in the turn where the genius of a nation reaches its utmost height, there came one of the obscure conscience of the multitude a poet to translate in words of art: Vālmiki is the son of all-India; all-India has recognised herself in his *Rāmāyaṇa*. The conqueror of the South is not the chief of an army, not an almighty emperor, Alexander or Napoleon. He is an exile, almost a vagrant: to assist him in his tremendous work he has only the devotion of a brother, the love of a wife; to surmount his long and awful trials he has only an unshaken faithfulness to duty. Even when the day comes when an audacious demon has by an ignominious trick endangered the world's order, he does not appeal to manly violence; he calls to his aid holy monkeys and bears of the forests, as if to show that the whole Nature has a joint responsibility in the order which man is striving so painfully to realise.

That is the deep lesson, the "*rahasya*" which was all at once revealed to me just when crossing these holy spots of pilgrimage. But, grand as it is, India's civilising work has gone far beyond these vast limits: it has extended its moral benefits to all the eastern half of the Asiatic Continent. Indian genius had its colonies, far larger than the huge metropolis; Indonesia, Indochina, Serindia are names which up to date record a past glory. But here we are facing the dark side of Indian genius. Your pilgrims have for a long time unlearned these roads, and pilgrims of the thought are still neglecting them. How many among India's educated people—I except of course professional scholars—are aware that Cambodia and Champa add a large and beautiful chapter to the epigraphic literature of Sanskrit *praśastis*, that no proper study of *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* should be done without the help of Javanese poetry, that China and Tibet are still keeping a large library of Indian works—several thousands of them, and some of them as extensive as *Mahābhārata*—the originals of which have disappeared likely for ever, but which a continuous effort of interpreters should give back to India as well as a continuous effort of interpreters, mainly come from India, had done them into Chinese and Tibetan? How many have heard, for instance, that we have still in our hands a Chinese-Sanskrit dictionary compiled by the celebrated pilgrim Yi-tsing? How many do know that Khotan, Kashgar, Kucha, Karashar and many of the small oases scattered along the fearful sands of Central Asia, now the land of Turki dialects and of Islam, Chinese Turkistan as we are rightly used to call it, have been a magnificent home of Sanskrit learning, where grammar and books of India were read, translated, imitated, where Indian theatre had borne a sumptuous offshoot of religious plays, "*yātrās*"? How many do know that the Turks of Mongolia, about the time of Hiuen Tsang, used to read in their own idiom the *Hiḍimbavadha* of *Mahābhārata*? I am well aware that, just here, in Calcutta and only here, the superhuman activity of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is striving to wake up an interest in these neglected

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fields; owing to his exertions, the Calcutta University has Tibetan, Chinese, Japanese classes; the publications of the Calcutta University contain papers and books which carry the horizon of India beyond present India. But I will be allowed to speak frankly and to state that these newly recovered domains have not yet come in real contact with your traditional and classical teaching.

The Calcutta University has published, in 1919, the Tibetan text and an English translation of an ethical work (*Śes-rabs don-bu*), that is *Prajñādaṇḍa*; according to the Tibetan translator, Nagarjuna is the author of this work. The English editor and translator fully endorses that statement; he goes even to say that Nagarjuna flourished about 100 B.C., a date which very few people will admit easily. That *Prajñādaṇḍa* had been selected as one of the text-books for Higher Proficiency Examination in Tibetan by the late Sarat Chandra Das who had given a first rough edition of the text. The new editor has spared no pains in preparing his text and translation. He gives a graphic description of his efforts, in the course of two years spent in Tibet, to seek assistance of monks and laymen. At last, he found some Head Master who had had the advantage of receiving a scholarly explanation of the first 102 verses from a learned Lama of Hrigatse, the Lama being able to give the meaning assigned by tradition to some of the passages which appear quite incomprehensible at first sight. Now let us turn to the text itself, and pick up some verses, say: verse 13, in the translation!

"If you sin in speech you will be damned—the parrot, the singing bird and the waterhen, the silent waterduck—which man does not catch,—their entire accomplishment is silence."

Well, it is fairly strange to find the parrot quoted as an instance of cautious silence. Let us try a literal translation of the Tibetan!

"By the sin of their mouth they are going to destruction, the parrot, the mountain bird and the *titira*. By not speaking, the waterduck does not perish. The total accomplishment is not to speak."

Is not any Sanskrit scholar just reminded of the well-known verse, "*ātmano mukhadoṣena badhyante śukasārikāḥ, bakas tatra na vadhyante maunam sarvārthasādhanam?*" Let us take another more, v. 41, the translation has:

"The fire which burned the forest—became the companion of the wind,—and that same extinguished the fire—So has the weak man no friends."

Again this is a well-known verse of *Pañcatantra*:

"*Vanāni dahato vahneḥ sakhā bhavati mārutaḥ!*
Sa eva dīpanāśāya kṛśe kasyāsti sauhṛdam"

Instead of the "fire" in the second line, the Tibetan has faithfully *mar-me* "a lamp," just as the Sanskrit *dīpa* in the Sanskrit original.

One verse has been particularly distressing for the English

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translator, that is verse 31. He first found there "a wicked man whose ear was filled with curds," and he adds a note where he refers to a desperate explanation afforded by the Lama. Later on, in the corrigenda, he substitutes: "O, Karṇa, evil-minded like curdled milk," an unexpected *upamā* "comparison." The text literally rendered is "Badmind curd-ear" and that "curd-ear" will tell every Sanskrit scholar of the well known Dadhikarṇa of the fable.

I am quite far from deprecating the work done by the translator or the publication edited by the University in a collection which is already so rich in excellent and original works. If we can improve the work it will be simply owing to the pain taken by the one and to the liberality of the other. I mean only to show you by a striking instance how Tibetan has to be taken in Indian University, in intimate connection with your own Indian texts. Instead of applying to Tibetan monks and laymen, should the translator have applied to an average Sanskrit scholar, he would have been immediately informed that the so-called work of Nagarjuna is only a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, an anthology of the regular type and collected at a fairly late date, centuries and centuries after 100 B.C. He would have got an easy explanation of so many riddles suddenly cleared up in the light of the Sanskrit original. And the same has to be said of Chinese, of Japanese, of Kuchean, of Khotanese, of so many languages foreign to India, but that have to centre round the Sanskrit scholarship for a proper study of Indian civilisation. And that is why I am so glad to see you congregated as in a common effort to dispel the darkness which still covers so much of your path in order to bring it to the healthy light of the day. "*Nāsti satyāt paro dharma.*" No duty is higher than truth. But while quoting that word of wisdom, I am suddenly reminded of another one which I have been reading a little before. *Maunam sarvārthasādhanam* "Silence is universal accomplishment." My excuse will perhaps be that on account of some misunderstanding I was informed too late of the fact that my presidential duty before keeping silent implied an address to be delivered, and to put it in the words of a French classic, I made it too long because I had not time enough to make it shorter.

At the conclusion of the President's address the Conference adjourned to the Darbhanga Buildings in front of which a photograph of the Patron, President, Chairman and chief delegates and officials was taken—a photograph which is reproduced elsewhere in this volume.

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Proceedings of the Vedic Section.

President:—Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.

29th January, 1922.

The meeting of the Vedic Section opened punctually at 10 a.m. in Room No. 1 of the Darbhanga Buildings. Attendance was fairly satisfactory. The proceedings were in the following order:—

Time allowed for each paper was ten minutes.

1. Presidential Address.
2. Literary Strata in the Ṛgveda. By Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.
3. Chronology and Aryanism with Special Reference to Vedic Origins—Racial and Cultural. By H. Bruce Hannah.
4. Vyuṣṭi or the Vedic New Year's Day. By R. Shamasastry. B.A., Ph.D.
5. The Adhvaryus Duties: Prescription and Practice. By V. P. Ramachandra Charlu.

   The paper was written and delivered in Sanskrit.

   The Script was Telegu.
6. The word Ahura in Sanskrit and the Home of the Gobhilas. By I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D.

   There was some discussion on the paper in which Dr. N. Sen, Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi and others joined.

The following papers were taken as read, the authors being absent:—

7. The dialogue between Yama and Yami in the Ṛgveda, compared with Mashya and Mashyani in the Bruddehish, By A. K. Vesavala.
8. Vedic Mantras as explained by Durgadas Lahiri (Summary). By Pramatha Nath Sanyal.

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Proceedings of the Section of Iranian Language and Literature.

President:—Shams-ul-ulama Dr. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

29th January, 1922.

THE meeting of this Section was also held in Room No. 1 of the Darbhanga Buildings at about the same time, i.e. 10 a.m. As only one day and the same room was assigned for the meetings of the Vedic and Iranian Sections it was decided after some discussion to hold the meetings of the two sections jointly under the joint presidency of Dr. Modi and Dr. Belvalkar. Papers of the two Sections were read alternately. The papers were read in the following order :—

1. The Doctrine of Karma from the Zoroastrian Point of View. By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.
2. Three obscure passages from the Yasna. By I. J. S. Taraporewala; B.A., Ph.D.
3. Alexander the Great and the Devastation of the Ancient Literature of the Parsis in his time. By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.
4. The Amesha Spentas. By I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D.
   There was some discussion on the paper and the President of the Section offered some comments.
5. The Persian Rivayats of the Parsis, etc. By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.
   There was some lively discussion on this paper in which Mr. Fida Ali Khan and others took part.
6. Caste system in the Avesta. By Basanta Kumar Chatterjee, M.A.

The following paper was taken as read :—

7. A Note on some Foreigners who Stealthily saw the Parsi Tower of Silence from within. By R. N. Munshi.

The attendance in this joint session of the Sections as already noted was fair; a body of about twenty-five being always present. An interesting feature of the meeting was the presence of quite a number of Mahomedan gentlemen from the beginning to the end. Dr. Sylvain Lévi, the President of the Conference, and Sir Asutosh

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Mookerjee, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, joined in the proceedings of the Meeting for some time.

Proceedings of the Ethnology and Folk-Lore Section.

President:—Rao Bahadur Ananthkrishna Iyer, B.A., L.T., F.R.A.I.

29th January and 1st February, 1922.

The Anthropological Section was opened with the Presidential Address by Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthkrishna Iyer on—

1. The Study of Anthropology in India, its importance and necessity.

The papers were read in the following order :—

2. The Home of the Ancient Hindus and their policy of Racial Fusion. By R. Shamasastry, B.A., Ph.D.

   In the discussion which followed, Mr. Panchanan Mitra referred to the racial characters of the Indo-Europeans. He also spoke about the probable home of the Aryans and the Nordic Cradle land.

   The President asked the writer about the tailed man referred to in the article. Dr. Shamasastry replied that there is a reference to tailed man in some ancient Sanskrit work.

3. On some vestiges of the custom of offering Human Sacrifices to the Water-spirits. By S. C. Mitra, M.A., B.L.

   In the discussion which followed Mr. Tritton proposed a two-fold classification of the instances of human sacrifice referred to in the article. Mr. Mitra in answer said that the foundation sacrifices mentioned by Mr. Tritton refers only to foundation of houses.

   Mr. Panchanan Mitra then discussed the psychological aspect of the article and advocated the adoption of ethnological principle. He also referred to the wide occurrence of the idea "Water is life" throughout India, Egypt and other countries.

4. Sun-worship in Eastern India. By Mr. Tarak Chandra Das, M.A.

   When the President invited discussion Mr. S. C. Mitra

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rose and pointed out the prevalence of Sun-worship among the Hindus of Behar.

Another Behari gentleman also pointed out the same thing and referred to the custom of sacrificing white goats among the Behari Hindus. The goat is not completely severed but only a portion of its ear is cut off.

In answer Mr. Das said that the scope of his article extends only to the primitive peoples of Eastern India. He also said that he was aware of the suggestions put forward by the two gentlemen and had included these facts in the other section of his article devoted mainly to the higher castes.

5. Mr. Panchanan Mitra, M.A., P.R.S., then summarised his paper in the form of a lecture. His paper dealt with "Indian cultural and Racial origins."

6. The Astronomy of the Mundas and their Associated Star-myths. By M. B. Bhadury, B.L. As the writer was absent the paper was read by Mr. Prabodh Ch. Bagchi, M.A.

7. Gipsies and the spread of Indian culture. By Bhoodeb Mukerjee.

A discussion followed in which Mr. S. C. Mitra took part.

8. Disa-Pothi, the Note-book of the Anniversaries of Deaths. By Dr J. J. Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

Mr. S. C. Mitra praised the veteran writer in high terms for his works.

The second day's sitting of the Ethnology and Folk-lore Section took place on February 1st, 1922, at about 10-45 a.m. Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthkrishna Iyer having left Calcutta for attending the Science Congress in Madras Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte was requested by Dr. R. Shamasastry to take the Chair. Rai Bahadur Gupte then read his learned paper on—

9. The Origin and Folk-lore of Maṅgal Caṇḍī.

10. Autonomy and Expansion of the Village Pañceyat. By Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A., Ph.D.

In the discussion which followed Mr. S. C. Mitra and Mr. P. Mitra took part.

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11. Some Bull and Boar fights from India. By Kshitish Ch. Sarkar, B.A.

In discussing Mr. S. C. Mitra referred to a particular instance of such fight which he attributed to animistic belief. According to him these fights are held for transmission of disease. Mr. Panchanan Mitra also took part in the discussion.

12. The cult of Magadheswari in Chittagong. By Rajendra Kumar Bhattacharya, B.A.

Mr. S. C. Mitter thinks the worship of Magadheswari to be an adaptation from the Buddhists, and referred to the weight of the offerings which is 1¼ srs.

13. Prehistoric Home of Man. By Benode Behari Roy.

As the author was not present the paper was read by Mr. M. Bhattacharya.

Mr. P. Mitra declared it to be completely unscientific on the ground that no faith can be based upon a mere analogy of words and on the authority of the *Purāṇas* only. This view was endorsed by Mr. S. C. Mitra.

14. On Two New Types of Accumulation Droll. By Mr. S. C. Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The President then rose and thanked the audience for the patient hearing they gave to the papers.

Mr. P Mitra and Mr. S. C. Mitra thanked the President on behalf of the audience. Then the President declared the Session to be closed.

Proceedings of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Literature Section.

President :—Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. Haraprasad Sastri, M.A., F.A.S.B., C.I.E.

29th January, 1922.

Before the work actually commenced Mr. Puran Chand Nahar exhibited a few old Jaina manuscripts with the permission of the President.

The proceedings opened with a vote of congratulation on the election of the President to an Hony. membership of the Royal Asiatic

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Society of England, moved by Professor Dr. Radhakumud Mukherji, M.A., Ph.D., of Lucknow, seconded by MM. Kaliprasanna Bhattacharya, M.A. The vote was carried by acclamation.

The following papers were then read in the order in which they are mentioned :—

1. Long lost Sanskrit Vidyasundar. By Sailendranath Mitra, M.A. (The manuscript was exhibited).
2. Medhatithi as Revealed in his Manubhaṣya. By MM. Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt.
3. The Story of Ṛṣi Aṇī-Māṇḍavya in the Sanskrit and Buddhistic Sources. By N. B. Utgikar, M.A.
4. The Chronological order of Kalidas's Works. By R. D. Karmarkar, M.A., Ph.D.

At this stage Dr. Harichand suggested that some time should be set aside for discussion. Dr. Ganganath Jha supported him but as the President disagreed no discussion took place.

5. History of Sanskrit Literature. By Radhakumud Mukherji, M.A., Ph.D.
6. A Forgotten Family of Royal Poets in East Bengal. By Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, M.A.
7. Side-lights from the Dhammapada on the Origin and Growth of Poetry in Indian Literature. By Benimadhav Barua, M.A., D.Litt.
8. A note on the Jaina Classical Sanskrit Literature. By Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., B.L.
9. The Presidential Address.
10. A Note on the Popular Element of the Classical Sanskrit Drama. By Sivaprasad Kavyatirtha, M.A., B.T.
11. Vasubandhu or Subandhu. By Rangaswami Saraswati, M.A.
12. Kalidasa and Hinduism. By C. Venkat Ramanayar. (Taken as read.)
13. The world-poet Kalidas was a Bengali. By Manmatha Nath Bhattacharya.
14. Avantisundarī-Kathā. By M. Ramkrishna Kavi, M.A. Read during his absence by Mr. Rangaswami Saraswati.
15. The Date of Mṛcchakaṭika from Astrological Data. By Jyotish Chandra Ghatak, M.A.

This brought the proceedings to an end.

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Proceedings of the Archaeology Section.

President:—Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Shastri, B.A.

29th, 30th and 31st January and 1st February, 1922.

1. Presidential Address.
2. Art of writing in Ancient India. By Abinash Ch. Das, M.A., Ph.D.

   A discussion followed in which the President Mr. R. Narasinghachar and Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda took part. Mr. Chanda pointed out that on the artifacts of the Azilian period there occur alphabetic forms which resemble some of the Brāhmī signs.
3. Prehistoric Paintings of Singhanpur and Mirzapur and other Researches. By Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.
4. Indian Columns. By P. K. Acharya, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

   The paper was criticised by Mr A. K. Maitreya, Mr. O. C. Gangoly and the President. Mr. Maitreya said that the word *kānta* occurring in the *Mānasāra* was a corrupt form of *kāṇḍa* (e.g. *Viṣṇu-kāṇḍa*). which is probably used to maintain the analogy of the form of pillar with the trunk of tree. The President said that the word *Brahma-kānta* is actually used in a South Indian inscription. To some of the criticisms the author gave a reply.
5. A Voussoir from Pāṭaliputra. By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., *Bar-at-Law.*

   The author contended that from the letters (especially the 'tailed *ca*') which the stone bears the date of the arch goes back as early as the period of the Nandas, i.e. the 5th century B.C.

   A discussion followed in which Mr. Ramchandra Kak, Pandit Dayaram Sahni and Mr. A. Ghosh took part. Mr. Kak suggested that the piece of stone might have been one of the coping stones of a well, and the fact that both the surfaces are polished showed that both of them must have been exposed. He further pointed out that similar stones have been discovered in Kashmir. Mr. Jayaswal replied.

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6. Palaeographic Test and the date of Dhanabhūti and Khāravela. By Ramaprasad Chanda, B.A., F.A.S.B.

Mr. Jayaswal criticised Mr. Chanda's statements that the *Yavanarāja* mentioned in Khāravela's inscription is to be placed somewhere between the end of the second century B.C. and the beginning of the first century B.C., and said there was no room for a Greek king in the first century B.C. Dr. R. C. Majumdar said that there were Greek kings at Mathurā in the first century B.C., and Dr. Hem Ch. Raychaudhuri argued that the evidence of the *Milinda-Pañho* proves that the Indo-Greek king Menander flourished five centuries after Parinirvāṇa. Dr. Majumdar contended along with Mr. Jayaswal that the method of Palaeographic test followed by Mr. Chanda was not a very sound one, to which the author replied. Mr. A. Ghosh remarked that the find-spot of Greek coins at Mathurā does not necessarily prove that Greek kings ruled in that region. Dr. Majumdar showed the fallacy of the argument.

7. Origin of Alphabet. By R. N. Shaha.

8. A few Notes on Kashmir from an Antiquarian point of view. By J. J. Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

Pandit Dayaram Sahni, Mr Kak and Mr. G. Yazdani made certain observations in connection with Dr. Modi's paper and Dr. Modi replied. Prof. Sylvain Lévi pointed out that there were many rubbings of Kashmir inscriptions in Sāradā characters at Paris which deserve serious attention.

9. Excavations at Harvan. By Ramchandra Kak.

The author excavated at a place called Harvan (Ṣaḍhrada-vana) which is about twelve miles from Srinagar and discovered there three different styles of building : pebble, diaper-pebble and diaper-rubble. He also found Kharoṣṭhī mason marks on the floor of the apsidal temples and a mass of sculptures closely alike to those of the Kuṣan period with Assyrian and Central Asian influences.

Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore thanked the writer for his

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excellent paper. Pandit Dayaram Sahni doubted whether Ṣaḍhrada-vana could be identical with Harvan. Mr. Kak said that it was only a tentative suggestion.

10. Mitra Coins. By Venkateshvara Aiyar.

The author's theory that the names of Mitra kings were called according to particular constellations and presiding deities, e.g. Bṛhaspati Mitra, was criticised by Dr. Majumdar. The discussion was further carried on by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, Mr. M. Ghosh and Mr. R. Chanda.

11. Identification of a Bas-relief at Bharhut. By N. G. Majumdar, M.A.

This is the scene which shows a boat being devoured by a *timiṅgila* and afterwards saved from it by *bhagavat* Mahādeva (=Mahāsattva or Bodhisattva according to Hültzsch). Mr. Yazdani said that a similar scene occurred also at Ajantā and had been identified by M. Foucher.

12. Benares School of Sculpture. By Brindavan Ch. Bhattacharya, M.A.

The paper was criticised by Dr. P. K. Acharya, Mr. M. Ghosh and Rai Bahadur Pandit Dayaram Sahni. Pandit Dayaram pointed out that Mr. Bhattacharya was not the discoverer of the school as he claimed to be; the school was known long ago and its characteristics have been already described in the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey*. As regards the measurements of icons on which Mr. Bhattacharya based his conclusions he observed that they were not always accurate. His method of taking measurements was also criticised by Dr. Acharya who pointed out that the *Śilpaśāstras* prescribe measurement and proportion according to the face and not according to the length of the body. Mr. Bhattacharya gave a reply to which a counter-reply was given by Pandit Dayaram Sahni.

13. Old Maratha coins. By S. R. Aiyanger.

14. Mr. Dishkalkar's two papers were taken as read as he could not be present.

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15. Pandit Ram Karan's paper, "Samoli inscription of the Guhila Śīlāditya," was read out by Mr. N. G. Majumdar.
16. Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore's paper on Painting. (In Bengali).

The Section met on 1st Feb. when the discussion on the Patna Stone was continued. Messrs. A. K. Maitra, P. K. Acharya, R. C. Kak, G. Yazdani, R. Chanda, K. P. Jayaswal, R. C. Majumdar, Dayaram Sahni and others took part in the discussion which grew quite lively. A note by Mr. A. K. Maitra was read by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. The author wanted to show by calculation that the stone in question was too small to be used in a well. Mr. R. C. Kak contended that if the stone was too small for a well it might have been used to build a cistern or it might have been a stone of the masonry surmounting a type of triple arch found in Kashmir. He drew a detailed figure on the board to illustrate his point. Mr. Jayaswal in the course of the discussion declared that it was admitted by all that the stone was Mauryan. The beautiful polish on this kind of stone which is not found in the post-Mauryan period and the Maurya letters found on the stone were quite conclusive. He added that the discussion had narrowed down to only one point, viz. whether it was a stone used in a well or cistern or a stone surmounting a type of arch found in Kashmir or a stone of a circular arch. Rai Bahadur Dayaram pointed out that he had carefully examined the stone and in his opinion the sides of the stone could not be cut away later for some other purpose. The President, Mr. Narasimhachar and some others were however not convinced about the Mauryan character of the stone. After this the discussion was closed by the President. Next was taken up the remaining papers in the following order :—

17. Identification of Avalokiteśvara. By Benayatosh Bhattacharya, M.A.

    There was some discussion on the paper in which the President, Rai Bahadur Dayaram and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal took part.

18. Some Newly Discovered Inscriptions of Kaniṣka. By Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni.

    The inscription contained the years 20 and 23 of Kanishka. The paper was an important one and there was a lively discussion. Mr. Jayaswal held that the

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pitāmaha in *pitāmaha-devakula* must refer to Vema Kadphises, apparently the grandfather of Kaniṣka, Vasiṣka and Huviṣka. He was of opinion that there must have been some other person after Vema and before Kaniṣka who must have been the father of the three brothers Kaniṣka, Vasiṣka and Huviṣka who are declared as such in *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Rajatarangini*.

19. Texts on Painting in Sanskrit Literature. By Rangaswami Saraswati, M.A. Mr. Jayaswal, Mr. Krishnaswami Ayangar and Mr. Yazdani congratulated the author.

20. The last paper that was read was "The Western Gangas of Talkāḍ," by Mr. Narasimhachar. This paper properly belonged to the Section of Political History and Chronology. But for want of time it had to be transferred to this Section. The paper was also a very important contribution and announced the discovery of some new plates of the Gaṅga king Mārasiṃha which are the longest and clearest of the Gaṅga copperplates so far discovered.

The meeting of the Section then terminated after some remarks from the President who dwelt on the danger of forming dogmatic conclusion on insufficient evidence.

Proceedings of the Political History and Chronology Section.

President:—Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, M.A.

31*st January and* 1*st February*, 1922.

The Section met on two days and the following papers were read in the order in which they are given here. The attendance throughout was fair and constant.

1. Sources of Indian History from Telegu Literature. By V. Subba Row.
2. A Glimpse into the Pallava History. By R. Gopalan.
3. The origin of some South Indian Dynasties. By Rangaswami Saraswati, M.A.
4. The origin of the Tamil Language. By Rajagopala Row.

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5. The Brahman Kingdom of the Deccan. By T. N. Subramaniam.
6. Determination of the Epoch of the Parganait Era. By N. K. Bhattasali, M.A.

   The paper evoked vigorous discussion in which Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury and the author took part. The President asked what is meant by Parganait, which the author explained.
7. Saka-Pahlava Dynasties of Northern India. By Harit Krishna Deb, M.A.

   Dr. R. C. Majumdar said, "The theory has been very ably maintained by Dr Fleet. It has been discussed threadbare, but still it is difficult to accept it. The facts discussed are old but there is some readjustment."
8. On the Identification of Meru uprooted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indra III. By Surendra Nath Majumdar Shastri, M.A.

   As the author was absent the paper was read by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
9. The Place of Videha in Ancient and Mediaeval India. By Kumar Gangananda Sinha, M.A.
10. The Use of Cycles of Recurrence in Chronological Investigation. By Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai.
11. Note on the Nalanda Copperplate of Devapala. By Hiranand Shastri.

    On account of the author's absence the paper was read by Mr. R. Chanda.

    The President drew attention to some inscriptions in Borneo (of King Muladeva) which point to the colonisation of those islands by Indians as early as the 4th century.
12. Origin of the Sena Kings. By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A. Ph.D.
13. The Order of Succession of the Later Imperial Guptas. By Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhury, M.A., Ph.D.

    In the discussion which followed Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Mr. N. K. Bhattasali and the author took part.
14. The Chronology of the Maukharis. By K. N. Dikshit, M.A.

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15. Glimpses of the Mauryan Invasion in Tamil Literature. By Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D.

The following papers were taken as read :—

16. Historical Basis and Model for Kalidasa's Description of Raghu's Conquest. By Radhagovinda Basak, M.A.
17. Connection of Malloi (of Alexander) and Mallani of Marwar. By Bisheshwar Nath Reu.
18. Ancient Goa. By A. D. Braganza Pereira.
19. The Jats of Hariana. By K. R. Quanungo.

The meeting was then closed.

Proceedings of the Section of Social and Religious History.

President :—Dr. R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A., Ph.D.

30th January, and 1st February, 1922.

THE meeting of this Section commenced at about 10-10 a.m., in the University Library Hall. The attendance though at first unsatisfactory, improved and was quite fair after some time.

1. The President opened the meeting with a learned address. The papers were taken up in the following order :—
2. Kauṭilyas Place in the History of Hindu Political Theory. By Upendra Nath Ghosal, M.A.

   Mr. Ghosal's theory that Kauṭilya did not recover the *Arthaśāstra* from oblivion was controverted by Mr. H. C. Chakladar. The President also offered some comments on the word *uddtiara*.
3. A Dissertation on the Earliest Stratum in the Development of the Jaina Canonical Literature. By Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, M.A.
4. Economic Culture as Depicted in Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. By J. N. Samaddar, B.A.
5. Elements of State Socialism in Kauṭilya. By Hem Chandra Ray, M.A.

   There was a discussion on this paper in which the President, Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta and Mr. J. N. Samaddar took part. The President and Mr. Samaddar generally agreed with the conclusions of the author. Dr.

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Sen Gupta objected to the use of modern terminologies to ancient Indian institutions.

6. An Interesting Folk-movement and the Light it throws on Indian Culture. By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D.
7. The Evolution of Marriage Ritual in Ancient India. By Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta.
8. Governmental ideals of Ancient India. By Narayan Chandra Bannerjee, M.A.
9. Marriage Laws and Regulations under the Peshwas. By Surendra Nath Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
10. Female Education in Ancient India. By Bhababibhuti Vidyabhusan.
11. Some Glimpses of Ancient Tamil Polity—Ideal and Real. By C. S. Srinivasachari.

    The paper evoked some discussion. Mr. H. C. Ray referred to the difficulty of fixing the date of the Saṅgam literature from which the author tried to reconstruct the history of the Far-south. The author practically agreed that no history of the Far-south on a scientific and chronological basis can as yet be attempted because of the uncertainty of the date of any portion of the above literature. The Saṅgam literature appears to have grown gradually and it is very difficult to refer any portion to a single definite period.
12. Vaiṣnavism in Kamarupa. By Sarat Chandra Goswami.
13. Patria Potestas in Ancient India. By Nirmal Chandra Chatterjee, M.A.

    There was some discussion on the paper and a gentleman objected to the theory of the gradual evolution of Patria Potestas.
14. The Armed Ascetics of Ancient India. By Dr. J. N. Farquhar.

    The paper evoked some discussion, in which Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra and Dr. Radhakumud Mukherji took part.
15. The Spiritual Culture of the Hindus and the Interpretation of their Civilization. By Narendra Nath Law, M.A., Ph.D.

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16. The position of the Brāhmaṇa in Kauṭilya. By Hem Chandra Ray, M.A.
17. The Tantravartika and the Dharmaśāstra Literature. By P. V. Kane.
18. Interpretation of a Passage of Manusaṃhitā. By Surendra Nath Majumdar, M.A.
19. Some aspects of Ancient Indian Industrial Life. By S. V. Vishvanath, M.A.
20. Famine relief in Ancient India. By S. V. Vishvanath.
21. Machiavellism in Ancient Indian Polity. By Pramatha Nath Bannerjee, M.A.
22. Manners and Customs of the Licchavis. By Bimala Charan Law, M.A.

The meeting of the Section was then finally closed by the President.

Proceedings of the Philosophy and Religion Section.

President:—S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A.

30th January.

On account of scanty attendance of members the work of the Section was begun ten minutes after the usual time with the consent of the President and the members present. At about 10-10 a.m., there was a respectable attendance and the President opened the session with a neat short speech asking the audience to hear the various interesting papers going to be read in the meeting.

The papers were read in the following order:—

1, 2. At the beginning were read the summaries of the two papers: (*a*) Two old Vedantins, and the (*b*) Ethics of the Upaniṣads. The writer of both these papers, Mr. M. Hiriyanna being absent, the President kindly read the summaries.

3. After this the President asked Mr. V. V. Mirashi to read his paper on "The Traditional author of the Vedanta Sutras —Badarayana or Krishna Dvaipayana."

A discussion followed in which Dr. A. K. Guha took part.

4. The President next called upon Mr. S. K. Maitra to read his

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paper on "The Psychological Basis of Hindu Ethics," but as the writer was absent the paper was taken as read.

5. Theory of Interpolations in the Bhagavadgītā as held by Prof. R. Garbe and other Western Scholars. By S. C. Roy, M.A., Ph.D.

   Messrs. R. Kimura and Dr. A. Guha said that they had many points to discuss but could not do it there as the time allowed for discussion was very short.

6. Next came the turn of Mr. P. K. Gode to read his paper on "The Bhaktisūtras of Narada and the Bhagavadgītā," but as he was absent the paper was taken as read.

7. Religion and Belief in the Arthaśāstra. By N. C. Banerjee, M.A.

8. The Bhakti-Doctrine in the Śāṇḍilya Sūtra. By B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Litt.

9. The Date of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā Sūtra. By Abhaya Kumar Guha, M.A., Ph.D.

10. The President then read his own paper on "Prābhākara School of Mīmāṃsā."

11. A criticism of the Bhagavadgītā Vimarṣa. By Mr. Ananta Krishna Sastri.

    The paper was written in Sanskrit and the learned Pandit orally expressed the substance of the paper in Sanskrit. Though the paper was unfortunately not included in the printed list the President kindly gave him the necessary permission for reading.

12. Gauḍapāda Kārikā on the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad. By Pandit Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya.

    The paper was highly appreciated by the President and the audience.

13. Rādha is the centre of World-Religion. By M. N. Bhattacharya.

The President then delivered a short speech in which he commented upon the facts and merits of the various papers read in the section. After assigning with precision and ingenuity the place of each of the papers in the history of philosophy and religion he declared the meeting to be closed for this session.

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Proceedings of the Philology Section.

President:—Prof. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B.A., Ph.D.

31*st January.*

1. THE Proceedings opened with the Presidential Address.
2. Mr. T. Rajagopal Rao then read his paper on "The South Indian Stem of the Indo-Germanic Group."

   Dr. Taraporewala and the author took part in the discussion that followed.
3. In the absence of Mr. Divatia, his paper on "A note on the Guttural (kh) sound of the Cerebral Sibilant" was read by Principal Dhruva.

   Dr. Taraporewala made some remarks but no discussion took place.
4. The Influence of Bengali on the Mon Language of Indo-Burma. By Shew Zan Aung. (Taken as read in the absence of the author.)
5. On some unexplained forms in Sanskrit. By Amrita Row. (Taken as read in the absence of the author.)
6. A Note on Sanskrit Compounds. By I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D.
7. Dr. Woolner announced that the Punjab University has undertaken the publication of a *Punjabi Dictionary*. He explained the scheme fully and invited suggestions from the scholars assembled.
8. The Etymologies of Kubha, Lagh, Gevaya, etc., in the Aśokan Inscriptions. By Md. Shahidullah, M.A.

   Dr. Woolner and Mr. Sahidullah then discussed a few relevant questions regarding the subject.
9. Some Sinhalese Words Traced. By Charandas Chatterjee M.A.

   Mr. Sahidullah and the author took part in the debate that followed.
10. Prof. R. L. Turner's paper, "The loss of Vowel Alternation in Indo-Aryan," was read by Dr. Taraporewala as the writer was absent.
11. The Structure of the Kol Language. By Saileswar Sen, M.A.
12. Sanskrit Translation of Darius's Second Inscription at Persepolis. By Md. Shahidulla, M.A.

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13. Khasi Vocabulary. By Aftabuddin Ahmad.

The proceedings closed with a discourse by the President.

Proceedings of the Buddhist Section.

President :—THE ANAGĀRIKA DHARMAPAL.

31*st January*, 1922.

THE meeting of the Buddhist Section commenced at about 10-15 a.m. in Room No. 1 of the Darbhanga Buildings. The proceedings opened with the recitation of a *gāthā* by Mahāthera Rājaguru Dharmācārya and was continued in the following order :—

1. Presidential Address.
2. The Historical Study of the terms Mahāyāna and Hinayāna. By R. Kimura.

   The discussion on the paper was opened by Dr. B. M. Barua (who did not read his paper as the subject on which he had written overlapped with that of Mr. Kimura). He differed from Mr. Kimura on many points. In his opinion what was so long thought to be the quintessence of the Mahāyāna, viz. the Bodhisatta idea was really the quintessence of the Hinayāna. The Hinayāna represents a complete system of thought and we may find it worked out in the three books, viz. the *Buddha-vamsa*, the *Cariya Piṭaka* and the *Apadana*. The *sine qua non* of Mahāyāna is the Doctrine of Trikāya which had originated from the attempt to explain psychologically the process of the birth of Buddhism. The Trikāya doctrine has served to deepen the meaning of Buddha's enlightenment. The Hinayāna of which the quintessence is the Bodhisatta idea had originated from an attempt to account for the advent of the Buddha as a son of Man what we now know as Mahāyāna proper will I think be found out to be nothing but a combination of the Bodhisatta doctrine and the doctrine of the Trikāya.
3. Religion of Asoka. By M. Ghosh.

   The author in his paper took *Śrī Madiragṛham* a word found in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya in the sense of

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the temple of Durgā and also held that the Ajivikas were a Jaina sect. In the discussion, that followed Mr. H. C. Ray pointed out that *Śrīmadiragṛham* has been read by some as *Śrīmandiragṛham*,[1] i.e. the temple of *Śrī—madira* being a mistake for *mandira*. He also suggested that the Ajivikas were originally Brāhmaṇa ascetics as they are called *parivrājakas* in certain texts.[2] Dr. Barua was of opinion that the Ajivikas originally perhaps belonging to the Brāhmanical School later on gradually acquired a non-orthodox point of view (cf. their view on the authority of *Vedas*).

4. Traces of Cāṇakyanīti in the Tibetan Vinaya. By Johan Van Manen.

   The author did not submit any paper but delivered a short discourse on the subject in course of which he suggested that certain *Vinaya* rules might have been assimilated in *Cāṇakyanīti*. He appealed for a comparative study of the two sources.

5. The Internal Forces in the Spread of Buddhism. By Nalinaksa Dutt, M.A.,

6. Pratitya-samutpada Dharma. By Mahathera Rajaguru Dhammadhara. (The paper was written in Pali and Sinhalese script.)

7. Jātaka Stories in the Daśakumāracarita. By Nilmani Chakravarty.

8. The Maṅgalasutta and the Rock Edicts of Aśoka. By Sailendra Nath Mitra, M.A.

   As the author was unavoidably absent his paper was read by Mr. N. Dutt.

9. Some Characteristic Features of Buddhism. By Ramaprasad Chaudhury, M.A.

10. The Buddhist Schools in Brahmanical Literature. By Hirendralal Sen Gupta.

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[1] The correction has been suggested by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala in his *Notes on the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.*

[2] This suggestion was first put forward by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar in a private discussion.

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The Meeting then concluded after some interesting remarks from the chair. The attendance in this Section was fair. Dr. Sylvain Lévi was present for a considerable time.

Proceedings of the Science Section.

President :—Rai Bahadur Jogesh Chandra Rai, M.A., Vidyanidhi.

1*st February.*

1. The Proceedings opened with Mr. Binod Bihari Dutt's paper on "Town planning in Ancient India."

Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal Bose and the President offered some comments and made some enquiries which were answered by the author.

2. Mr. Umacharan Banerjee then read his paper on "Aviation in Ancient India."
3. Dr. B. M. Barua followed him with a paper on "A flying story in a Pali Commentary."

   These two papers offered an interesting subject for a debate in which, Messrs Prabodh Chandra Sen Gupta, Narendra Kumar Majumdar, Binod Bihari Dutta, Rajendranath Vidyabhushan and Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal Bose took part.

4. Pandit Ram Chandra Charlu read a Sanskrit paper on the "Jataka of Ram."

5, 6. Mr. N. K. Majumdar followed him with two papers on Śulba Sūtras and Laghu Mānsam. A few comments on these papers were offered by Mr. P. C. Sen Gupta.

7. The next paper was that on "Precession in Hindu Astronomy." By Paresprasad Majumdar, M.A.

   It was followed by an interesting debate between Messrs N. K. Majumdar and P. C. Sen Gupta.

8. A paper on the "Contributions towards the History of the Mineral Industry in Ancient India" was taken as read, in the absence of the author Mr. A. Ghose of Madras.
9. The last paper to be read was that of Dr. Ekendra Nath Ghose on "Difficult Labour and its Treatment according to the Ancient Hindu Physicians."

The Proceedings closed with the Presidential Address.

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Proceedings of the Arabic and Persian Section.

President :—Lieut.-Col. G. S. Ranking, M.A., M.D.

31*st January.*

1. After the Presidential address, Dr. Ranking, the President, requested Mr. A. Shushtery to read his paper on the "History of Sufism" but on the request of Mr. Khuda Bukhsh and with the consent of Mr Shushtery, the President allowed the former to read his paper on the "New World of Islam." He was given five minutes more on the unanimous consent of the members.
2. Then the President requested Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. J. J. Modi to read his paper on "Hafiz and Goethe."

   In the discussion which followed Dr. A. S. Siddique and the author took part.
3. The President then called Mr. Abbas Shushtery to read his paper on the "History of Sufism."

   Lively discussion followed in which Mr. Fida Ali Khan, Dr. S. Siddique and the author took part.
4. The President then requested Mr. R. N. Saha to read his paper on "The Discovery of America by the Arabs from the evidence of Koran."
5. It was followed by Mr. Nazir Ahmed's paper on the "Library of Khan Khanan."

   Mr. G. Yazdani asked an interesting question to which the author replied.
6. The President then called upon Maulvi Abdul Latif to read his paper on "Criticism on the Teaching of Arabic and Persian in the Indian Universities," and remarked that the subject was extremely interesting and important, and as such requested the members to hear him patiently.

   The President then called for a discussion but on the request of the members present, it was deferred to the end of the meeting.
7. The President then asked Prof. Tritton to read his paper on "Yemen in the Seventeenth Century."

After this the meeting was declared to be closed for the session.

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Proceedings of the Ancient Geography Section.

President :—Mr. K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A., Bar.-at-Law.

31*st January*, 1922.

1. Political Divisions of India long before the rise of Buddhism. By Nilmani Chakravarti, M.A.

   A discussion followed in which Mr. D. N. Sen, Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, Mr. A. K. Maitra and the President took part.

2. Some Notes on the Ancient Geography of India. By Prof. Surendra Nath Majumdar. The paper was read out by Dr. Raychaudhuri.

3. The Identity of Śuktimān Mountains. By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.

   The author's identification of Śuktimān with Suleiman was doubted by Mr. Panchanan Mitra and Dr. Raychaudhuri. Mr. Mitra said that identifications should not be based merely on philological grounds. Dr Raychaudhuri said that mere similarity of names was not always a sure guide. The Śuktimān was identified by Mr. C. V. Vaidya with the Kathiawar range.

   Mr. H. K. Deb supported the identification and so also the President who remarked that though the main thesis was acceptable the philological grounds adduced by the author were not convincing enough.

4. Geography of Bengal. By Anubhuti Bhattacharya, M.A.

   Dr. Majumdar asked the author how could Suhma have been to the east of Bengal. Mr. K. N. Dikshit replied that the Assam portion was still called by that name.

5. Rājagṛha in the Buddhist Scriptures. By D. N. Sen, M.A.

   The President remarked, "According to Rhys Davids North Rājagṛha was made by Ajātaśatru, but Mr. Sen correctly says it was only repaired by him. This point is important."

6. On the Localities mentioned in the Bhandak Plates of Kṛṣṇarāja I. By K. N. Dikshit, M.A.

7. Identification of Bhatinda in the Punjab. By Rai Bahadur Pandit Dayaram Sahni.

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The author suggested that the ancient name of the place was *Tribhāṇḍanapura* mentioned in an inscription which was brought over to the Lahore Museum by Sir Aurel Stein from Bhatinda.

8. Aryan Colonisation of Eastern India. By H. C. Chakladar

A discussion followed in which Mr. Panchanan Mitra, Dr. A. C. Das, Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda, Mr. B. Bhattacharya, Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Mr. S. P. Visvanatham and the President took part.

The meeting was closed with the Presidential Address.

Proceedings of the General Meeting of the Conference.

Dr. Sylvain Lévi, President, in the Chair.

February 1*st*, 1922.

1. Resolved, that the invitation of the Syndicate of the University of Madras to hold the Third Session of the Oriental Conference at Madras conveyed in the Vice-Chancellor's letter No. 518, dated the 20th January, 1922, be accepted and that the fixing of the exact date be left to the authorities of the University.

Proposed by the Honourable Sir Asutosh Mookerjee (Calcutta).

Seconded by Dr. Woolner (Lahore).

Supported by Prof. S. K. Aiyangar (Madras).

Carried unanimously.

2. Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda (Calcutta) proposed that the meeting of the Conference be held annually instead of biennially. The resolution was seconded by Professor Radhakumud Mukherji (Lucknow), but opposed by Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi (Bombay), and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (Patna). On a division being taken the resolution was declared lost.

3. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (Patna) proposed that the name of the Conference be altered to "Conference of Indologists" instead of "Oriental Conference." Mr. S. C. Roy (Dacca) seconded the resolution and Dr. J. J. Modi (Bombay), Dr. Woolner (Lahore) and Prof. S. K. Aiyangar (Madras) opposed. After some discussion the resolution, with the permission of the President, was withdrawn.

4. Mr. Gourlay (Calcutta) read a telegram from Mr. Hyderi of Hyderabad received by the President and President's reply.

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5. Resolved that this Conference recommend to the Governments and Universities in India the desirability of bringing the study of Oriental (Classical and Vernacular) languages more into line with the study of languages in Western Universities by making the study of the civilisation and culture concerned an integral part of degree courses in any Oriental language.

Proposed by Prof. Bhate (Patna).

Seconded by Dr. Woolner (Lahore).

Supported by Lieut.-Col. Ranking (Calcutta) and Mr. Chanda (Calcutta).

Carried unanimously.

6. Mr. Gourlay (Calcutta) read the following note by the President :—

The learned bodies devoted to Oriental Research in Europe and in America have felt the necessity of coming into close-contact in order better to organise the work of research. A Federation of Inter-allied Societies has been started during the War, and the first meeting was held in London, September, 1919. It was understood that Russia and Japan would be included as soon as possible in the scheme. This scheme has been working well since three years; the second session took place in Paris, July, 1920; the third one lastly in Boston, October, 1921.

It is highly desirable that India should enter that scheme and send regular delegates to attend the sessions. The chief aim of the Federation is to introduce, instead of the individualistic and quasi-anarchical conditions which have been so long prevailing in Oriental scholarship, a new spirit of organised collaboration, in order to have in every country some central body as representative of the whole community of national workers; it seems that this Oriental Conference is exactly qualified to represent India in the scheme as the sum of all learned bodies dealing in India with Oriental Researches.

It seems desirable that the Oriental Conference should send an application to the next session of the Federation which will take place this year, requesting to be affiliated to the said organisation in view of—

1. Taking a place in the common organisation of collective works.

2. Exchanging regular information on the work of research, which is being carried on.

On the first point, the Conference may find some interest to hear that the preparations of some collective works by an international body of scholars had already been taken in hands. A Committee has been appointed to prepare and bring out a scheme of a Dictionary of Buddhism including technical terms and proper names, both historical and geographical, and covering the

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whole extent of Buddhist lore Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, Chinese, Japanese, Mongolian, etc. A scheme for collective edition of the whole Tibetan Dulva that is the Vinaya of Mula Sarvāstivāda school, has been brought before the last session at Boston. Another scheme has been already taken in consideration, which will certainly interest you: that is historical cartography of India, atlas or maps of India meant to represent the progress of knowledge since Ptolemy's map down to D'anville and Rennell.

On the second point, it is understood that at every session delegates will report as fully as possible on the works already in hand, but not yet achieved or edited in their own country, so that no work may—as far as possible,—be duplicated unnecessarily, and that one may profit as soon as possible from the results of the labours of others.

Resolved, that this Conference should send delegates to the annual meeting of the Federation of Inter-allied Asiatic Societies and if possible and necessary, pay the travelling expenses of the delegates.

Proposed by Mr. Gourlay.

Seconded by Mr. Jayaswal.

Carried unanimously.

7. Mr. Utgikar (Poona) read a statement of the work done on the critical and scientific edition of the *Mahābhārata*, undertaken under the patronage of Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., Chief of Audh, by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

8. That a Committee consisting of the Chairman and the three Joint Secretaries of the Reception Committee of Calcutta be entrusted with the work of drawing up a Draft Constitution to be submitted to the next Session of the Oriental Conference, that the Office be made permanent and that an allowance of Rs. 50 per mensem be set aside from the funds for this purpose and that a Joint-Secretary resident in Madras be appointed by this Conference.

Proposed by Mr. Gourlay.

Seconded by Prof. S. K. Aiyengar.

Carried unanimously.

9. That Prof. S. K. Aiyengar (Madras) be appointed Joint-Secretary.

Proposed by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

Seconded by Mr. Jayaswal.

Carried unanimously.

10. On the suggestion of Mr. Gourlay a Committee consisting of the President, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and the

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three Secretaries were entrusted with the work of selecting papers for publication in the Proceedings of the Conference.

11. Resolved, that this Conference express gratitude to those Governments, States, Institutions and private individuals who have assisted financially and otherwise.

Proposed by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

Seconded by Prof. K. A. Subramania Ayer.

Carried unanimously.

12. Resolved, that this Conference offer their best thanks to the Chairman and Members of the Reception Committee and to the Post-Graduate students and others who had given so much time in organising the Conference and seeing to the comforts of the delegates.

Proposed by Dr. Woolner.

Seconded by Prof. Aiyengar.

Supported by Mr. Daruwalla.

Carried unanimously.

13. Resolved, that a Numismatic Section be opened at the next Session of the Conference.

Proposed by Mr. K. N. Dikshit (Calcutta).

Seconded by Prof. R. C. Majumdar (Dacca).

Carried unanimously.

14. Resolved, that this Conference recommend to the Government of India the desirability of increasing the number of scholarships for the study of Oriental Languages in Europe, so that there should be granted every year two scholarships for Sanskrit, one for Arabic and one for Persian.

Proposed by Dr. Siddiqui (Hyderabad).

Seconded by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala.

Carried unanimously.

15. Resolved, that in the matter of the conservation of ancient monuments in the different circles of the Archaeological Department such of them as bear on them historical inscriptions, even where the monuments themselves, are not found to be of general archaeological or architectural value, be brought under the protection of the Ancient Monuments' Act so far as this could be done under the existing rules of the Act, and where these Monuments (with inscriptions) are entirely disowned and abandoned by the owners or their trustees, they be declared "Protected" at once and saved from vandalism and further decay.

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Proposed by Dr. J. J. Modi.

Seconded by Prof. R. C. Majumdar.

Carried unanimously.

16. Resolved, that this Conference express deep regret at the death of the following members of the Conference :—

Mahamahopadhyaya Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan.

Dr. T. K. Laddu.

Mr. H. Panday.

Mr. V. Natesan Ayer.

Proposed by Prof. S. K. Aiyengar.

Duly seconded.

Carried unanimously.

The following papers were then read :—

1. Sanskrit Studies. By Rai Bahadur Lalit Mohan Chatterjee.
2. On a Uniform Braille System for Indian Vernaculars by Prof. P. M. Advani. By Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala.
3. A Scheme for a Simplified Phonetic Script for Bengali by a Committee consisting of Sir G. A. Grierson and others. By Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala.

Resolved, that the scheme be recommended for adoption.

Proposed by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala.

Duly seconded.

Carried unanimously.

The Meeting then came to a close for the session with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

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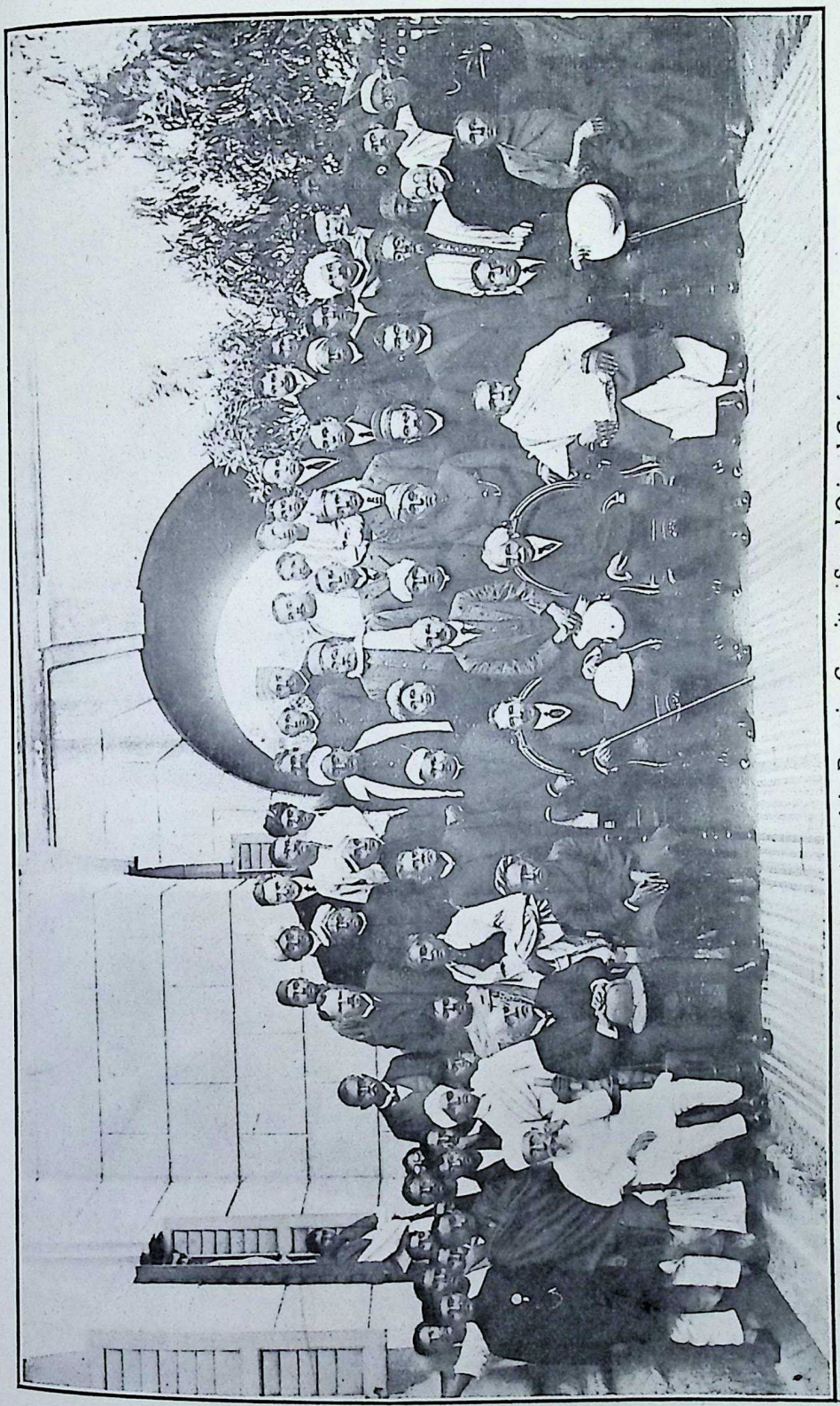

The Delegates and Members of the Reception Committee, Second Oriental Conference.

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Articles.

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Vedic Section.

President:

Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR, M.A., Ph.D.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

By Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.

Gentlemen—

Owing to lack of sufficient time or lack of sufficient ability—whichever way you take it—the only thing that I am enabled to present to you by way of a presidential address is a few hurried jottings that I was able to put together during the brief moments that I managed to snatch in the course of the last two days. You will not find therein anything new or anything very good: but that is all that I possess, and nobody can be expected to give away more than what he really possesses.

The *Veda* has been for India, through all her long and chequered and not too inglorious history, the source and fountainhead, the origin and inspiration of all Indian achievements in every field of science and literature. To the Hindu it is the word of God: it is in some respects even godlier than God himself. For generations and centuries and milleniums he has made efforts that are unparalled throughout the history of human civilisation to preserve that Revealed Scripture in living memory, and to transmit it onwards without the loss of a single syllable or accent. And yet the All-devouring Time has made havoc with it. Vast as is the mass of the extant literature that falls under the denomination of the *Veda*, that which is lost is still vaster. Great and painstaking as have been the efforts of the authors of the *Padapāṭha*, the *Prātiśākhyas*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, and the several *Vedāṅgas*—not to speak of professed exegetes like Yāska and Sāyaṇa—the efforts, the works and authors, which they presuppose and actually mention by name and of which unhappily no vestiges have been preserved to us are at least thrice as great and voluminous. And while we are justly proud of this priceless ancient heritage and deeply grateful to those to whom we owe its preservation, we cannot help giving out at times a sigh of regret at the thought as to how much more rich and fruitful and world-inspiring would have been the influence and achievement of that same *Veda* if it had been preserved to this day along with all its varied paraphernalia of ancillary texts, glosses, manuals, and what not, compiled as they have been with differing motives and from different points of view.

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But let not the Hindu of these days lay flattering unction upon his soul at the glorious recital of the heroic achievements of his forefathers. Let him rather ask unto himself: what has he done in his own generation to deserve all this priceless heritage that was once revealed by a benign Providence unto the *Ṛṣis* of yore? There was a time when every Hindu had to learn and did learn portions of his own Vedic *Śākhā*—if not the whole of it—by heart. The modern school regimen has practically ruled that out. Until he comes to the final years of his Graduation-course—I speak open to correction—he has hardly read and understood even a single line of the *Veda*, belief in the infallibility of which, according to some, forms one of the cardinal tenets of Hinduism. Nay nearly 75 per cent of our University-turned Graduates do not even do this much. And even of those that do it, how slipshod, how fragmentary is their knowledge, how limited, how distorted their vision of it, how little calculated to uplift the mind and to put it in tune with the Infinite! I go even further. Barring a few honourable exceptions, even the professed Oriental Scholar of this country—as compared with his English or French or American or German colleague—falls, as regards his literary equipments, the duration and direction and persistence of his efforts, the variety of his viewpoints, and the mass of his actual output, very much lower in the scale. I beg not to be misunderstood. Ideas original and fruitful he does incontestably possess: but ideas in moments of inspiration upon us flashing, take years of patient toil in their proving—and it is this patience that most of us lack. We are prone to generalise—to philosophise—much too early, philosophise even when there is hardly any data for our philosophising.

That I might not seem to be unduly self-deprecatory I propose to give below some of the topics germane to Vedic Scholarship which are bound to yield a rich harvest of interesting results and which still await the efforts of a band of earnest workers in the field. As a basis for this I am making use of a Table of Contents which I drew out sometime ago for a proposed *Ṛgveda Companion* on the model of similar works for Latin and Greek scholarship. The book was distributed into 36 chapters each dealing with a separate topic pertaining to Ṛgvedic study. I shall not here trouble you with an enumeration of these topics, but select just a few to show what

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amount of important though elementary work there yet remains to be performed as regards our *Ṛgveda*.

One of such topics is that of the *Śākhās* and *Khilas* of the *Ṛgveda*. Years ago Weber in his *Indische Studien* did much pioneering work along this line; and more recently Simon and Schefte-lowitz in their comprehensive works dealing with the *Śākhās* of the *Vedas* and the Apocryphal hymns of the *Ṛgveda* have thrown considerable light in the field. But theirs can by no means be regarded as the very last word. Much has been unearthed of late that needs to be taken account of. For instance, we have been assured of the existence until towards the end of the 18th century of a *Saṃhitā* and a *Brāhmaṇa* text for the *Śāṅkhāyana*, the *Āśvalāyana*, the *Māṇḍukīya* and the *Bāṣkala* recensions of the *Ṛgveda*; and there has been actually published what is called the *Bāṣkalamantropaniṣad* which, like the *Īśopaniṣad*, seems to have once formed a part of the *Bāṣkala Saṃhitā*. The *Nighaṇṭus* list at least 10 words as coming from the *Ṛgveda* which we do not find in the preserved recension of the *Śākalaśākhā*, and two of which we actually find only in the corresponding portions of the *Yajur* and the *Atharva Vedas*. Yāska in one place gives us the important variation of तौरयाणः for वावृधानः and even Sāyaṇa gives many variations of reading. Nor is the Saṃhitā-order presupposed in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* the same that the *Śākala* text actually gives us. A thorough investigation of the complicated data of the several texts late and early can alone help the formulation of definite views in the matter.—Take another topic: the *Padapāṭha* in its relation to the *Saṃhitāpāṭha*. As is well known, there are 8 Ṛgvedic stanzas that have no distinct *Padapāṭha*. They must accordingly have been unknown to Śākala the author of the *Padapāṭha*. Now one of these 8 stanzas is the last one of the famous *Hiraṇyagarbha Sūkta* with its characteristic refrain: कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम. This refrain is lacking to the last *ṛc*—

प्रजापते न त्वदेतान्यन्यो विश्वा जातानि परि ता बभूव ।
यत्कामास्ते जुहुमस्तन्नो अस्तु वयं स्याम पतयो रयीणाम् ॥

This *ṛc*, according to Bloomfield, forms the reply to the *brahmodya* or riddle proposed by the rest of the hymn. Bloomfield, as you are aware, refuses to regard any part of the present *Ṛgveda* as earlier than any other part. He accordingly believes that to the Vedic seer *Ka* always meant *Prajāpati*. But in view of the fact

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that the last *ṛc*, which equates the interrogative pronoun with the Lord of Creation, is late, that view, it is evident, cannot hold water. There are also other interesting facts that come out upon a careful comparison of the *Pada* and the *Saṃhitā* texts. The *Pada* often resolves the same word occurring in same contexts differently: e.g. the word अरण occurring in RV. X. 63. 16 and RV. X. 185. 2. We can in such cases safely correct the *Padapāṭha* by its own data, and so advance the science of Vedic exegesis. All such facts need careful tabulation.

Turn we next to the list of Vedic seers and the ritualistic *viniyoga* of the Vedic *mantras*. Can we suppose that the names of the *Ṛṣis* given by the *Anukramaṇīs* were based upon an authentic tradition? There are many facts pointing the other way, one of them being the circumstance that an identical Vedic stanza occurring in two different portions of the *Saṃhitā* is at times ascribed to two different seers. On the other hand it is too much to believe that the entire *Ṛṣi* list has been merely the unhistorical and unscrupulous fabrication of a crafty priesthood. It becomes therefore necessary to investigate the whole list afresh and bring the names given therein into relation with the numerous other *Ṛṣi* names that we get from the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas* and even *Purāṇas*. And the same thing applies to the ritualistic use of specific *mantras* prescribed in the *Anukramaṇīs*. It is a fact long conceded that these *viniyogas* often run counter to the sense of the *mantras*: there is no indication in the *mantras* themselves that they were intended for purposes for which the priests made use of them. What then was the original sacrificial system for which the *Ṛgveda* was designed and what the newer sacrificial system to which it was later applied? And was there an original ritualistic recension of the *Ṛgveda*? I am sure we can reach the solution of these problems only through a thorough and a critical investigation of the data of the *Anukramaṇīs*.

I will pass over with a bare mention the problems connected with the Vedic metre, the Vedic grammar and syntax, as also the Vedic accents. In independent works and exhaustive articles in the learned journals these problems have been more or less worked up—not by Indians so much as by American and German scholars. But one topic I shall here emphasise because of its intrinsic importance: the similes and metaphors in the *Ṛgveda*. Nearly 15 years ago Hirt

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zel collected together all the similes and metaphors in the *Ṛgveda* and classified them into appropriate groups and was able to deduce therefrom very interesting conclusions as to the range of ideas and the outlook on life of the Vedic poets. Some of the other figures of speech in the *Ṛgveda* and other *Vedas* need to be similarly worked out. In my opinion the critical valuation of the similes of a poet is one of the best means that we have for entering into the very heart and soul of the writer. This has been amply illustrated in the case of Shakespeare, and can be again illustrated in the case of our own Indian Shakespeare.

Next we have the manifold problems connected with the contents of the *Ṛgveda*: the kings, tribes, countries; rivers, oceans, mountains; birds, animals, plants, metals; food, dress, occupations, amusements, etc., mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*, a systematic presentation of which was attempted by Zimmer years ago, and more recently by the authors of the *Index of Vedic Names*. Schrader's *Real Lexikon* is also a monumental work on the subject now passing through a second edition. But there is not only room but even an urgent demand for a fresh work arranged upon a somewhat different principle. The Vedic polity, the Vedic astronomy, the status of women in the *Ṛgveda* or the religion and philosophy of the *Ṛgveda* are topics which have only to be mentioned to make one feel the large gap that there is about our knowledge of the *Ṛgveda*—a gap which only a scientific study of the texts pursued neither under the influence of a supercilious modernism that refuses to credit the old with anything that is not far down in the scale of evolution nor again under the spell of an exaggerated patriotism bent upon seeing in the *Veda* all the most modern achievements of Western Science, but in the honestly critical and truth-finding spirit, can alone adequately remove or bridge over.

Turning to more external problems, I mention those connected with the age of the *Ṛgveda*, the original home of the Aryans and the line or lines of their migrations, and the *Ṛgveda* in its Indo-European and Indo-Iranian relations viewed from the points of view of Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology. What a world of difference there subsists to the present day in the different theories and hypotheses now in the field and maintained with conviction and tenacity by so many different writers Indian and non-Indian, old and new! And yet surely one of the most elementary

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conditions of progress in research is to know what has been already said on a specific topic by writers who have already gone before us. Now where can one find a concise and systematic presentation of the different theories on these varied topics along with arguments used for supporting or refuting the same as the case may be? There is no book that I can easily and confidently name—certainly none in English. Hirt produced some fifteen years ago his two volumes on the Indogermanen where an attempt was made to prove that the original Aryan home was in Germany—round about the environs of Berlin some one has said. Schrader's book translated under the name of "*Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan People*" was another rival attempt along similar lines. The early chapters of these works contain a systematic and chronological presentation of earlier theories; and the same was attempted for all the departments of Sanskrit scholarship in Windisch's unhappily incomplete history of Sanskrit studies published in the *Grundriss* But most of these attempts are now more or less antiquated, where they are not actually vitiated by the writer's bias for specific pet theories; and none of them give all that an earnest worker in the field would love to find therein.

The same dearth of systematic literary efforts confronts us as we pass on to the problems connected with the relation of the *Ṛgveda* to the other *Saṃhitās*, with the *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas* of the *Veda* or with the status and position assigned to the *Veda* in our Epics, Law-books, *Purāṇas*,, and Philosophies. A few European savants have opened out just a few vistas here and there: but the rest is an overgrown jungle of ignorance that needs to be cleared with the axe of knowledge. But why labour a point which very few would be inclined seriously to dispute? To go no farther, we have not even a decent edition of the *Ṛgveda*. Max Müller's is costly and unprocurable; Aufrecht's is in Roman characters; and the Bombay editions are rather uncritical. Nor is there an adequate English translation. That of Griffith is now well-nigh antiquated. Macdonell has one on hand for the Harvard Oriental Series; and Bloomfield, I am told, contemplates another. But what are we Indians going to do? If Macdonell claims that a *first* critical translation of the *Veda* must come from a foreigner let us claim that the really *final* one can come only from a native translator. And then we have no adequate dictionary for the *Ṛgveda*. Grassmann's is

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both antiquated and unusable owing to a faulty system of reference, and the rest is all silence.

How long are we who glory in the achievements of our worthy forefathers going to permit this state of things to continue? It is a serious blot upon our intellect which we and especially the younger generation of scholars of to-day and to-morrow must do their level best to remove. But I would rather have the blot stay yet a little longer with us if it can thereby be saved from immature and uncritical efforts put forth in the very best of spirit and yet calculated to do more harm than good to the cause. We do not want forced marches even in scholarship: we are sure to rue them in the end.

A virgin soil—or at any rate one only partially worked out—it is the lot of few scholars to own and till. We have one such ahead of us, wherein even desultory efforts have been known to yield a very rich harvest. But that is just where the danger lies. We are prone under the circumstances to get rather accustomed to a minimum of efforts and a maximum of results and so impair the whole *morale* of our work. But having fully realised this danger would it be in vain to hope that our young Orientalists of to-day will rise above all obstacles and prove to an admiring world that those who own the soil have naturally the best right to till it and to reap the just harvest?

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LITERARY STRATA IN THE ṚGVEDA.

By Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.

That the *Ṛgveda* is a compilation of old and new hymns ascribed to 'seers' of different generations and therefore, on the basis of linguistic and other evidence, capable of being distributed into two or more literary periods was one of the earliest and most natural assumptions of Vedic Scholarship, and Muir (O.S.T., III, pp. 116–128) adduced, as early as 1861, many passages from the *Ṛgveda* itself where distinction is drawn between hymns and seers of them "older, middle, and more recent" (RV. III. 32. 13; VI. 21. 5, etc.). Explicit statements like these could not be doubted or explained away, and one of the first tasks of Vedic scholarship was to find out the lexical, linguistic, literary, social, mythological, and philosophical characteristics of the 'older' and 'newer' hymnology with a view to ascertain the line of idealogical evolution. Lanman (J.A.O.S., 1878), Bergaigne (J.A., 1886–1887), Arnold (KZ, 34, 37, *Vedic Metre*, and finally, J.A.O.S., 18. 2), H. Oldenberg (*Prolegomena*), and others working from distinctive points of view, have amassed a number of facts the probative force of which for a chronological stratification of the Vedic hymns it is impossible to gainsay; and in his *Historical Vedic Grammar* Arnold essayed, on the strength of over two hundred different objective tests, to divide the *Ṛgveda* into five literary periods. Unhappily the tests could not be applied to *all* hymns. They admitted of exceptions and counter-exceptions. And worst of all, Arnold started with a reservation in favour of certain hymns which were on all hands admitted as late, either because they disturbed the usual principles of *Maṇḍala* arrangement or contained obviously late ideas and speculations. These latter hymns, to be sure, would in most cases submit to the proposed stylo-metric tests, but they were to be declared 'late' even if they refused to do so. This was a *saṅkara*, a crossing of principles, which could have been avoided.

But that is not all. A text like the *Ṛgveda* which acquired rather early the character of sacred scripture, and which came to be transmitted from generation to generation by oral instruction only, was bound to maintain a stereotyped literary form which it

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was easy to imitate; and a way was thus opened for 'pious fraud' in the shape of interpolated stanzas and hymns. And if a poet of a later period, like Kālidāsa, could successfully imitate Vedic idiom for Kaṇva's benedictory stanza in the *Śākuntala* (Act IV), much more readily and cleverly could this have been done by a priest of the early *Brāhmaṇa* period steeped in the ritualistic traditions of the *Veda*, and engaged moreover in the task of collecting the scattered hymns of an earlier age into the Sacred Canon. The real question at issue therefore is whether these compilers of the Canon had enough reverence—in other words, enough critical spirit—to keep their own composition distinct from the work of the older seers, or whether they mixed the old with the new and even touched and modified it in a hundred different ways, with the result that the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* such as they have come down to us can only be said to be largely epigonal as constituting 'the mixed final precipitate of a later time' pervaded uniformly by priest-craft and a greed for guerdon. This last has been the contention of Bloomfield whose latest scholarly work, *Rigveda Repetitions*, while it has succeeded in considerably weakening the force of the time-honoured stylo-metric tests (l.c., p. 636f.) has practically left the problem where we found it decades ago; for, the superior or inferior quality of repetition which he proposes as a new criterion of date is, in the first place, largely a subjective affair; and there is besides every possibility of a later writer imitating without being caught in the trade, or of an earlier writer producing poetry which can lend itself readily to being labelled as 'inferior' repetition of a later composition,—the more so as the theme of the song was stereotyped and left little scope for originality. Bloomfield himself admits that the *Ṛgveda* presupposes at all points a long period of antecedent activity or that the tenth *Maṇḍala*, for instance, contains a great deal of late matter; but he would have us go no farther. We could never conclude that certain hymns are early as exhibiting some specific characteristics which are absent in certain other so-called later hymns. Even in a 'primitive nature poetry' like that contained in *Ṛgveda* I. 92, he detects the presence of the cold grabbing hand of the priestly compiler (*Religion of the Veda*, p. 66). The *Ṛgveda* as being 'the final expression of its own type of composition' presents us, according to Bloomfield, with the same hieretic character throughout, and there is no valid method

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of determining from its own datum the earlier stages of development.

All this is tantalizing in the extreme. Fortunately, a way exists out of this *impasse* and it is the object of this paper to exhibit it in details. The new evidence for determining the lateness of certain hymns of the *Ṛgveda* which we are going to place before oriental scholars has in fact been before them for more than sixty years, but its real significance has not been hitherto appreciated. And the evidence differs from those used by Arnold, Bloomfield, and others in that it is external to the *Veda* and moreover definitely datable, and it partly substantiates the earlier intrinsic tests but partly supplants or supplements them.

Yāska's *Nirukta*, which in all probability dates from the 7th century B.C., is, as is well known, a discursive commentary on certain lists of Vedic words—the *Nighaṇṭavaḥ*—compiled by certain predecessors of Yāska whom he regards as belonging to about the same age and authority as the compilers of the *Brāhmaṇas* and their supplementary treatises (*vedaṃ ca vedāṅgāni ca*, Nir. I. 20). Yāska knows of more than one recension of these lists (Nir. VII 13: *tān apy eke samāmananti*), and in some cases at least he is unable to quote a passage from the *Ṛgveda* as he knew it for a word from the *Nighaṇṭu* list, which must have once been compiled from some recension of the same *Veda* [e.g. *kurutána* (Nig. IV. 1. 8; Nir. IV. 7), *Cyávana* (Nig. IV. 1. 38; Nir. IV. 19—*Cyavānam ity apy asya nigamā bhavanti*), *vṛndám* (Nig. IV. 3. 129; Nir. VI. 34), etc.]. It would be safe to infer a distance of at least a couple of centuries between the *Nirukta* and the '*Samāmnāya*' on which it comments.

Now the *Nighaṇṭus* are thrown into five chapters. The last or the fifth which enumerates the *devatās* and deified objects that are normally invoked at a sacrifice, and which seems to have existed in more than one recension might be here ignored. The first contains 17 groups of synonyms while the second 22. The third, besides giving 28 such groups, adds at the end two more sections, the first giving 13 pairs of synonyms of undefined sense—*ṣaḍviṃśatir dviśa uttarāṇi nāmāni*, while the second contains 24 synonyms for the dual conception 'the two worlds.' It is possible that the last two sections of this third chapter are added by a later hand, though the supposition is not essential for our purpose. Nor need we consider here the question whether this third chapter

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shows other marks of interpolations in the body of its sections The first three chapters together give 1308 Ṛgvedic words, the same being generally given as Nom. Singulars [1] or Present 3rd Pers. [2] Singulars* and only sporadically (cp. I. sections 14, 15, 17 ; II. sec. 8, 15, 19 ; III. sec. 13, 19, 23, 29) in the very form in which they occur in the *Ṛgveda-saṃhitā*. No explanation has been forthcoming as to why at least a few of the words listed in the first three chapters should have been given in the *Nighaṇṭus* in the very form in which we meet them in the *Saṃhitā*.

As contrasted with the first three, the fourth chapter, called the *Aikapadika*, gives single words and in the very form in which the *Ṛgveda* uses them ; sometimes indeed with a preceding or a following word in order to more precisely fix its entourage (e.g. IV. 2. 13—*sómo-akṣāḥ* ; IV. 2. 74—*Tūtumā́-kṛṣe* ; IV. 3. 39—*devó-devā́cyā-kṛpā́*, etc.). Yāska (IV. 1) thus brings out the difference : *Ekārtham anekaśabdam ity etad uktam ; atha yāny anekārthāny ekaśabdāni tāny ato 'nukramiṣyāmo 'navagatasaṃskārāṃś ca nigamān. Tad Aikapadikam ity ācakṣate.* The 278 words in this chapter were therefore once regarded as difficult and of uncertain significance and grammatical formation ; and they were put together by a certain secondary generation of Vedic interpreters (Nir. I. 20—*upadeśāya glāyanto 'vare*) as helps to memory, and were probably accompanied by oral disquisitions about the meaning or meanings of each. And as we have three sections in the chapter giving 62 + 84 + 132 (= 278) words, it is permissible to hold that the sections represent as many separate attempts to put together the difficult words, especially as a word like *dūtáḥ* occurs in section two as well as three, Nos. 3 and 99 respectively. Further, chapter fourth cannot be regarded as the work of the same author or authors who put together the first three chapters, since a number of words (e.g. *kúlišaḥ*, Nig. IV. 3. 81 ; *sínam* ; Nig. IV. 2. 28) which figure in the *Aikapadika* as words of uncertain meaning and derivation occur in the earlier chapters also (cf. Nig. II. 20. 12, and II. 7. 8) amongst synonyms of known significance.

All these complicated facts admit of the following simple explanation as to the genesis of the *Nighaṇṭu* lists. At a time long subsequent to the age of the "Seers of intuitive perception" (Nir. I. 20) when the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, having acquired the character

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[1] Occasionally duals or plurals. [2] Occasionally other persons also.

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of "ancient Scripture," began to be diligently collected and studied, some one goes through a collection of hymns thus made, marking all difficult words as they meet him, the same process being repeated with each fresh collection of hymns admitted into the canon. The best exegetes of the day explain the words as best as they might, and it is discovered that a large number of them are synonymous. They are accordingly arranged as such. And when synonyms for a concept like the earth or water got arranged together, what more natural than to complete the list of synonyms by the addition of all the other words of the same sense that were found used in the *Ṛgveda*, be they easy or be they difficult? Hence they lost the character of lists of merely difficult Vedic words that they once had, without yet being a complete vocabulary for the hymns in question, as they did not contain lists of words denoting concepts which were (i) either unknown to the *Veda*, or (ii) none of the words used for the expression of which were regarded by the original compilers of the *Nighaṇṭus* as difficult. When arranged in these synonymous groups the words were reduced to Nom. Sing. and Third Pers. Sing. forms except in cases where the meaning assigned to a word was dubious and it was therefore desirable to leave the question more or less open, in which case, to help the identification of the Vedic passage, the word was suffered to remain in the very form in which it was used in the *Veda* (if the form was distinctive). When amidst the original compilation of difficult words some occurred singly they naturally could not be arranged as groups of synonyms at first. But once they were interpreted by the *Ācāryas* or preceptors, other Vedic words could be found for formulating along with them a string of synonyms. It is probably in some such way that the first three chapters of the *Nighaṇṭus* have assumed their present form. Three stages mark the process: (1) a first list of difficulties; (2) a grouping of the words—after their exegesis—into synonyms where possible; and (3) completing the synonyms by (i) enlarging earlier lists where they existed or (ii) making fresh lists to suit the solitary difficult words.

It will now be evident that the fourth or the *Aikapadika* chapter of the *Nighaṇṭus* shows us the same process *arrested at the first stage*. We cannot regard the fourth chapter as merely exhibiting the residual material of the first three chapters, because a number of words are common to the fourth and the earlier chap-

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ters. There is evidently a distance in time and a difference of authorship as between the first three chapters on the one hand and the fourth on the other; and at first blush it seems a very reasonable view to hold that the *Aikapadika* chapter has derived its vocabulary from a body of hymns forming part of a comparatively recent accretion made to the Canon: of course it need not have been the first of its kind nor for the matter of that the very last. That this view is abundantly confirmed by a critical examination of the Ṛgvedic passages where the words in question occur it is the object of this paper to prove. If the proof is valid and if we thereby succeed in putting our hand upon a specific portion of the *Ṛgveda* (roughly amounting to between three to four hundred hymns from all *Maṇḍalas* but more particularly from the first, the eighth, and the tenth) we will not only have gained a position from which to judge of the relative merits of all the current tests for lateness, the oldest as well as the newest, but we can on the strength of this result arrive at the pre-Ṛgvedic history of the Aryans by comparing and contrasting the social, religious, and philosophical data of the earlier portions of the *Ṛgveda* with the data of the newer accretion in question.[1] Incidentally also we will have reached presumptive evidence against the conservative estimates of the age of the Vedic period made by Max Müller and accepted and supported by Macdonell and Keith.

Of the 278 words in the *Aikapadika* just 77 words are such as appear only once in our present text of the *Ṛgveda* and these are therefore the most convenient to begin with. We give below in a tabular form the words, the place in the *Aikapadika* where they occur, the *Ṛgveda* passage which uses them, the class to which Arnold assigns the passage on the strength of his stylo-metric tests; its traditional 'seer,' and finally a brief indication of the 'late' features exhibited by the passage in question or by the whole Ṛgvedic hymn containing the passage The remarks in the last column profess to be suggestive only and not exhaustive.

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[1] This has been attempted in the Second Volume of the *History of Indian Philosophy* by Professor Ranade and the writer, now passing through the Press.

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Word.	Nighaṇṭu.	Ṛgveda	Arnold.	Seer.	REMARKS.
Jahā ..	iv.1.1	8.45.37	A	Triśoka Kāṇva.	Hymn made up of tṛcas the first and last with a refrain. 37–9 a tṛc containing another word from the *Aikapadika*, *śvaghnín*. The word *bundáḥ* from *Aik.* occurs in st. 4. Mentions seer by his name; also Yadu Turvaśa. Has 15 rep. pādas.
Titaii ..	iv.1.10	10.71.2	C_1	Bṛhaspati	Contains words *lakṣmī* and *brāhmaṇa* (bis). Abstract subject-matter. Sacrificial technique in st. 11.
Irmāntāsaḥ.	iv.1.14	1.163.10	B_2, C_1	Dīrghatamas Aucathya.	Hymns 162–164 regarded as appendix. It contains reference to horse-sacrifice Contains mystical praise of the sun as a horse The preceding and succeeding hymns contain riddles and much advanced speculation.
Káyamānaḥ.	iv.1.15	3.9.2	A	Viśvāmitra	Contains 9 rep. pādas and its phrasing is trite and unoriginal.
Lodhám..	iv.1.16	3.53.23	C_2	Do. ..	Hymns 52 and 53 are late additions to Indra group. 53 is composite, the last tṛc (22–24) being the famous Vasiṣṭha-hating stanzas. There is mention made of Sudās, Viśvāmitra, the Bharatas, the Anaryan country of the Kīkaṭas, the enemy Pramaganda, and the mystic 'Sasarparī.'
Vidradhé	iv.1.18	4.32.23	A	Vāmadeva	The hymn composite. St. 2[illegible]–24 contain a gift-praise. Gotamas named. Flat and for the most part 'inspired by *baksheesh*'.
Túgvani..	iv.1.20	8.19.37	A	Saubhari Kāṇva	Grassmann assigns st. 27 and 34–37 to the Appendix. St. 36–37 contain the gift-praise of king Trasadasyu Paurukutsa on the river Suvāstu. The seer named.
Daṃsáyaḥ	iv.1.56	10.138.1	B_2	Aṇga Aurava.	Kutsa mentioned as Indra's protegee, and Pipru the foe called 'Asura' and māyin. St. 3 supposed to contain reference to solar eclipse. In any case st. 6 mentions the lunar mansions. No repeated pāda.

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Word.	Nighaṇṭni	Ṛgveda.	Arnold.	Seer.	REMARKS.
Tūtāva ..	iv.1.57	1.94.2	B_2	Kutsa Āṅgirasa.	A standing refrain throughout besides the end refrain of the group. Ātharvaṇa prayer in st. 9. Also sacrificial technique in st. 6. Many late grammatical forms. The Kutsa group i. 94–105 is assigned to B_2 period by Arnold.
Viyute ..	iv.1.59	3.54.7	B_2	Prajāpati Viśvāmitra, or Vācya.	"Mystic" phraseology in a formulative stage (st. 4). Being addressed to Viśve Devas it is not easy to vouch for its non-compositeness.
Kāṇukā́	iv.2.42	8.77.4	B_2	Kurusuti Kāṇva.	Grassmann regards, it as composed of 3 tṛcas with two ṛcas appended at the end by way of a concluding strophic build. The hymn has two more words fr. *Aik.*, *bundá* (bis), and *ṛdupé*. Gives a description of child-Indra's exploits.
Ā́pānta-manyuḥ.	iv.2.45	10.89.5	B_2	Reṇu ..	The Viśvāmitras named in the hymn which has also the Viś. refrain. Mentions *bráhma návyam* and *sumatīnā́m navānā́m*. St. 5 is alone addressed for Indra Soma; the rest to Indra only. St. 6 contains another word fr. the *Aik.*, *sómo akṣāḥ* Has 8 repeated pādas.
Śmaśā́ ..	iv.2.46	10.105.1	B_2	Durmitra (or Sumitra) Kautsa.	Sense and verse quite confused. Grassmann regards the hymn as appendix. The seer mentioned by name.
Vā́jagandhyam.	iv.2.50	9.98.12	A	Ambarīṣa & Ṛjiśvā.	The metre: 1–10 Anuṣṭubh, 11 Bṛhatī, 12 again Anuṣṭubh. St. 12 also has another *Aika.*, word, *Vā́japastyam*.
Gádhitā	iv.2.52	1.126.6	B_2	Romaśā ..	Grassmann and Oldenberg treat this as appendix. Composite make-up. St. 6–7 from a popular love song. St. 1–3 and 4–5 gift-praise of Svanaya and of Daśaratha. The seer named. 'Asura' as a king's epithet. The word occurs twice here. The Gāndhāras named. The word *sarva* used.
Káurayāṇaḥ.	iv.2.52	8.3.21	A	Medhātithi Kāṇva.	St. 21–24 are a gift-praise of Pākasthāma Kaurayāṇa. The hymn an appendix in Grass-

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Word.	Nighaṇṭu.	Ṛgveda.	Arnold.	Seer.	REMARKS.
					mann. St. 8 has 'late idea.' Bhṛgu, Kaṇva, Yatis, Paura, Praskaṇva, Ruśama, Priyamedhās, Kṛpa, Śyāvaka, and Svarṇara mentioned as Indra's protegees.
Hárayāṇa	iv.2.56	8.25.22	A	Viśvamanā Vaiyaśva.	Composite. St. 22–24 a gift-praise. St. 24 'newest song.' Patrons like Ukṣṇyāyana, Harayāṇa, and Suṣāman mentioned. Nine repeated pādas.
Niṣpapí ..	iv.2.59	1.104.5	B_2	Kutsa Āṅgirasaḥ.	Against Maṇḍala order and regarded as late by Oldenberg; Grass. rejects st. 4. One inferior repetition. The *Aik.* word *jaṭhára* in st. 9. Kuvaya, the foe of Indra, his wives, the rivers (?) Aṅjasī, Kuliśī, and Vīrapatnī, and some obscure incident in connection with the foe Kuvaya mentioned. Also river Śiphā.
Tūrṇāśam	iv.2.60	8.32.4	A	Medhātithi Kāṇva.	Has 16 repeated pādas with 2 st. entirely repeated. Mentions Sṛbinda, Anarśani, Pipru, Ahīśuva, Arbuda son of Ūrṇavāda, amongst Indra's foes. Names Priyamedha. It has the word *bṛbáduktham* fr. *Aik.*
Kṣúmpam	iv.2.61	1.84.8	A, B_1, B_2.	Gautama Rāhūgaṇaḥ.	Composite; seven fragments. 12 rep. pādas. St. 7–9 is a tṛc (like one or two more) showing similar construction features. Bergaigne regards the hymn as late.
Nicumpunáḥ.	iv.2.62	8.93.22	A	Sukakṣa Āṅgirasa.	Composed of tṛcas and with 17 repeated pādas. The word *sarva* used twice. It has the character of a secondary compilation.
Pádim ..	iv.2.63	1.125.2	B_2	Kakṣīvān Dairghatama Auśijaḥ.	Gift-praise of Svanaya, with a prominent mention of dakṣiṇā (st. 6). Gr. regards the hymn as appendix.
Pādúḥ ..	iv.2.64	10.27.24	C_1	Vasukra Aindraḥ.	Gr. regards st. 7–10 and 11–24 as appendix. The kernel is a dialogue bet. Indra and the poet, requiring prose explanations. Some st. are riddle-wise. 22–24 are cosmologico-mystical.

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Word.	Nighaṇṭu.	Ṛgveda.	Arnold.	Seer.	REMARKS.
Joṣavākám	iv.2.66	6 59.4	A	Bharadvājo Bārhaspatyaḥ.	Gr. regards st. 1-4, 7-10, 5 and 6 as appendix, as they are rather obscure and mystical. Seven rep. pādas. Although forms of root *joṣ* are frequent the word is included in the *Aik.* owing to the contrast of *joṣavākaṁ vadataḥ* in st. 4.
Kṛttiḥ ..	iv.2.67	8.90.6	A	Nṛmedha-Purumedhau Āṅgirasau.	Only two hymns seen by these seers: 89 and 90, and both can be late. Forms like *brahmāṇi*, *savanāni*, *vṛtrāṇi*, occur.
Kútasya	iv.2.70	1.46.4	A	Praskaṇvaḥ Kāṇvaḥ.	Hymn I. 48 by this same author speaks of early sages (st. 14). Bloomfield notes that a few of the hymns by this seer are 'inferior.' No. 50 is in any case Ātharvaṇic and late.
Carṣaṇiḥ..	iv.2.71	Do. ..	Do.	Do. ..	Ditto.
Śámbaḥ ..	iv.2.72	10 42.7	B_2	Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa.	Hymns 42-44 by this seer, with last 2 ṛcas identical. 43.5 and 44.6 contain 'late' features. and the latter contains *képayaḥ* fr. *Aik.*
Képayaḥ	iv.2.73	10.44.6	Do.	Do. ..	Ditto.
Bíriṭe ..	iv.2.77	7.39.2	A	Vasiṣṭha ..	The comparison "Viśpatir na bīriṭe" gives a fact of social life which was unfamiliar. 'Late' forms like devāḥ, śubhrāḥ Ūmāḥ, devaiḥ, etc.
Āśuśukṣáṇiḥ.	iv.3.1	2.1.1	B_2	Gṛtsamada Āṅgirasaḥ.	St. 2 of this hymn constitutes a secondary repetition fr. X. 91. 10. The whole is a litany with an artificial construction feature, viz. its beginnings with 2nd pers. pronoun.
Kúṇārum	iv.3.4	3.30.8	B_2	Viśvāmitra	Three words fr. this hymn occur in *Aika.* viz. kāśíḥ, alātṛṇáḥ, and salalū́kam. The next hymn, 31, is regarded late, and so is this one also. Two whole st. and a few more pādas rep.
Salalū́kam	iv.3.6	3.30.17	Do.	Do. ..	Ditto.
Katpayám	iv.3.7	5.32.6	B_2	Gātur Ātreyaḥ.	Note *naviṣṭham* in st. 11. The dragon Śúṣṇa here called 'mṛdhravāk.'

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Word.	Nighantu	Ṛgveda.	Arnold.	Seer.	REMARKS.
Nakṣaddābhám.	iv.3.10	6.22.2	B_1	Bharadvājo Bārhaspatyaḥ.	Note mention of "Our early fathers," and "newer hymn" in st. 2 and 7.
Niśṛmbháḥ	iv.3.12	6.55.6	B_2	Ditto ..	St. 6 contains a riddle.
Bṛbádukṭham.	iv.3.13	8.32.10	A	Medhātithi Kāṇva.	For this see No. 19. Cp. Sāmaveda i.217.
Ṛdūpó ..	iv.3.15	8.77.11	B_2	Kurusuti Kāṇva.	*Vide* No. 11 above.
Pulukā́maḥ	iv.3.16	1.179.5	C_1	Lopāmudrā	Gr. and Old. regard it as appendix. St. 5 unrelated and has an inferior repetition. It has also a different metre.
Kaṛanā́..	iv.3.18	5.54.6	B_2	Śyāvāśva Átreya.	St. 13 mentions the asterism Tiṣya which is mentioned only once more (x.64.8) in the RV. "It never vanishes fr. the sky."
Rujā́nāḥ..	iv.3.20	1.32.6	B_2	Hiraṇyastūpa Āṅgirasa.	Hymns 31–35 do not show the strophic arrangement of the 8th Bk. No. 32 is composite; 33 has 3 words from *Aik.* 34 Gr. considers an appendix. I.31.8 and 17 contain 'late' features, as also i.35.11. The seer thus is late. His productions have some inferior repetitions, e.g. i.33.12.
Upalaprakṣíṇi.	iv.3.23	9.112.3	C_1	Śiśuḥ ..	Regarded as appendix. The refrain is a secondary addition.
Prakalavít	iv.3.25	7.18.15	B_2	Vasiṣṭha ..	The first account of the battle of the Ten Kings. St. 22–5 are the dānastuti of Paijavana Sudās. St. 19 mentions the Jumna, 20 has a late feature. The proper names mentioned are Sudās, Śimyu, Turvaśa Purodas, Bhṛgus, Druhyus, Pakṭhas, Bhalānas, Alinas, Viṣāṇins, Śivas, Tṛtsus, Vaikarṇas, Kavaṣa, Anu, Pūru, Bheda, Ajas, śigrus, Yakṣus, Devaka Manyamāna, Śambara, Parāśara, Vasiṣṭha Śatayātu, Paijavana, Devavat, Divodāsa, and Yudhyāmadhi. The river Paruṣṇī mentioned.
Abhyardhayájvā.	iv.3.26	6.50.5	A	Ṛjiśvā Bhāradvāja.	"Navena brahmaṇā" st. 6. Atri and Bharadvāja mentioned. Ahirbudhnya and Aja Ekapāt as gods. Gr. considers st. 12–

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Work.	Nighaṇ-ṭu.	Ṛgveda.	Arnold.	Seer.	REMARKS.
					15 as appendix. Seven rep. pādas.
Kṣoṇásya	iv.3.28	1.117.8	B_2	Kakṣīvān Dairghatamasa Auśijaḥ.	"Late" feature in st. 4, 14, 25. A catalogue of Aśvins' exploits. Inferior repetition in st. 9. Proper names mentioned are: Rebha, Atri, Vandana, Kakṣīvān, Pajriya, Kṛṣṇiya Viṣṇvāpya, Ghoṣā, Śyāva, Ruśatī, Nārṣada, Pedu, Pajra, Agastya, Viśpalā, Kāvya, Cyavāna, Tugra, Bhujyu, Viṣvāc, Ṛjrāśva, Śayu, Dadhyac, Vimada, Purumitra, and Hiraṇyahasta. Two more *Aik.* words, *Ṛbīsa*, and *bákura*. Some exploits perhaps new.
Devó-devā́çyā-kṝpā́.	iv.3.39	1.127.1	A	Parucchepo Daivodāsiḥ.	Artificial metre of all the hymns by this seer. Word 'sarva' in st. 8. Inferior rep. of viii 60 and i. 175.
Vijāmātuḥ	iv.3.40	1.109.2	B_2	Kutsa Āṅgirasa.	St. 2—návyaṁ stómam. Also the abstract deity Dhiṣaṇā. Note social picture hinted in the stanza.
Ómā́saḥ ..	iv.3.41	1.3.7	A	Madhucchandā Vaiśvāmitra.	Contains Nivid formulas only; 4 tṛcas. The Indra tṛc 4–6 "inferior." The word explained as ā́ + ūmāsaḥ against Padapāṭha. The point may have been early debated.
Somā́nam	iv.3.42	1.18.1	A	Medhātithi Kāṇva.	The Sāmaveda gives the verse with the reading "somā́nām" in place of "sómā́nam." The word sóma has a different accent. The question whether it is sa + Ūmānam (cp. no. 48) has been raised. The hymn is ritualistic in tone: cp. st. 7.
Anavāyám	iv.3.43	7.104.2	C_2	Vasiṣṭha.	Composite acc. to Gr. Ātharvaṇic tone. Last hymn of the Maṇḍala. The *Aik* word *kimidin* here.
Ā́pve ..	iv.3.48	10.103.12	C_2	Apratiratha Indra.	Gr. considers st. 13 late; st. 12 introduces deity "Apvā," a demon of disease otherwise unknown to RV. It also uses the root *lubh* which is otherwise absent in RV. The hymn breaks the descending order.

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Word.	Nighaṇṭu.	Ṛgveda.	Arnold.	Seer.	REMARKS.
Asúrte-súrte.	iv.3.59	10.82.4	C_1	Viśvakarmā Bhauvanaḥ.	Both 81 and 82 by the same seer express monistic cosmology. St. 4 speaks of "pūrve jaritāras" and 5 uses the word Asura as contrasted with god.
Ámyak ..	iv.3.60	1.169.3	A	Agastya ..	Many late grammatical forms like sárgaiḥ, úmaiḥ, Vájaiḥ, devā́ḥ, sātau, etc. No other sure indication.
Yādṛśmin	iv.3.61	5.44.8	B_1	Avatsāraḥ Kāśyapaḥ and others	Gr. calls it late and obscure. The text "hopelessly corrupt." Seer mentioned by name. Consider the idea in St. 6, 14, 15. St. 13 gives the characteristic simile of a secondary age of students.
Jārayā́yi	iv.3.62	6.12.4	A	Bārhaspatya Bharadvāja.	Pāda *b* of the ṛc is a rep. of vii. 12.2. The hymn ritualistic in tone.
Jájjhatiḥ	iv.3.68	5.52.6	A	Śyāvāśva Ātreya.	The seer named in st. 1; st. 6 and 7 in Paṅkti metre and 7 is a gift-praise. Contains *Aik.* word *iṣmiṇa.*
Jábāru ..	iv.3.79	4.5.7	B_2	Vāmadeva	Gr. says: This is an old song (1–5) continued by a later hand and made mystical and obscure. The same st. gives the *Aik.* word *sasá.* 4.5.4 superior to 10. 89.8.
Tatanúṣṭim.	iv.3.84	5.34.3	B_1	Prājāpatya Saṃvaraṇa.	Note the modernised form upamā́m instead of the one with the short vowel. The hymn has a dānastuti character, says Old.
Ilībíśaḥ..	iv.3.85	1.33.12	B_2	Hiraṇyastūpa Āṅgirasa.	The st. contains an inferior pāda as compared with 7.91.4. Not the nom. but the gen. form is found in RV.
Ṛjunīti ..	iv.3.9	1.90.1	A	Gautama Rāhūgaṇa	The two component words occur in RV. often separately; Grass. divides the hymn into 1–5 6–8, 9 (App) Many late forms, The word given here owing to the lengthened vowel at the end.
Pratádvasu.	iv.3.93	8.13.27	A	Nāradaḥ Kāṇvaḥ.	Some 25 repeated pādas. Note words like pratnaváj (7), pūrvám yáthā (14), Trikadruka (18), pratnā́bhir (24). Ritualistic tone. Uṣṇik metre.

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Word.	Nighaṇ. ṭu	Ṛgveda.	Arnold.	Seer.	REMARKS
Gáldayā..	iv.3.106	8.1.20	A	Medhātithi Kāṇva of the st. but there are 5 authors in all.	Composed acc. to Gr of 7 parts, the last being a gift-praise. 11 repeated pādas. Ritualistic tone. Very obscure general drift: "chaotic."
Jáḷhavaḥ	iv.3.107	8 61 11	A	Bharga ..	Gr. regards this hymn as composite: 1–6 + 7–8. Obscure. One inferior rep. out of 8 in all.
Bákuraḥ	iv.3.108	1.117.21	B_2	Kakṣīvān Dairghatamasaḥ.	"Pūrvyā kṛtāni"; Aśvins' exploits. Words Cyavāna. ribīsa, from *Aika*. "ancient exploits (25). ancient protections (14)."
Bekanāṭān	iv.3.109	8.66.10.	A	Kali ..	Against Maṇḍala arrangement. St. 15 Anhang (Gr); "apūrvyā brahmāṇi (11)."
Batáḥ ..	iv.3.112	10.10.13	C_1	Yama-Yamī	Āhanaḥ fr. *Aika*. in this hymn. seven rep. pādas.
Ásakrām	iv.3.116	6.63.8	A	Bharadvājo Bārhaspatyaḥ.	A dānastuti at the end; words urāṇa, asakrām, and suprāyaṇatama fr. *Aika*. in the hymn.
Anavabravāḥ.	iv.3.118	10.84.5	C_1	Manyus Tāpasaḥ.	Abstract deity Manyu.
Sadānve..	iv.3.119	10.155.1	C_2	Śirimbitha Bhāradvāja.	Ātharvaṇic tone. The word *sarva* twice.
Śirimbiṭha	iv.3.120	Do. ..	Do	Do. ..	Ditto.
Krivirdatī	iv.3.122	1.166.6	B_1	Agastyaḥ..	The poet speaks of himself in st. 15; word alātṛṇa fr. *Aika*. in st. 7, "late" feature in st. 1,7,13. Words like virapśin for which see Bloomfield's latest explanation.
Kárūḷatī	iv.3.123	4.30.24	B_1	Vāmadeva	St. 22 as original close; falls into tṛcas; Gr. regards st. 8 and 24 as later additions, as both are Anuṣṭubh. Indra's exploits: many unfamiliar names, e.g. Kaulitara; also rivers Vipāṭ, Vibāli, Sarayu.
Dánaḥ ..	iv.3.124	1.174.2	A	Agastya ..	Indra's old (8) and famous exploits in a brief allusive fashion. Five interesting rep. pādas.
Śarāruh ..	iv.3.125	10.86.9	C_1	Vṛṣākapi	Gr. regards it as Anhang: obeated scure.

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Word.	Nighantu.	Ṛgveda.	Arnold.	Seer.	REMARKS.
Kíkaṭeṣu	iv.3 127	3.53 14	B_2	Viśvāmitra	Gr. regards this as Anhang: composite; ten rep. pādas one superior to 7.103.10. The hymn an Aśvameda litany; epidea in st. 7, 8, 12, 21; "sasar. parī; word lodham fr. *Aika.*
Kiḥ ..	iv.3.130	10.52 3	C_1	Agni Saucīka.	Ritualistic tone. Four repeated pādas.
Ū́lbam ..	iv.3.131	10.51.1	C_1	do.	The word sarva (9). Agni-Varuṇa saṁvāda; Agni's disappearance and recovery. Ritualism in st. 8-9.

A general review of the Remarks column would show that most of the passages containing the *Aikapadika* words above listed exhibit similar features: features which we have been all along accustomed to regard as "late." Few have been the passages which did not show them; and although the features can also be found in other passages of the *Ṛgveda*, these other passages (1) either contain the 201 words of the *Aikapadika* which we have not yet considered; or (2) are in such a way related to the *Aikapadika* passages that they can be on the ground of sameness of authorship, "inferiority" of repetition, and the like, classed as of contemporary or subsequent composition than the *Aikapadika* passages; or, finally, (3) they belong to an accession to the *Ṛgveda* later still than that from which the words in the *Aikapadika* section were derived.

Let us now consider the words in the *Aikapadika* that occur more than once. Twenty-three of these words occur twice each, while seventeen more occur three times each—of course in varying inflections. We give below a list of these in the same form as the earlier one, but omitting one or two unnecessary items and condensing the Remarks column:—

Word.	Nighaṇṭu.	Ṛgveda.	REMARKS.
Nidhā́ ..	iv.1. 2	X.73.11	Class B^2; Gr. regards this as Anhang. The actual word occurring here as in the next passage is *nidhāyā.*

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Word.	Nighaṇṭu.	Ṛgveda.	Remarks.
		IX.83.4 ..	Class B² ; Māyā and the Gandharvas mentioned. St. 4 gives the word *nṭḏhā* as well as ; *nidháyā* ritualistic.
Mūṣaḥ ..	iv.1.6 ..	I.105.8 ..	Class B² ; Trita in the well. "New" song (4, 7, 12. 15) ; word *sarva* in st. 19 ; composite.
		X.33.3 ..	Class B² ; superior to I.105 above. Contains a dānastuti of Kuruśravṇa, whose son Upamaśravas is mentioned.
Mandū ..	iv.1.13 ..	1. .7 ..	Class A ; Who are the two ? Gr. regards the st. as interpolated.
		X.61.15 ..	Class A ; composite and differently divided. With St. 5 begins the incest story. Containing *Aik.* word *krāṇāḥ*. Cow Sabardughā (bis).
Drupadé ..	iv.1.19 ..	IV.32.23 ..	Class A ; "Baksheesh" motive. .The last 3 stanzas a dānastuti. 12 rep. pādas
		I.24.13 ..	Class C¹ ; the form given is drupadéṣu ; note astronomy of st. 10.
Námsante ..	iv 1.21 ..	VII.58.5 ..	Class A ; no obviously late feature.
		III.33.10 ..	Class C¹ ; the form is namsai. Viśvāmitra and Rivers.
Ákūpārasya ..	IV.1.33 ..	V.39.2 ..	Class A ; "late" feature in st. 4. Word mehánā fr. *Aika..*
		X.109.1 ..	Class C² ; the word is ákūpāraḥ. Uses the word brāhmaṇásya. The hymn breaks Maṇḍala arrangement.
Juhure ..	iv.1.41 ..	V.19.2 ..	Class B¹ ; Gr. regards it as Anhang. Obscure and composite.
		II.9.3 ..	Class B¹ ; no other indication.
Atharyúm ..	iv.2.41 ..	VII.1.1 ..	Class A ; composite and ritualistic. "Aramati" mentioned.
		IV.6.8 ..	Class A : The word here is atharyáḥ. 8 repetitions, one distinctly inferior. *Aik.* word urāṇáḥ occurs twice. Ritualistic tone.
Vájapastyam	iv 2.49 ..	IX.98.12 ..	Class A ; metrically the st. seems interpolated. Ádhrigu and Vájagandhyam fr. *Aika*, occur here.
		VI.58.2 ..	Class B² ; vájapastyaḥ is the form given.
Vrandí ..	iv.2.58 ..	I.54.4 ..	Class B² ; The *Aika.* words barháṇā and jaṭhára occur here. "vrandinaḥ."

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Word.	Nighaṇṭu,	Ṛgveda.	Remarks.
Vrandí ..	iv,2.58 ..	i. 54.5 ..	Class B²; The *Aika.* words barḥáṇa and jaṭhàra occur here. "vrandínaḥ."
Tūtumā́-kṛṣe	iv.2.74 ..	X.50.5 ..	Class B¹; the difficulty probably that of word-division.
		X.50.6 .	Ditto.
Alātṛṇáḥ ..	iv.3.5 ..	III.30.10 ..	Class B²; *Aika.* words kāśí, píyāru, vakṣáṇā and salalū́ka; "early bounties"; Kuśikas named.
		I.166.7 ..	Class B¹; *Aika.* words krívirdatī and barháṇā; "former exploits," "a new song;" has the word vicapśinaḥ.
Visrúhaḥ ..	iv.3.8 ..	VI.7.6 ..	Class B²; many late grammatical forms.
		V.44.3 ..	Class B¹; visrúhā is the form given; note the sentiment in the last two stanzas. *Aika.* word yādṛśmin occurs here.
Upási ..	iv.3.24 ..	X.27.13 ..	Class C¹; the st. is hopelessly obscure, Gr. regards many stanzas as Anhang.
		V.43.7 ..	Class B¹; "new aid."
Ráṁsu ..	iv.3.73 ..	II.4 5 ..	Class B²: "early aid as unto Gṛtsamads."
		IV.1.8 ..	Class A; the word occurs as a member of a compound. 6 rep. pādas.
Stipā́ḥ ..	iv.3.78 ..	X.69.4 ..	Class B²; "Vadhryaśva" repeatedly mentioned; "Sabardhuk" cow; late and early.
		VII.66.3 ..	Class A; composite; 9 rep. pādas.
Kiyedhā́ḥ ..	iv.3.86 ..	I.61.6 ..	Class A; "new song" to describe old exploits. *Aika.* words ádhrigu, and āṅgūṣá.
		I.61.12 ..	Ditto.
Viṣpitáḥ ..	iv.3.88 ..	VII.60.7 ..	Class A; viṣpitásya is the form given Many late grammatical forms. 15 repeated pādas.
		VIII.83.3	Class uncertain; 5 rep. pādas.
Turípam ..	iv.3.89 ..	I.14[illegible].10 ..	Class B²; Āprī hymn. 16 rep. pādas.
		III.4.9 ..	Class B²; Āprī hymn. 18 pādas repeated.
Rāspináḥ ..	iv.3.90 ..	I.122.4 ..	Class A; gives the form rāspinásya; st. 7–15 including dānastuti considered as Anhang. "Maśarśāra."

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Word.	Nighaṇṭu.	Ṛgveda.	Remarks.
		V.43.14 ..	Class B[1]; gives the form rāspirāsah. Note idea in st. 6; cp. No. 15 before.
Ānarśarātim ..	iv.3.103 ..	VIII.99.4 .	Class uncertain. No clear indication.
		VIII.32.2 .	Class uncertain. Cf. para. 9, No. 19 above. The form given is anarśanim.
Ādhavāḥ ..	iv.3.117 ..	X.26 4 ..	Class A; gives the form ādhavam.
		I.141.3 ..	Class B[2]; gives the forms ādhavé. "New."
Parāśaraḥ ..	iv.3.121 ..	VII.18 21..	Class B[2]; "new" song. See above para 9 No. 43.
		VII.104.21	Class C[2]; last of the Maṇḍala and an Anhang. Ātharvaṇa tone; has many *Aika.* words.

It will have been noted that we have even considered cases where a different form or inflection of a word is given than the one listed in the *Nighaṇṭu*; and this is essential if the assumption of the word being *anavagata-saṃskāra* is to be valid. In a few cases (e.g. Nos. 1, 10, 18, 20 and 22) the form listed in the *Nighaṇṭu* does not at all occur in the extant *Ṛgveda*; but here more probably is a case of intentional reduction to the crude or Nom. Sing. form. Now follows a list of words found three times in the *Ṛgveda* :—

Word.	Nighaṇṭu.	Ṛgveda.	Remarks.
Śaṁyóḥ ..	iv.1.48 ..	I.34.6 ..	Class B[2]; artificial motive "three." "33 gods." 5 rep. pādas. The form and accent of the word unusual. Generally it is separated.
		I.43.4 ..	Class B[2] for st. 7–9. 3 tṛcas to distinct gods. One secondary rep.
		X.143.6 ..	Class A; form given is Śaṁyū.
Sinam ..	iv.2.28 ..	III.62.1 ..	Class B[1]; the word is given also in Nigh. ii.7.8 amongst the synonyms of "anna." In the present passage it is a gift to a friend; "new song." Composite. Last hymn of the Maṇḍala.
		II.30.2 ..	Class B[2]; here *sina* is given to Vṛtra. "Asura" in a bad sense Ātharvaṇa tone.

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Word.	Nighaṇṭu.	Ṛgveda.	REMARKS.
		X.102.11 ..	Class C^2; the form is sinavat. The "Mudgala" story. Last 3 st. as Anhang. *N.B.*—As the word occurs nowhere else in the RV. it cannot be both a known synonym as also anavagatasaṃskāra. Hence Nigh. ii and iv must have different authors or the word interpolated in one of the two passages.
Śipiviṣṭáḥ ..	iv.2.37 ..	VII.100.5-7	Class B^1; the word occurs thrice in this hymn and once in VII.99.7=VII 100.7.
		VII.99.7 ..	Class B^1. Voc thrice. Nom. once in VII. 100.6.
Áhrayāṇaḥ ..	iv.2.55 ..	IV.4.14 ..	Class B^2; Ātharvaṇa and ritualistic : Voc. form given. Māmateya's succour mentioned; has a st. identical with I.147.3.
		I.62.10 ..	Class B^1; "early forefathers"; "new song"; *Aika.* word āṅgūṣa. Acc. form occurs in this passage.
		VII.80.2 ..	Class B^2; solitary tṛc; possibly late. Nom. Fem. form is given here.
Áṃsatram ..	iv.2.75 ..	X.101.7 ..	Class C^1; an elaborate rūpaka on the sacrifice; composite build.
		IV.34.9 ..	Class A; form ending in ā given. Liturgic tone.
		VIII.17.14	Class A; Gr. regards st. 13-17 as Anhang; obscure. "Kuṇḍapāyya, Pṛdākusānuḥ."
Kākúdam ..	iv.2.76 ..	VIII.69.12	Class uncertain. The seer named. *Aika.* word nadá twice. The hymn composite: 14 rep pādas, one with a distinct earmark of "inferiority." Gr. regards our st. as amongst Anhang.
		I.8.7 ..	Class A; Gr. regards st. 7 containing our word as Anhang because unrelated
		VI.41.2 ..	Class A: the form is kākúd. No indication of lateness.
Kāśíḥ ..	iv.3.3 ..	III.30.5 ..	Class B^2; "early bounties"; *Aika.* words kuṇāru, alātṛṇa, salalūka.
		VII.104.8..	Class B^2; see No. 22 of para. 11 above Instr. sing form found here.
		VIII.78.10	Class B^2; Gr. regards it as late metrically. Instr. sing. form.
Áskṛdhoyuḥ ..	iv.3.11 ..	VI.22.3 ..	Class B^1: "māyā bis; "new song", "old forefathers;" "asura" in a bad sense.

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Word.	Nighaṇṭu.	Ṛgveda,	REMARKS.
		VI.67.11 ..	Class B[1]: note the idea in st. 10. Jaṭhara fr. *Aika* occurs.
		VII.53.3 ..	Class A; "new songs", "ancient poets."
Kimīdíne ..	iv.3.44 ..	VII.104.2..	Class B[2]; see para. 11, No. 22 above.
		VII.104. 3	Ditto.
		X.87.24 ..	Class C[2]; quite Ātharvaṇa in tone; st. 22–25 later.
Sudátraḥ ..	iv.3.5 ..	VII.8.3 ..	Class A; Voc. form. Some late grammatical forms. No other indication.
		VII.34.2	Class A; Abstract gods like Aramati, Ahirbudhnya. Composite hymn, "parallel structure."
		I.164.49 ..	Class B[2]; The famous Dīrghatamas hymn. The next rc=Puruṣa Sūkta st. 16.
Járūtham ..	iv.3.80 ..	VII.9.6 ..	Class B[2]; the word occurs in the last or refrain stanza.
		VII.1.7 ..	Class A; see No. 8 in para. 11.
		X.80.3 ..	Class B[2]; *Aika.* word dayate; late forms.
Kúliśaḥ ..	iv.3.81 ..	I.32.5 ..	Class B[2]; Instr. sing. form; 6 rep. pādas see para. 9, No. 41 above.
		I.104.4 ..	Class B[2]; "Kuyava"; unknown river "Śiphā" st. 3.; against Maṇḍala arrangement; Gr. omits st. 4 because unrelated. What is kúliśa? As the word is also given in Nigh. ii.20.11 as a known synonym, the same remark has to be made here as about the word *sina* above. The above form here occuring is kuliśī.
		III.2.1 ..	Class B[2]; "as of yore," "for new bless."
Coṣkūyámāṇaḥ	iv.3.95 .. and 96 ..	I.33.3 ..	Class B[2]; "sarva", Ilībiśa"; 4 repeated pādas, one of them inferior. The present form only once, but the verb twice: coṣkūyase and coṣkūyate, the last so enumerated in the Aikapadika.
		VI.47.16 ..	Class B[2]; "ancient friendship;" Cp. idea in st. 18=Upaniṣad idea. Very composite. Many rep. pādas. Olden. regards the whole hymn as late. The form here found is coṣkūyate.
		VIII.6.41..	Class B[2]; 30 repeated pādas, some of them secondary. A composite hymn as under; 1–33; 34–45; 46–48 (gift-praise).

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Word.	Nighaṇṭu.	Ṛgveda.	REMARKS.
Aṁhuraḥ ..	iv.3.111 ..	X.5.7 ..	Class B² : mystical. "Seven sins."
		I.105.17 ..	Class B² ; *Aika.* word āṅgūṣa ; see para. 11, No. 2 ; Aṁhūraṇāt is the form given.
		VI.47.20 ..	Class B¹ ; see No. 11 above ; the form is Aṁhūraṇw̄.
Ratharyáti ..	iv.3.115 ..	IX.3.5 ..	Class A ; 7 repeated pādas. with 1 adverse.
		VIII.101.2	Class uncertain. Composite ; 7 repeated pādas ; Anhang at end ; Ratharyátaḥ is the form here.
		X.37.3 ..	Class B² ; composite. The form is Ratharyási.
Bundáḥ ..	iv.3.128 ..	VIII.77.11	Class B², gives *Aika.* words Kāṇukā́ and Ṛdūpé. Indra's exploit new or unfamiliar. The word occurs only in this connection, and in this Maṇḍala.
		VIII.77.11	Ditto.
		VIII.45.4	Class uncertain—Gives *Aika.* words Ānuṣak, Jahā-Śvaghnin. New exploits of Indra described.

We have so far considered more than a third of the lexical material of the *Aikapadika* and the evidence has been found to be concurrently favourable to our hypothesis especially where the same hymn contained more than one word from the *Aikapadika*. The rest of the material yields additional confirmation. To begin with we give below a table showing the words of the *Aikapadika* arranged according to the frequency of their occurrence in the *Ṛgveda* :—

77	words	from	the	*Aikapadika*	occur	once	each	in	the	RV.
23	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	twice	,,	,,	,,	,,
17	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	thrice	,,	,,	,,	,,
28	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	up to 6 times	,,	,,	,,	
39	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,, 12	,,	,,	,,	,,
33	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,, 25	,,	,,	,,	,,
21	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,, 50	,,	,,	,,	,,
12	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,, 100	,,	,,	,,	,,
19	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	over 100	,,	,,	,,	
9	,,	,,	,,	,,	do not occur at all in our RV.					
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It is thus seen that some of the *Aikapadika* words are of very frequent occurrence in the *Ṛgveda* (over 500 cases for two words and over 2000 cases for one word, viz. "á"). Can we at all maintain that all these cases are listed from the late accretions? If all these passages are late then the whole *Ṛgveda* will have to be pronounced late. We have however to introduce a qualification to our hypothesis The *Aikapadika* words are late not always in the sense that the word was unknown to the earlier canon but in the sense that in its use in the late accretions there was discovered something unusual in its accent, formation, syntax, context, or meaning; and the point consists in our being able to discover the right passage intended by the author or authors of the *Nighaṇṭus* amongst the scores or hundreds of passages in the *Ṛgveda* where it occurs. A few illustrations would make our point clear. The word *duritam* (Nigh. IV. 3. 47) occurs 56 times in the *Ṛgveda* all told. In 55 passages it is *antodātta* or oxytone (the *Nighaṇṭu* also lists it as such); but in *Ṛgveda* I. 125. 7 it is accented on the first syllable. Yāska is unaware of this fact and so has given (Nir. VI. 12) a normal example. But by his own showing the word ought to be *anavagata-saṃskāra*. Now the solitary passage where its accent is abnormal is declared by Grassmann as well as Oldenberg as late. The hymn in fact has a *dānastuti* at the end and *duritam* occurs in that *dānastuti* A similar remark has to be made about the word *ṛdhak* (Nigh. IV. 1. 60) which is *antodātta* in 13 passages but *ādyodātta* only in *Ṛgveda* IX. 64. 30 which is a composite hymn made up of a number of more or less independent *ṛcas*.—For irregularity of syntax we adduce as example the word *áccha* (Nigh. IV 2. 78). In the *Saṃhitā* the word lengthens its final vowel except where it occurs at the end of a metrical unit or *pāda*. There are only two exceptions: RV. IX. 106. 1 and I. 31. 17; and in the latter passage (assigned to Class B[2]) there is not any noun in the accusative case governable by it. This is the passage probably intended by the *Nighaṇṭus*. Stanza 8 of the hymn calls itself a new composition—*apásā navená*. The hymn, be it further remarked, exhibits a peculiar construction feature: all its stanzas begin with *Tvám Agne* except the last three stanzas, and our passage occurs in the last but one.—As to peculiarity of meaning take the word *andhaḥ*. As a noun it accents the first syllable and occurs in *Nighaṇṭu* II. 7. 1 amongst the synonyms for food. As an adjective it means "blind" and has the accent on the last syl-

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lable. The *Aikapadika* section of the *Nighaṇṭu* gives the word as *índhaḥ* with accent on the first syllable, and therefore as a noun. In that connotation the word occurs over a hundred times in the *Ṛgveda*, but in just one passage its interpretation, I believe, offers a real problem, viz. RV. VII. 88. 2—that famous hymn where Vasiṣṭha describes his peculiar experiences as he once sailed in a boat in Varuṇa's company and reached that god's thousand portalled mansion. The idea contained in the whole hymn is certainly not primitive.—As to context consider the word *vā́śī*. It occurs 14 times in the *Ṛgveda* and in half the number of cases it clearly means some sort of a weapon belonging to the Maruts or Storm-gods. In six other passages the context leaves no doubt that some kind of a weapon is meant. In the only remaining passage, RV. VIII. 12. 12, which is admittedly a *dhītír návīyasī*, its meaning is somewhat uncertain, different scholars proposing for it the renderings—axe, sword, knife, hymn, pressing stones. The same hymn also gives one more *Aikapadika* word, *ádhrigu*. The hymn is composite in structure, being made of a number of *ṛcas*—Thus in most cases where a word occurs more than a dozen times some valid reason will have to be sought so as to make the word *anavagata-saṃskāra*. In the case of words occurring less than a dozen times—unless some special reason is obviously present—we will generally have to assume that all the occurrences are to be found in hymns which exhibit some "late" features.

I do not claim to be able to prove this proposition in all the cases. Of the cases actually worked out over 50 per cent were found to conform. Others I have yet to examine. And amongst those investigated let me add that I have come across a few that have so far refused to fall in a line with the majority. This is by no means surprising. Yāska himself, as we saw, was not always able to tell us accurately why a particular word was included into the *Aikapadika* and has occasionally given a wrong reason. And it is well to remember likewise that the *Nighaṇṭus* are a growth and likely to suffer from interpolations, omissions, and modifications. The important point to be emphasised is that as many as 50 per cent of the cases should have been found to agree in their results. That cannot be a mere accident. The real problem is to discover adequate explanation for the genesis of the *Nighaṇṭu* lists We know of none now in the

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field that can fully square all the facts unless it be the one set forth in this paper. The *Nighaṇṭus* are not a complete inventory of all the words in the *Ṛgveda*: they are not even a complete list of Ṛgvedic synonyms; and the *Aikapadika* words at any rate must be *anavagata-saṃskāra*. *Anavagata* to whom? Of course to a body of Ṛgvedic students familiar with the ordinary Ṛgvedic idiom and grammar but now required to admit into the Canon and to study a mass of newest accretions to the same. The occurrence of a word of the *Aikapadika* section into a specific hymn of the *Ṛgveda* thus becomes in effect a new and an extrinsic test for the lateness of that hymn. That of course is not the only test. Hymns where no word or words from the *Aikapadika* and none of the generally accepted features of "lateness" occur can still be late though there may not exist a way to prove this. The "late" features of a hymn are never put in there intentionally so as to oblige a modern student of research; they are unconscious. And an extrinsic test like the one here proposed—once its truth is conceded—is always to be preferred to an intrinsic or a subjective test, as being of consequence chronologically. And I shall be satisfied if scholars are willing to admit the *Aikapadika* as a *vera causa*, even though it might seem to yield a result not necessarily more precise than is to be derived from the tests already in the field.

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VYUṢṬI: OR THE VEDIC NEW YEAR'S DAY.

By Dr. R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A., Ph.D.

As pointed out elsewhere, [1] the Vedic year began with the summer solstice and had the winter solstice in the middle. The six months from summer to winter constituted the *earth* and the other six months from winter to summer the *sky*. The chief characteristic feature of the two *ayanas* was elongation of the night in the former and that of the day in the latter, as stated in the *Tait. Brāhmaṇa* (III. 10, 4). From the *Sūryaprajñapti* and the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, the traditional increase of day and night was three *muhūrtas* or 2 hours and 24 minutes. It is known that both Mahāvīra and Kauṭilya lived somewhere in the Videha Country, modern Behar. As Kauṭilya was the prime minister of Candragupta Maurya, it necessarily follows that he lived for sometime in Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the Maurya kings. Also according to the *Arthaśāstra* the new year at that time began with the summer solstice at the end of *Āṣāḍha* and at the winter solstice the gnomon cast a shadow of 12 *aṅgulas* at noon (*Artha.* Book II, *Kālamāna*). The height of the gnomon being 12 *aṅgulas*, the tangent of the zenith distance of the sun on the day of winter solstice would be 1, which corresponds to 45°. Deducting 23½°, the inclination of the ecliptic to the Equator, we have 21½° for the latitude of the place. It is very nearly, correct for Behar, though not for Patna which is situated at about 25° 30′. It needs no saying that for neither of the latitudes, the increase of three *muhūrtas* or 2 hours and 24 minutes in a day or night holds good. It corresponds to 35° latitude. Hence it is probable that it was a traditional account of the Vedic poets who lived somewhere about 35° and was regarded as being correct for lower latitudes also, which their descendants occupied later.

From this it follows that on the summer solstice, when the day is the lowest, it dawned about 2 hours earlier than during the winter solstice. This early dawn is said to have been termed *Vyuṣ-*

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[1] *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, III, 2. In the paper entitled "Vishnu's three strides and the Vedic Chronology," it is pointed out how the three worlds, earth, air, and sky mean spring, summer, and winter and how *Dyāvāpṛthivī* the two solstices.

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ṭa, as stated in the following passage of the *Varāha Śrauta Sūtra*. (*Akulapada*, *Khanda* III) :—

Prathamo yāmaḥ pradoṣassyāt dvitīyo niśīrucyate
Tṛtīyopavyuṣo jñeyaḥ caturtho vyuṣṭa ucate.

The first *yāma* or 3 hours of the night is *pradoṣa*; the second is *niśi*; the third is a *upavyuṣa*; and the fourth is said to be *vyuṣṭa*.

The word *upavyuṣa* in the sense of a division of night-time occurs in the following passage of the *Tait. Brāhmaṇa* (I. 5, 2) :—

"What auspicious star there is, one should mark it about the time of *upavyuṣa*. When the sun rises at the place where for the last time one sees that star there, at that time one should do one's rite, if one means to do any good rite at all. If one does so one may be regarded as having done it on an auspicious day. So had Matsya, the sage, caused Yagneṣu and Śatadyumna to perform their rites."

The divisions of day and night are also thus stated in the same work (I. 5, 3) :—

(1) "The dawn, *prātaḥ*, is of the all-impelling sun, and is *prāṇa*, upbreathing.

The evening, *sāyam*,, is of Varuṇa, the terminator of actions, and is *apāna*, down-breathing.

(2) What comes after the dawn and before the *saṅgava* is that from which the gods prepared the *agniṣṭoma*.

Hence that time is powerless.

(3) The *saṅgava* is of Mitra and is a powerful and auspicious part of the day.

It is then that cows gather together (for going agrazing).

(4) From what comes after the *saṅgava* and before the midday, the gods created the *ukthya*.

Hence it has become powerless.

(5) The midday is of Bṛhaspati and is a powerful and auspicious part of the day; for then the sun shines very hot.

(6) From what comes after the midday and before the afternoon, the gods created *ṣodasi*.

Hence it became powerless.

(7) The afternoon is of Bhaga and is a powerful and auspicious part of the day.

Hence maidens are very glad to attend to the toilet of their body.

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(8) From what comes after afternoon and before the evening the gods created the *atirātra*.
Hence it is powerless.

(9) The evening is of Varuṇa, and powerful and auspicious.
Hence none should utter a lie then.

The 28th star (*Abhijit*) is of Brahman. Thus of a day there are five divisions corresponding to auspicious stars and four inauspicious divisions. These amount to nine. What comes after the appearance of the stars and before (the dawn forms two). These amount to eleven ; and that of Brahman is the twelfth."

In his commentary on this passage Sāyaṇa says that the day time is divided into five divisions called *prātaḥ*, *saṅgava*, *madhyandina*. *aparāhṇa* and *sāyam* and that the remaining four are the names of the junctions of those divisions. Bhaṭṭabhāskara, on the other hand, takes them to refer to eight divisions of the day. I think that both are wrong. It appears that the whole day was divided into *ten* divisions, the day divisions being *prātaḥ*, *saṅgava*, *madhyandina*, *aparāhṇa*, and *sāyam*, corresponding to the night divisions, *agniṣṭoma*, *ukthya*, *ṣodasi*, *atirātra*, and *upavyuṣa*. There is no reason to think that *atirātra* was a name given to the seventh division of the day, as held by Bhaṭṭabhāskara or to the junction of between *aparāhṇa* and evening, as stated by Sāyaṇa. The dispute about the drawing or not drawing of *ṣodasi* cup in *atirātra* sacrifices seems to imply that *ṣodasi*, formed part of an *atirātra*, long night. The manipulation of the number 12, in the text is to make the number of divisions equal to the number of the months in a year, (*samvatsara*) which is mentioned in the text immediately in the next line. The word *upavyuṣa*, though omitted here, was mentioned as a name of the last division of the night in I. 5, 2 quoted above.

The word *vyuṣṭa* is made synonymous with 'dawn' (*prabhāta*) in Sanskrit dictionaries and is used in the sense of dawn in the *Śiśupālavadha* (12, 4). In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (II. 6) it is used as the name of a particular division of time, along with such divisions as the "the royal year, the month, the half month, and the day." Again in II. 7, Kauṭilya uses the word in connection with the examination of revenue accounts. He says that the receipt, expenditure and the net revenue shall be verified under certain heads in *vyuṣṭa*. It cannot be taken to mean "morning" here, for there is no reason to restrict the examination to morning time. So in my

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translation of the *Arthaśāstra*, I took the word in the sense of "past," used as an adjective to (1) "place, (2) time, (3) source of income, and (4) the amount of revenue brought forward." Though "past time, past source of income and past amount" conveys some idea, it signifies nothing as an adjective to place. Still I could not give a more suitable meaning to the word and had to pass over it. Now if we take it in the sense of "new year's day" for the reason specified above, I think it will suit the context admirably well; for the accounts are ordered to be submitted at the close of the month of *Aṣāḍha* (II. 7) for examination on the *vyuṣṭa* or new year's day. The enumeration of seasons with *Śrāvaṇa* in the rains is a proof that *Śrāvaṇa* was the first month of the year at the time of Kauṭilya. The *Sūryaprajñapti* of Mahāvīra which is presumed to be a work of the same period says in words of undoubted meaning that the new year began with the longest day in the month of *Śrāvaṇa*

The word *vyuṣṭa* is used in the sense of early dawn in the *Kāṭha. Saṃhitā* (XXXIV. 19) as follows:—

"Let him put together with the oblation of clarified butter those mornings which dawned earlier as well as the evenings."

In the *Ṛgveda* the *Atharva* and the *Yajussaṃhitās*, *vyuṣṭi* or *vyuṣa* the cognate of *vyuṣṭa* is used not merely in the sense of earlier morning, but decisively in the sense of a periodical early morning suggestive of a new year's day as follows:—

"Three are the settings (*nimrucaḥ*), three the risings (*vyuṣa*), three are the airy regions, and three the heavens. We know thy triple place of birth, O Agni, we know the deities' triple generation."

I have already shown how *Dyāvāpṛthivī*, heaven and earth, meant one year to the Vedic poets. Accordingly three airs and heavens here must necessarily mean three years having three later evenings and earlier dawns. As in each year of the Vedic cycle of three years fire was kindled anew, Agni is said to have his triple place of birth. Since years were counted in terms of gods or in multiples of three corresponding to the three years of the Vedic cycle, the deities are also said here to be of triple generations.

"Five milkings answer to the five-fold dawning, five seasons to the cow who bears five titles.

The five sky regions made fifteen in number, one head have these to one sole world directed."

AV., VIII. 9, 15.

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Here the statement of five sky-regions making fifteen seems to allude to the five cycles of three years each, with five cyclic dawns termed as five milkings of the new year cow.

"This is the dawn when there are five dawns and five milkings"

Kāṭh. S., V. 9, 10.

Such allusion to special dawns in terms of three and multiples of three cannot possibly be taken to mean ordinary dawns.

"That general car of yours, invoked by many a man, that comes to our libations, three-wheeled, meet for songs, that circumambient car, worthy of sacrifice, we call with our hymns at earliest flush of dawn."

Ṛg., X. 41, 1.

"These fires associate with Indra are awake, bringing their gifts when first the dawn begins to shine.
May heaven and earth, great pair, observe our holy work, we claim for us this day the favour of the gods"

Ṛg., X. 35, 1.

The connection of the dawn with the cyclic car and with the heaven and earth establishes its periodic appearance. The description of the dawn (in *Ṛg.*, I. 124) as shortening the ages of men and as being *the last of dawns* that have always gone, and *the first of those* that are to come; its revolution like a wheel ever anew (III. 61); the recognition or wakening of the dawn by the worshippers instead of the worshippers being awakened by the dawn (IV. 52); the statement that the Vasiṣṭhas first found it out or wakened it with their hymns (VII. 80); its delay to come as expected (V. 79); the birth of the dawn when the Aśvins' car was yoked (X. 39); and its discovery by the ancient fathers with their efficacious hymns, go to confirm its periodicity not in the course of 24 hours but at a greater interval of time. According to Yāska (*Nir.*, 12, 2) one of the Aśvins is the son of night and the other the son of dawn; and according to *Kāṭh. S.*, (XVII, 18) the Aśvins come to the sacrifice in their three-wheeled car at the break of the dawn. It follows therefore that the night-mother of one of the Aśvins is the long night of the *uttarāyaṇa* and the dawn-mother of the other is the long day of *dakṣiṇāyana;* and that the triple arrival of the dawn in the three-wheeled car of the Aśvins is the three-fold appearance of the dawns once in each of the three years of the cycle.

In *Ṛg.*, 30, 20–22 the dawn is said to be going very far and stay-

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ing somewhere, notwithstanding the eagerness of the poets to see her more often than usual. The passage runs as follows:—

"What mortal, O immortal Dawn, enjoyeth thee?
Where lovest thou? To whom, O Radiant, dost thou go?
For we have had thee in our thoughts whether near or far away, red hued and like a dappled mare.
Hither, *O daughter of the sky*, come thou with these thy strengthenings."

If it were every dawn, the poet would not have said that the dawn espoused some one else far away and lingered with him. The 'sky' is, as already shown, the winter solstice when the day begins to increase giving rise to the earliest dawn on the summer solstice. The doubt entertained by the poets in *Ṛg.*, IV. 51, 4 as to whether the dawn he was looking at was the *real* dawn he was thinking of or expecting or some other usual dawn goes to confirm that it was not a dawn of ordinary occurrence. The passage runs as follows:—

"O Goddess, is this your car, I ask you, *ancient this day*, or is it *new*, ye mornings?"

In I 92, 6 the poets say that they had overpassed *the limit of the darkness* and that the dawn breaking forth again brought clear perception.

The limit of the darkness spoken of as having been passed over, in this passage seems to me to be the three *muhūrtas* or two hours and twenty-four minutes of the fourth *yāma* or division of the night which the two sisters, the dark and the red dawn, are said to occupy alternately in the following passages:—

"The sister quitteth, for the elder sister, *her place*, and having looked on her departeth.
She decks her beauty, shining forth with sun beams, like women trooping to the festal meeting.
To all these sisters who ere now have vanished a later one each day in course succeedeth." I. 124, 8; 9.

"This lady, giver of delight, after her sister shining forth daughter of heaven, hath shown herself." IV. 52, 1.

"The night retireth from the dawn her sister: the dark one yieldeth to the red her pathway." VII. 71, 1.

In these passages the night (*nakta*) is not usual night nor the dawn (*uṣas*) the ordinary day break, as usually believed by scho-

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lars. When we are told that the night and dawn exchange their places in time, we can but take the night to be the last division of the night which is gradually pervaded and ultimately expelled by dawn on the longest day. This is still more clearly confirmed by the following passages of the *Ṛgveda* :—

"Indra, this mighty one, the dragon's slayer, sent forth the flood of waters to the ocean.
He gave the sun his life, he found the cattle, and with the night *the works of days* completed." II. 19, 3.

"Not even all the gathered gods conquered thee, Indra, in the war when thou didst lengthen day by night." IV. 3; 3.

Here the completion of day-work at night and the lengthening of days by night seems to imply the continuation of long nights instead of long days contrary to expectation. This is apparently due to the wrong calculation of the number of days in the solar or tropical year. According to the Vedic poets the solar year consisted of 366 days. Thus it was longer than the true tropical year by three-fourths of a day The error would thus amount to 3 days in the course of 4 years or 30 days in 40 years; and 180 days or six months in 240 years, thus making the *uttarāyaṇa* of long days the *dakṣiṇāyana* of long nights. This seems to be the meaning of the completion of day-work by night. In *Ṛg.*, I. 113, 3, the pathway of the two sisters, night and dawn, in the year (*sumeka*) is said to be the same and yet alternately pursued by them. In interpreting the passage, western scholars following Sāyaṇa have lost sight of the real meaning of the word, *sumeka*. Sāyaṇa took the word as an adjective, meaning "charming" in dual number qualifying the compound word *naktoṣasa*, night-and-dawn. This is one mistake. Another mistake usually committed by western scholars in this connection is in translating the word *nakta* as night, though it is quite opposed to Sāyaṇa's interpretation, viz. the latter half of the last division of the night (*svakiyantyardha yāma*) This mistake led them to think of the dawn as day. Thus night and dawn and their alternate appearance meant to them the alternate appearance of night and day, and thus dawn signified to them ordinary day break or day itself. But Madhava, son of Venkatarya, has written a commentary on the first *aṣṭaka* of the *Ṛgveda*. There is a manuscript of the commentary in the Mysore Government Oriental

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Library. According to this commentary, *sumeka* means a year, *samvatsara*. In support of this meaning, the commentator, quotes the following *Brāhmaṇa* passage :—

samvatsara vai sumekaḥ sa hyekacara iti Brāhmaṇam.

The meaning is : *samvatsara* or year is verily, *sumeka ;* it means alone. Accordingly substituting "latter half of the last division of the night" for *nakta* and "year" for *sumeka* we may translate the passage as follows :—

'In the year made by god, common and unending is the pathway of the two sisters; fair-formed, of different hues, and yet one-minded, the latter half of the last division of the night and the dawn alternately travel along that path; they neither hurt each other. nor tarry in the path."

In the second verse of the same hymn the different hues of the two sisters are thus described :—

"The fair, *the bright* is come with her offspring; to her the *dark* one hath given her appointed places. Akin, immortal, following each other, changing their colours, both move onward through the sky."

In verses, 8, 9, 10, 11 the dawn is described as the last of those that are gone away and the first of those are to come, meaning thereby that the particular dawn drew a line of demarcation between the past and the future, i.e. past years and future years, but not at all days of 24 hours. The verses are as follows :—

"The, first of endless morns to come hereafter, follows the path of mornings that have departed. . . . .

As thou, dawn, hast caused Agni to be kindled. . . . thou hast performed a noble service for gods.

Gone are the men who in the days before us looked on the rising of the *earlier morning*.

We, the living, now behold her brightness, and they come nigh who shall hereafter see her."

In verse 13 the poet says that 'the dawn shows this light to day,' as if it were a kind of light far different from that of ordinary mornings. In verse 14 she is said to have thrown off her veil of darkness, meaning thereby that the entire portion of the latter half of the last division of the night was changed into whitish red dawn. Again in verse 15 she is said to be the *last* of the past dawns and the

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first of the coming dawns. In verse 16, she is said to have formed a path for the sun to travel, that is the southern path necessarily. She is also said to prolong the age (*āyus*) of men. The description of the dawn as being an ensign of sacrifice and bringer of wealth is based upon the custom of performing a sacrifice on the day of summer solstice and on the arrival of the rainy season conducive to wealth-yielding agriculture.

The Vedic passages referring to long nights and the safe recovery of the long-expected days can be explained as the long nights of the *dakṣiṇāyana* and the long days of the *uitarāyaṇa* rather in lower latitudes than in the Arctic regions. The passages are as follows :—

"Goodbye to thee, O Citravasu,' he says; *Citravasu* is the night; once upon a time the Brāhmaṇs were afraid of the night not passing away." *Tait. S.*, I. 5, 7, 5.

"May not the long darkness come over us."—*Ṛg.*, I. 32, 10.

"The ends of the darkness has been seen."—*Ṛg.*, VII. 67, 2.

"O night, be fordable to us."—*Ṛg.*, X. 127, 6.

I may conclude that the Vedic words *uṣas*, *vyuṣ*, *vyuṣṭi*, and *vyuṣṭa* mean the new year's day of the Vedic poets on the day of summer solstice when it dawns about two hours earlier than on other days about 35° northern latitudes. The beginning of the year on the day of summer solstice seems to have been prevalent in India from the Vedic times down to time of the Mauryas when the *Arthaśāstra* in which the *vyuṣṭa* seems to have been used in the sense of a new year's day, was written by Kauṭilya. The ancient Jainas also began their year, on the summer solstice, as repeatedly stated in their *Sūryaprajñapti*. Uṣas is also called Sūryā who is described as going in the three-wheeled-car of the Aśvins for her marriage with the sun on the new year's day. Once the *vyuṣṭi* or new year's day of the Vedic poets occurred when the colure of the solstices passed through *Pūrvaphalgunī* from which it receded to *Maghā* then it was observed to be passing through *Aśleṣā* at the period of *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* then through *Puṣyā* during the time of Mahāvīra the 24th Tirthaṅkara of the Jainas, and then through *Punarvasu* in the time of Varāha Mihira, the celebrated astronomer of India.

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Iranian Languages and Literature.

President :

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THE DOCTRINE OF KARMA FROM THE ZOROASTRIAN POINT OF VIEW.

By SHAMS-UL-ULMA Dr. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

I.

Introduction.

The object of the paper is two-fold; viz. (1) to present the Zoroastrian view of the Doctrine of *karma* in the sense that "Happiness and misery are the result of an individual's own acts," and (2) to discuss that view.

In the ordinary primitive sense, the word *karma* means "a deed, work or action." Then, in the technical religious sense, it has come to mean "a religious rite" or "a religious action or deed." Then, it has also come to mean "Fate, the certain consequence of acts done in a former life." [1]

A recent writer thus pithily presents the signification of the word: "The future both in this life and hereafter is a product of which the past and the present are factors, the past as *Karma* and the present as Free-will." [2] In the above sense of "Fate, the certain consequence of acts done in a former life," the word Karma seems to be now passing into the literature of the West. As an instance, I may point to a recent article by Lady Paget, a learned lady, a little inclined towards some eastern ways of thought. In her recent article on the late Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph, she uses the word in this sense [3]

II.

Iranian Equivalents of the Indian word Karma.

Karma (कर्म, कर्मन्) is a Sanskrit word which comes from an old Aryan root *kar*, which is (कृ), in Sanskrit; *kr* (ک ر و) in Avesta

[1] Prof. Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1890), p. 383.

[2] "*East and West*" of February 1918, p. 178.

[3] "No doubt a heavy load of crime and misdeeds in past centuries remains to the account of the House of Hapsburg, and, when looking to the Emperor Francis Joseph, I always had the impression that a weighty Karma rested on his fated head .... The Emperor Francis Joseph may in his life have paid off long standing debts incurred in former existences. (*The Nineteenth Century and after* December 1917, p. 1078).

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Kartan (𐭪𐭫𐭩𐭫𐭭) in Pahlavi; *kardan* کردن in Persian) *creare* in Latin (Fr. *créer*). The root bears the meaning "to do, to produce." Hence, in the ordinary primitive sense, the word *karma* means "a deed, work or action."

A corresponding Pahlavi Equivalent of Karma.

An old Parsi word, closely corresponding to the Iranian word *Karma*, both in its original etymological sense and in its subsequent technical religious sense, is the Pahlavi word *Kûnishna* (𐭪𐭫𐭩𐭫𐭭𐭩𐭮𐭭𐭩𐭮) Persian *kunishna* or *kunish* (کنِشُن or کُنش). It comes from *kûn* (کُن), the crude form of Pahlavi *kartan* (𐭪𐭫𐭩𐭫𐭭) or Persian کردن (*kardan*) to do. Hence, the word *kunishna*, like the Indian word *karma*, originally means "an act, work or deed," and then, it has subsequently come to mean, "the certain consequence or result of acts done in one's life". In this signification, it is limited to a certain extent. It does not extend, as in the case of the Indian word *karma*, to any number of past lives but is confined to one life. It is in the Parsi writings, which speak of a future life and of happiness and misery resulting from one's actions, that the word *kûnishna* is used in the above limited second technical religious sense of Karma We read in the Pahlavi *Mînôkherad*:

"*aôman lâ kanîk barâ kûnishna-i nîyok-i lak hûmanam.*[1] i.e., "I am not a (real) maiden but am your good *kûnishna* (deed)." Mobad Neryosang Dhaval in his Sanskrit translation renders the word by *karma* (कर्म). We read अहं न कन्या कर्म्माता च या शुभा तेऽस्मि.[2] Later on also, as the Sanskrit rendering of the Pahlavi *hukunishna* (𐭥𐭪𐭩𐭫𐭭𐭩𐭮𐭭𐭩𐭮 𐭩𐭮) i.e. good *kunishna* or good deed, Neryôsang gives शुभ कर्म्मन्. The word occurs several times in this part of the *Mînôkherad* and Neryôsang everywhere renders it into Sanskrit as *karma*.

Again, we find the word *kunishna* used in the same double sense[3]

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[1] Chap. II, 130. Dastur Darab Peshotan's Text, p. 11. Vide *Dânâk-u Mainyô-i khard*, Pahlavi, Pazand and Sanskrit Texts, edited by Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, with an Introduction by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi (1913), p. 24, l. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, Sanskrit Text, l. 3.

[3] Chap. IV, 24. Drs. Hoshang-Haug-West Text, p. 19; Dastur Kaikhosru's Text, p. 10.

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of *Karma* in the Pahlavi *Ardai Virâf-nâmeh* . We read there, that a figure in the form of a handsome woman, who, as we will see later on, represents the sum total of a man's good or bad actions in the world, says : *li kunishna-i lak hûmanam yudân-i khûp minashni khup-gobashni khup-kunashni* i.e. "O youth of good thoughts, of good words and good deeds! I am your *kunishna.*" Here, the word *kunishna* is in the sense of Karma. In the same book, we read that the bad *kunishna* or deed appears in the form of an ugly woman, saying: *li hûmanam zak-i lak kunishna-i saryâ* -i *lak*[1] i.e. "I am your evil *kûnishna.*"

In the Sanskrit version of the Pahlavi *Shikand Gumânîk Vijâr* also, the Pahlavi word *kunishna* is rendered by *karmman-karmmat va.*[2]

In the Pahlavi *Hâdôkht Nask*[3] also, we find the Pahlavi word *kunishna* used in a similar passage.

A corresponding Persian Equivalent of Karma.

Kunishna, the Pahlavi equivalent of the Sanskrit Karma, is rendered into Persian by *kerdâr* کردار. This Persian word also has, like the Sanskrit *karma* and the Pahlavi *kunishna* the original signification of 'an act' or 'deed.' The root form of all these words is the same. Then, latterly, the word *kerdâr* has also come to signify the resultant sum of one's past actions. In the Persian *Virâf-nâmeh*, the Pahlavi word *kunishna* of the Pahlavi *Virâf-nâmeh* is rendered by *kerdâr*. For example, we read :—

جواب این داد این صورت بدانکس که من کردار نیکوئی توام بس

(*javâb în dâd în sûrat badân kas,*[4]
ke man kerdâr nikûi-î tô am bas)

"This (maiden) form thus replied to him: 'I am only the *kerdâr* of your good deeds.'"

In the corresponding part of the Persian *Virâf-nâmeh*, where one's evil deeds appear before him, we read :—

[5] جوابش داد صورت گفت شو یار که من فعل توام با کار و کردار

[1] Chap. XVII, 14. Hoshang-Haug-West Text, p. 46.

[2] *Shîkand Gûmânîk Vijâr.* The Pâzand-Sanskrit Text by Hoshang- West, Vocabulary, p. 257.

[3] Chap. II, 22. Hoshang-Haug-West Text, p. 284.

[4] *The Virâf-nâmeh* by Dastur Kaikhosru, Persian Text, p. 6, l. 19.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 21, l. 29.

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(*javâbash dâd sûrat, gôft shaô yâr*
kê man fa'l tô am bâ kâr ô kerdâr)

Here, there are two other words besides the word *kerdâr* which also carry the same signification. They are *kâr* and *fa'l* which both mean "action."

So far then, we saw that the Pahlavi and Persian words, *kunishna* and *kerdâr* are, both in their primitive or etymological sense and their secondary or technical religious sense, the same as the Sanskrit *karma*. In fact, the Sanskrit translator of one of the Pahlavi books has translated the Pahlavi *kunishna* as *karma*.

The Avesta Equivalent of Karma.

The Avesta equivalent of the Indian word *karma* is *Daênâ*[1] (). Instead of beginning with the earlier Avesta, I began with the Pahlavi, because, in the Pahlavi equivalent, we find the word to be the same as the Indian *karma*, both etymologically and technically, i.e. in the religious sense. The Avesta word *daênâ* is etymologically different, but, in the technical religious sense, it is well-nigh the same as *karma*.

The Avesta *daênâ* () has become *dîn* () in Pahlavi and *dîn* (دین) in Persian. The word comes from the Avesta root *di* () = Sanskrit धी, Pahl. () Pers. دیدن 'to see, to think, to show, to announce.' The prophets or promulgators of *Daênâs* or *Dins*, i.e. religions, are all "seers." So, *Daênâ* is a kind of law or system, which shows or teaches us, or announces or reveals to us, 'something.' That 'something' is duty—duty towards our Maker, duty towards those round about us, and duty towards ourselves. Just as the Pahlavi word *kunishn* has two meanings—the ordinary original one of deed or action and the technical religious one of *karma*, i.e. the resultant sum total of one's actions, so the Avesta *daênâ* also has two meanings, the ordinary original one of law or religion and the technical religious one of *karma* or the resultant sum total of one's actions.

It is from the Pahlavi I *Hâdôkht Nask* that one can say with cer-

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1 *Hâdôkht nask* (Yt. XXII), 9, 11: *Vishtâsp Yasht* (Yt. XXIV, Chap. VIII), 56, 58. Westergaard's text, pp. 296, 297 and p. 311.

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tainty, that the Avesta word *daênâ* is, in one of its significations, the same as Pahlavi *kunishn*. In the Avesta text of the *Hâdôkht Nask*, in those parts which treat of subjects similar to those treated in the above passages of the *Mînôkherad* and *Virâf-nâmeh*, it is *hva daênâ* ( )[1] that is spoken of as appearing in the form of a maiden. In the Pahlavi rendering of it we find the words *nefshman dîn*, *nefshman kunishna* i.e. one's *dîn* (*daênâ*) one's *kunishna* (deed). This shows that the Pahlavi translator clearly understands the Avesta word *Daênâ* to mean *kunishna*, i.e. action. He uses both the words as equivalents.

The Avesta *Daênâ* is often used as a spiritual component or associate of soul. We read more than once the invocation in the Avesta : *ahûmca daênâmca, baodhasca, urvânemca, fravashîmca yazamaidê*[2] i.e. we invoke the *ahu* (life, spirit) and the *Daenâ* and the Intelligence and the Soul and the *Fravashi*. Prof. S. G. Oliphant[3] thinks that this Avesta *daênâ*, is the same as Sanskrit *dhénâ* and Lithunian *dainâ*. The Sanskrit word *dhenâ* is variously rendered by different scholars, but, after a pretty long dissertation, Prof. Oliphant considers it to be "a gunated form of the root *dhî* 'think' and a synonym of *dhitî* and *dhî*." He then adds: "*dhíná* is the exact phonetic equivalent of the Avesta *daênâ* and the Lithunian *dainâ*. The *daênâ* of the Avesta is (1) religion, especially the Ahuran religion, also (2) a theological-philosophical concept of the totality of the psychic and religious properties of man. It is the spiritual ego, the immortal part of man, the mental λογος (logos)....*Dhênnâ daênâ* and (Lithuanian) *dainâ* are all thought but thought in its higher and spiritual reaches. Both phonetics and sematics proclaim them own sisters in the old Indo-European family circle."

Ordinarily, the word *Daênâ* has come to mean "religion." In Pahlavi it has become *dîn* ( ) and in Persian *dîn* (دین). The Mahomedans also have taken the same word for "religion." In this broader sense, the Iranian word *daênâ* or *dîn* is the same as

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[1] Chap II. Hoshang-Haug-West Text, p. 284.

[2] Yasna XXVI, 4, 6.

[3] "Sanskrit *dhénâ*=Avesta *daênâ*=Lithunian *daina*," an article by Dr. Samuel Grant Oliphant, Professor in Grove City College, Grove City, Penn., in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 32nd Vol., Part IV, December 1912, pp. 393–413.

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Indian *dharma* धर्म . It is from this word *Daênâ* that we have the later Persian word *diyânat* (دیانت) in the sense of "adherence to religion, conscience, honesty, piety, virtue."

I have spoken at some length upon the Iranian words which are equivalents of the Indian *karma*, with a view to show that the technical religious idea is well-nigh the same in both. Now, I will give at some length the Avesta and Pahlavi passages which expound the theory or belief of Karma in the sense which forms the subject proper of our paper.

III.

The Avesta and Pahlavi Passages illustrating the Doctrine of Karma as regards the Future Life.

The Avesta and Pahlavi books contain several passages which present the view, that a man's soul meets after death, as it were, an exact counterpart of his actions in this world. He sees happiness or misery in the next world according as he has done good or bad actions in this world. If he has led a good honest virtuous life in this world, he sees happiness in the next life immediately after death. If he has led a bad dishonest vicious life, he sees misery.

Perhaps, it may be said, that it will be better if we confine ourselves to happiness and misery in this life. But, we must bear in mind, that the question of happiness and misery is always connected with the future,—the future of this life or the future of the next. A man who looks to the happiness of the moment is really not happy. The momentary happiness may bring in re-action. In the same way, a man who feels dejected at any misery of the moment, feels, as it were, for ever lost. Again, we have to look to the question of happiness from a religious point of view. So, we must present, at first, the religious view of future happiness or misery. A religion, to be a good religion, must be practical. So, the religious view will, in its very nature, present the practical point of view of happiness and misery in this world. We will, therefore, at first consider the Zoroastrain view of the sum total of one's actions, as presented by Zoroastrain books—(A) the Avesta books and (B) the Pahlavi books.

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(*A*) *The Avesta Books.*

(*a*) *The Vendîdâd.*

Firstly, we read in the *Vendîdâd* (XIX, 27, et seq): "Zoroaster asked:[1] 'O Holy Creator of the material world! What becomes of the works of charity which a man bestows for (the good of) his soul in the material world? Where do they go? Where do they spread? Where do they meet? (i.e. where are they recompensed?)' Ahura Mazda replied thereto: 'After the death of man, after the passing away of man, after the departure (of man), the Daêvas and the mal-informed Dravants (evil persons) do their work. When the dawn after the third night brightens and shines, and when the well-armed Mithra appears on the beautiful mountains, and when the Sun rises, (then), O Spitama Zarathushtra! a Daêva, named Vizaresha, carries away (well-)tied, the soul of the wicked devil-worshipping sinful man. (The soul whether of) the unrighteous or the righteous goes towards the old-created path, the holy Chinvat bridge created by Mazda. There, the conciousness and the soul (baodhascha urvânemcha) are asked to account for the conduct (observed) in the world, for the actions done in the corporeal world. There comes that beautiful (well-)formed, strong, handsome, watchful discriminative, graceful, resourceful, artful (maiden). She saddens the sinful soul of the unrighteous in darkness. She carries the soul of the righteous to the other side of Hara-bêrêzaiti (i.e. the Elbourz mountain), and guides him across the Chinvat bridge, the bridge of the spiritual Yazatas. (Then,) Vohumanô rises from his golden seat. Vohumanô sayeth (thus): 'O righteous! How (well that) thou hast come hither to this imperishable world from (that) perishable world!' The souls of the righteous go delighted towards Ahura Mazda, towards the Amesha-Spentas, towards the golden seat (of Vohumanô), to the Garô-nmâna (i.e. Paradise) which is the mansion of Ahura Mazda, the mansion of the Amesha-Spentas, the mansion of other Holy ones."

We must note, that according to the *Vendîdâd*, it is only one maiden, the handsome maiden, that appears before both—the righteous and the unrighteous souls. She pleases the one, and saddens the other. We do not find in this passage a distinct word for the

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[1] The translation of most of these passages in this paper are my own and are taken from my other previous papers.

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maiden but the feminine gender (*hâ* ( ) Sans. सा, she) of the person shows that it is a maiden. Again, other Avesta books[1] distinctly speak of the person as a maiden (*kaînîna.* ; Sans कन्या). The *Vishtâsp Yasht* which distinctly speaks of the maiden, is spoken of by Darmesteter[2] as the counterpart (contrepartie) of this 19th chapter of the *Vendîdâd.* The maiden is also spoken of as *ca*[s]*râiti* ( ) Sans. *carî* चरी, चरीक Pahl. *charaitik* ( )

(*b*) *The Hâdôkht Nask.*

The *Hâdôkht Nask*[4] presents to us a more amplified version of what we read in the *Vendidâd.* We read as follows :—

"Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, Beneficent Spirit, Holy Creator of the corporeal world! when a righteous person dies, where dwells his own soul during that (first) night (after death)?' Then Ahura Mazda replied: 'It sits near the head (of its corpse), chanting the *Ushtavaiti Gâthâ* (and) praying for happiness (*ushtatâtem*) thus: 'Happiness to him, from whom happiness (reaches) to any body else. May Ahura Mazda who rules according to his will grant (blessings to him).'[5] The soul receives on that (one) night as much happiness (*shâto*) as the whole living world (receives)'.[6]

"(Then Zarathushtra asked:) Where dwells his soul during that second night? (The reply of Ahura Mazda is the same as that in the case of the above first question).

"Then Zarathushtra asked: Where dwells his soul during that third night? (The reply of Ahura Mazda is the same as that in the case of the above first and second questions).

"At the end of the third night, when dawn approaches, the soul of the righteous man passes through trees, inhaling fragrance. To-

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1 The *Hâdokht Nask*, Chap. II, 23, Hoshang-Haug-West Book of Viraf Nâmeh p. 284; Westergaard, Yasht fragment XXII. 9; The Vishtâsp Yasht, Westergaard Yt. XXIV, Chap. VIII, 56.

2 *Le Zend Avesta* II, p. 663.

3 *Hâdôkht Nask*, Westergaard Yasht XXII. 10.

4 Chap. II, 1 et seq. (Hoshang-Haug-West, *Virâf Nâmeh* pp. 279 et seq.) Westergaard Yt. XXII. 1 et seq.

5 *Ushtâ ahmâi yahmâi ushtâ kahmâichît, vasê-kshayûs Mazdâo dâyât Ahurô.*

6 Or, as much happiness as it received during its whole living life.

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wards it (the soul), there approaches a fragrant wind, more fragrant than other winds, blowing from the southern direction.[1] Then, the soul of (that) righteous man seems to inhale through his nostrils that (fragrant) wind (thinking to itself :) Whence comes this wind, which is the most fragrant wind I have ever inhaled through my nostrils ? In that wind, his *Daênâ*, coming forward, presents itself before him, in the form of a maiden (who was) beautiful, brilliant, white-armed, bold, well-formed, well-sized, with protruding-breasts, straight-bodied,[2] well-born, nobly-descended, aged fifteen years, with a growth of body as excellent as the most excellent of creatures. Then the soul of the righteous person asked her (the maiden) : 'What maiden art thou whom, out of all maidens ever (seen), I have seen here the most beautiful in form.' Then its (the soul's) own *Daênâ* replied to him : 'O young man with good thoughts, good words, good actions, good *Daênâ* ![3] I am really your *Daênâ*, of thine own body (i.e. the result of actions done during your corporeal existence).[4] Everybody, on seeing you, as thou appearest to me, liked thee on account of (thy) greatness, goodness, excellence, fragrance, triumph (over evil), (and) freedom from malice. O thou youth of good thoughts, good words, good actions, good *Daênâ* thou liked me, owing to thy greatness, goodness, excellence, fragrance, triumph, freedom from malice ; so I appear before thee as such (i.e. I am a reflection of thy greatness, goodness etc.). When you saw others, burning, performing idolatory, causing destruction (and) cutting off trees, you (did not like these, but) sat chanting *Gâthâs*, praised good waters, praised fire and helped the righteous men who came to you from near or far. With such (thy) good thoughts, good words

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[1] In ancient Iran, the south was the most healthy, and therefore the most auspicious direction. The north was the reverse.

[2] *Srao-tanvô*. Haug takes the Pers. سرو (*sarv*), cypress, to have been derived from the first part of the words ; *vide* his *Virâf nâmeh*, p. 311, n. 5.

[3] Or, here the word may be translated good conscience (P. دیانت).

[4] Haug (*Virâf-nâmeh*, p. 311) translates this sentence thus : "I am, O youth, thy good thoughts, good words, good deeds (and) good religion, on account of which good religion in thy own possession, every one has loved thee for such greatness, etc.". Spiegel also gives similar translation (*Khôrdeh-Avesta*, p. 137). This translation fits better with our line of thought, but we have to take a little liberty with grammar. The sense is the same, viz. "I am the resultant sum total of your actions."

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and good actions, you made me, who was endeared to you, more endeared, made me, who was beautiful, more beautiful, made me, who was desirable, more desirable, made me, who was occupying a high position, occupy a still higher position.'"

We need not enter here into further particulars as given in the *Hâdôkht Nask*. The soul of the righteous person, after this interview with his own *daênâ*, his own Karma, the resultant sum total of his own actions in this world, in the form of a handsome maiden, proceeds step by step from one heaven to another, from the heaven of *Humata*, i.e. good thoughts, to the heaven of *Hukhta*, i.e. good words, and from that heaven to that of *Hvarshta*, i.e. the heaven of good actions, and finally, to the seat of Infinite Light, the *Garônmâna*, the seat of Ahura Mazda himself.

The third chapter of the *Hâdokht Nask* presents a picture quite the converse of the above. Here, the question is about the soul of the sinner, the unrighteous. His soul also sits, for the first three nights after death, near the dead body. It utters words of despondency and despair like the following: "O Ahura *Mazda!* Where am I to go? In which direction I am to go?" (*kãm nemôi zãm Ahura Mazda? kuthrâ nêmê ayêni?*) During the first night after death, the soul of the unrighteous sees as much misery as that seen by the whole living world (or as much misery as he had seen during his whole living life). Feeling miserable, it utters the above words of despair and despondency for three consecutive nights. On the dawn after the third night, his soul passes through a stinking dirty place, and there, the most stinking wind from the north blows before it. It was the most stinking wind that he had ever inhaled in his lifetime.

The extant copies of the *Hâdôkht Nask* do not give the converse passages corresponding to the passages relating to the righteous soul. But, from what we read in the corresponding writing of the *Ardâi Virâf Nâmeh*, we learn, that the soul of an unrighteous person is accosted by his evil *daênâ* in the form of a very ugly woman, who, in response to the question of the soul, says, that she is the *daênâ* of his own evil thoughts, evil words and evil actions, and that his thoughts, words and deeds gradually made her more hideous. The soul then passes step by step to the hell of *Dushmata*, i.e. evil thoughts, to the hell of *Duzukhta*, i.e. evil words and then to the hell of *Duzvarshta*, i.e. evil actions.

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(*c*) *The Vîshtâsp Yasht.*

We now come to the *Vishtâsp Yasht.*[1] In the *Vendîdâd*, it is Zoroaster who asks a question about the destiny of the soul, and it is Ahura Mazda who replies. In the *Hâdôkht Nask* also, there is the same procedure. But the *Vîshtâsp Yasht* (Chap. VIII) differs from the first two. In the *Patet*, a Parsi thus speaks of his faith in the Zoroastrian religion: (*pa ân din dastur est hôm, în Ahura Mazda Zartôsht châsht, Zartôsht ôi Gôshtâsp* i.e.) "I accept the commandments of that religion, which Ahura Mazda taught to Zoroaster and which Zoroaster taught to Gushtâsp (Vîshtâsp)." The *Vishtâsp Yasht* is framed in the spirit of the latter part of the above passage of the *Patet.* It is the teaching of Zoroaster to King Gushtâsp whose Avesta name was Vîshtâsp. Hence it is, that it is called *Vîshtâsp Yasht.* It is also spoken of as *Vîshtâsp Nask.* It seems to be a much mutilated and abridged form of the 10th Nask, which is also known as *Vishtâsp sâst*, i.e. "that which was taught to Vîshtâsp (by Zoroaster)." In all the 8 chapters of the Nask or the Yasht, the subject in hand is addressed to Vîshtâsp, as "(my) son (*puthra*) Kava Vîshtâspa." But the 8th chapter, which treats of the subject of the destiny of the soul, is, in addition to Vîshtâsp, addressed to Frashaoshtra as "(my) son Frashaoshtra." In this Yasht, the soul is represented, as reposing during the first night on Good Words, and during the second night on Good Actions. On the third night it proceeds towards the Chinvat bridge. Here, the usual stage of good thoughts is dropped. But, in the final passage to *Garô-nmâna*, we find the usual order. The description of this book about the destiny of the righteous soul is well nigh the same as that of the *Hâdôkht Nask.* As to the destiny of the unrighteous soul it only alludes to it in the last para and omits the detailed account found in the *Hâdôkht Nask.*

IV.

(*B*) *The Pahlavi Books.*

(*a*) *The Mînôkherad.*

We now come to the Pahlavi books. We will first see, what the *Minôkherad* says. The second chapter of the book treats of the

[1] Westergaard, pp. 302 to 312; *Zend Avesta*, par Darmesteter, Vol. II, pp. 663–83. In this account of the *Vîshtâsp Yasht* and the Pahlavi books, I draw materials from my paper on "A principle of Justice among the ancient Persians as described by Herodotus; its origin in Persian books" (*The Sir J. J. Madressa Jubilee Volume*, edited by me, pp. 386–97).

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good of the body and the soul (*tan va ravân*). Therein, after speaking of the transcient state of life, it gives the following account of the destiny of the soul: For three days and nights the soul hovers near the body (or near the last resting-place). On the dawn of the fourth day, it meets, on one hand, with help and support (*awâkih*) from three Yazatas or angels, viz. Sarosh, Vâe-i shapir (i.e. the good Vâe) and Vahrâm (Behrâm), and on the other, with the opposition (*hamistârih*) of demons like Ast-vidât, Vâe-i salîtar, Farzîsht, Nazîsht and Aeshm, and then proceeds to the Chînvad bridge. The souls of both, the righteous as well as the unrighteous, go to the bridge. There, they are judged impartially, not even a hair's breadth of partiality being tolerated, by Meher, Sarosh and Rashnu, the last one holding the balance to weigh their deeds. When a righteous soul passes, the bridge becomes as wide as a farsang. The rest of the description of the *Mînôkherad* is well-nigh the same as that of the *Hâdôkht Nask*. In the case of the unrighteous soul, the demon Vîzaresh takes hold of it. It meets with opposition from the good Yazata like Sarosh, and with bad treatment from demons like Vîzaresh who beat it. We then find in the *Mînôkherad* some further matter, which is wanting in the previous descriptions of the Avesta books and which we had to assume, viz. that the unrighteous soul is accosted by the picture of its bad deeds in the form of an ugly wicked maiden. On being asked by the soul as to who she was, she says: "I am not a maiden, but am thy deeds" (*lî lâ kanîk barâ kunishn-i lak*). She then taunts the soul and reminds it of its past deeds. Finally, with four steps, the soul goes to the final hell. As said above, according to the *Vendidâd*, the souls of both, the righteous and the unrighteous were accosted by a handsome maiden, who saddened the souls of the unrighteous and gladdened those of the righteous. But here, we find that the righteous and the unrighteous are met by two different types of maiden.

(*b*) *The Dâdistân-i Dini.*

The next Pahlavi book that treats of the destiny of soul is the *Dâdîstân-: Dînî.*[1] Its version varies a little, though not in the main points. It says nothing of the soul hovering over the corpse or its

[1] Chaps. XX–XXV.

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last resting-place, but says, that it entertains some fears and doubts about its place (*gumân î madam nefshman gâs*).[1] It sees before itself its good deeds or misdeeds. In the case of the righteous souls, during the first three nights, the recollection of their good thoughts, good words and good deeds brings them joy, pleasure and commendment (*shnâyashna, râmashna and farâtashna*)[2] respectively. On the contrary, to the wicked souls, there come pain, discomfort and punishment (*bîsh, dushâvarih and pâtafarâs*)[3] respectively. All the souls then pass over the bridge. We find in the *Dâdistân* the following additional statements, which are not found in the preceding versions :

(1) The first statement is, that there is a class of souls between the righteous (*âhloban*) and the unrighteous (*darvand*). They are spoken of as the *hamistagâni*, i.e. the equal-stationary or the ever-stationary. They are the souls of those whose good deeds equal their bad deeds in weight. The righteous go higher up (*lâlâ*) from over the bridge, the unrighteous fall down head-foremost, and the *hamistagâni* go to their own place, which seems to be neither higher up nor lower down, but on the same level.

(2) We also find some additional matter about the bridge. It is said that the bridge is like a many-sided wooden beam (*dâr hûmânâk-i kabad pâhlûk*).[4] It has both broad and narrow sides, the broad being as broad as 27 reeds (*nâi*)[5] and the narrow as small as the edge of a razor (*ôstareh tâi.*[6]) When a righteous soul passes over it, the broad side gives a passage to it; but when the unrighteous passes, it is the narrow side, edged like a razor, that gives a passage. The broad side gives an easy passage to the righteous, the narrow side throws down the unrighteous on pointed darts.

(3) On the departure of a righteous person from this world, the creation—water, earth, trees and animals—grieves for his departure.[7] Ahura Mazda makes up for the loss by sending another

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[1] Chap. XXIV, 2. Ervad Tehmuras's Text, *Pursishn*, XXIII, 2, p. 49, l. 11.

[2] Chap. XX, 2, *Pursishn*, XIX 2. Ervad Tehmuras's Text, p. 43.

[3] Ibid.

[4] *Ibid*, Chap. XXI, 3; *Pursishn* XX, 3, p. 44. [5] *Ibid.*

[6] Cf. the "razor-bridge" of the Mahomedans; also the चुरस्य धारा [the razor's edge) of the *Upaniṣad*.

[7] The *Dâdistân-i Dînî*, Chap. XXII. This statement of the *Dâdistân* reminds us of what we read in the *Farvardin Yasht* (Yt. XIII, 93–94), viz. that the

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righteous man to this world. So, the world continues to have a fresh supply of good men in place of those who have departed.[1]

(4) In the Avesta books, above referred to, the picture of one's deeds which presents itself before the soul in the form of a maiden is spoken of as *daênâ* (i.e. the picture of his conscience). In the *mînô-kherad* it is spoken of as *kunashni* (i.e. the aggregate of his actions). In the *Dâdistân*, it is spoken of as "the *ganjôbar-i kêrfê*[2] (i.e. the treasurer of one's meritoriousness).

(5) There is one more additional new idea in the *Dâdistân*[3] It is that of the soul seeing both its good and evil deeds before it. The good soul sees before it, its meritorious as well as sinful works (*nefshman kerfê va vanâs negiret*).[4] The righteous soul, in the midst of its pleasure for the consciousness of having acted well in this world, meets on the third night some punishment for any wrong deeds that it may have done. It says: "If there be some sin also with righteousness, which (sin) continues in its origin, for the first time, on the same third night, punishment by way of retribution for the evil deeds reaches him (*âat levatmanach âhlubîh vanâs aet zakash pavan bûn istêt fardum pavan tojashneh dûshâvarshta pâta-farâs ham se-digar leliyâ yâmtunet*).[5] In the same way, the unrighteous soul, while it sees before it, its evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds and the punishment due to them, sees also on the first, second and third nights, the spirit (*mînôi*) of its good thoughts, good words and good actions respectively, if any, and derives pleasure therefrom.[6]

(c) *The Grand Bundehesh.*

When we come to the *Grand Bundehesh*, we find therein some further new matter as follows[7]:—

(1) The most important new matter that one finds in the *Grand Bundehesh* is this: While in all the other Avesta and Pahlavi books,

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creation or the whole Nature was delighted on the birth of the righteous person, Zoroaster.

[1] *Ibid*, Chap. XXII.

[2] *Ibid*. Chap. XXIV, 5; *Pursishn* XXIII. 5; Tehmuras's, Text p. 50.

[3] *Ibid*, Chap. XXIV.

[4] *Ibid*, *Pursishn* XXIII. 2; Text p. 50, l. 1.

[5] Chap. XXIV, 4; *Pursishn* XXIII, 4; Text p. 50, ll. 6–8.

[6] Chap. XXV, 4; *Pursishn* XXIV; Text p. 51, ll. 14–16.

[7] The chapter of the *Grand Bundehesh*, I refer to, has been translated by me

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a man's conscience or his actions are represented as appearing before the soul after death, in the form of a damsel,[1] in this new chapter, in addition to their being so represented, they are represented (1) in the form of a cow (*torâ-karp*) and (2) in the form of a garden (*bôstân-karp*).[2] (2) Again, we learn, that the mountain of Chekâti or Chakât-i Dâitî, on which stands the Chinvat bridge and which is situated in the middle of the world, is the place where the balance of justice is held. (3) We further learn that the balance is held by the angel Rashna. (4) Spiritual Yazatas and spiritual dogs guard the bridge which rests on this mountain, the northern and the southern ends of the bridge being on two summits of the Elbourz. The sword-like edge of the bridge rests on the Chakâti Dâitî. (5) The chapter alludes to the Parsi custom of keeping the fire burning before the corpse, and says, that it helps, as it were, in frightening the Deêva Vîzaresha, who turns his back from the fire. In case, there is, for one reason or another, no fire there, the fire of the Âtash Beharâm will take care of the soul. This seems to account for the custom, still prevalent to some extent, of sending some sandal wood for the sacred fire of the Âtash Beharâm or for that of the adjoining Âtash Âdarân when death takes place. Fire assists the virtuous soul again, when it crosses the bridge. It illuminates his path. During the first three days and nights, the pain to the soul is like that "to a man when his house is being dug up.". The soul sits before its dead body, hoping "that the blood may be heated and the wind may enter the body" (again), and that it (the soul) may be able to enter the body again. The picture of his pious deeds as a virtuous person appears before him, in addition to that in the figure of a damsel, in the form of "a fat and milky cow," and "a garden full of leaves, full of water, full

fully, and I would refer my readers to the full text and translation given by me in "An untranslated chapter of the *Bundehesh*," a paper read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 1st August, 1901. Vide *Journal B.B.R.A. Society*, Vol. XXI, pp. 49–65. Vide my *Asiatic Papers* Part I, pp. 217–234. Vide my Introduction to that Paper, for my views about the date and the author of the *Bundehesh*.

[1] Dr. Haug thought that this allegory may have "suggested to Mohammad the idea of the Celestial *Huris*." Dr. Cheyne says, "At any rate this Zoroastrian allegory suggested the Talmudic story of the three bands of ministering angels who meet the soul of the pious man, and the three bands of wounding angels who meet the bad man when he dies." (*The Origin of the Psalter* p. 437).

[2] Vide my above paper in my *Asiatic Papers*, p. 220.

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of fruits, full of fertility, from (all) which blissful and fertile thoughts come to him." When the soul is sinful, the cow is "without milk, weak and frightful," and the garden "waterless, treeless, dreary." The good wind (*vâe-i-shapir*), in which the pious soul sees the form of a handsome damsel, catches hold of its hand and carries it to its own destined place. The ugly damsel who presents herself before the wicked soul in the midst of the stinking wind asks it to cross the sharp-edged path. The soul refuses to do so. It is asked thrice to do so and thrice it refuses. Then, in the end there comes before the soul "a frightful untamed wild beast." The soul is frightened, and there being no help before it, it advances on the sharp-edged path of the bridge, and in so doing falls in the abyss of hell. "Those whose sins and righteous acts are both equal" go to the Hamistagân which is "a place like the world (*jinâki chegûn gêtî hùmânâk*)." [1]

In the above description of the *Grand Bundehesh*, we find a number of newly interpolated ideas, foreign to the old ideas. It is such interpolations that have made the old small *Bundehesh* "the *Grand Bundehesh*." [2]

(*d*) *The Ardâi Virâf Nâmeh.*

Lastly, we come to the *Ardâi Virâf Nâmeh.*[3] Here, the picture that presents itself before the soul is spoken of both as *Dîn* (*Daênâ*) and *kunishna*,[4] i.e. conscience and actions. Again, we find in addition to those Yazatas or angels which are referred to in the above books, the mention of the Yazata Âshtâd.[5] Rashna is spoken of as holding a golden balance, wherein he weighs (the deeds of) the pious and the wicked.[6] The *hamistagân* is spoken of as a place wherein are the souls of those whose meritorious and sinful acts are equal.[7] Here, we find—and this is the only Pahlavi book wherein we find—some more particulars about the weighing of the deeds in the balance. One whose meritorious deeds exceeds his misdeeds by the weight of three *srôshô-charanâm*,[8] goes to Heaven. One, whose misdeeds exceeds

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1 For these and other quotations, vide my above paper on "*An untranslated chapter of the Bundehesh.*"

2 The text of this *Bundehesh*, as collated by the late Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, has been edited by his son, Mr. Behramgore and published by the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat.

3 Chap. IV, V, VI and XVII. 4 Chap. IV, 18.

5 Chap. V, 3. 6 Chap. V, 5. 7 Chap. VI, 7.

8 The amount of this weight is not properly known.

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his meritorious deeds by three *sraôshô-charanâm*, goes to Hell. One, whose meritorious and evil deeds are equal, goes to the *Hamistagân*.

We saw above, that the extant copies of the Avesta *Hadôkht Nask* did not give in full the passages referring to the appearance of the evil *kunishna* or *karma* in the form of an ugly woman and to the conversation of the soul with that *kunishna*. To make our picture complete, I will give here that part of the allegorical episode from the *Virâf-Nâmeh* (Chap. XVII) : "The soul of the wicked roamed for three nights there, where the wicked man died, there, near which place life went out. It (the soul) stood at the head (of the dead corpse) and uttered the (following despondent) words of the *Gâthâ* : 'Ô Dâdâr Ahurmazd! To which land shall I go? Which place shall I have for refuge?' And to him, on that night, there came as much pain and difficulty as could possibly come to a worldly man when he lived in the world in difficulty and pain. Then, a cold stinking wind blows towards it. It appeared to the soul as if it (the wind) blew from the northern direction, from the direction of the demons, and that he had not perceived in the world a more stinking wind than this. And in that (stinking northern) wind he saw his own *din*, his own *kunishna* like a woman who was profligate, naked, decayed, raging, bandy-kneed, back-hipped, spotted to such a great extent that one spot was joined to another spot, and like a wicked, most polluted, stinking, noxious creature. Then that sinful soul asked (that woman) : 'Who art thou,—thou, than whom I never saw a creature more ugly, more polluted and more stinking in the creation of Ahura Mazda or Âhriman?' She (the ugly woman) replied : 'O thou youth of evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds! I am thy evil *kunishna* (deed). It is as the result of your will and deed that I am evil and bad and sinful and diseased and decayed and stinking and unlucky and miserable, as I appear to thee . . . . and though I have been unpleasing (i.e. I have been taken to be bad), I am made more unpleasing by thee, and though I have been frightful, I am made more frightful by thee. Though I have been complaining (*garazashnîk*) I am made more complaining by thee. Though I have been from the northern (evil) direction, I am made (to appear) more from the northern direction by thee. (I am all this) through the evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds, which thou didst . . . . Then that soul of the wicked man took its first step with evil

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thoughts, the second step with evil words and the third one with evil deeds. With the fourth step it went to Hell."

V.

The Irânian allegory of Karma, appearing in the form of a maiden, as represented in other literatures.

The above mentioned old view of one's *karma* appearing before him in the form of a maiden—a handsome maiden if his deeds are good, an ugly maiden if his deeds are bad—seems to appear in the literature of other nations also. (1) The Greeks are said to have thought that the "doubles" of things had the form of a Dryad,[1] i.e. a nymph of the woods.[2] The Avestan maiden also, when it appeared before the pious souls on the third night after death, appeared as "moving in the midst of sweet scented trees (*aurvar bui-i basîm.* Viraf. IV, 15), and in the form of a garden (*bostânkarp.* The *Grand Bundehesh*). The "double" of the Greeks seems to be the same as the *Fravashi* or *Farohar*, which with *ahu* (spirit) *daênâ* (*karma*) *baôdha* (intelligence) and *urvâna* (soul) makes the entity of the soul.[3] (2) According to Dr. Haug, as said above, it was this allegory of the *kunishna* or *karma* appearing in the form of a maiden, that "suggested to Mohammed the idea of the celestial *Houris*."[4] (3) According to Rev. Dr. Cheyne, this Zoroastrian allegory which he calls "a noble and fine allegory," suggested the Talmudic story of three bands of ministering angels who meet the soul of the pious man and the three bands of wounding angels who meet the bad man when he dies.[5]

One must not understand from the above narration of the destiny of man's soul, that the doctrine of *kunishna* or *karma* has to do with the future world alone. No, it has every thing to do with the present also. We read in the Pahlavi *Mînôkhered:* "He who has not attained his soul (i.e. acted well through his soul) *up to now*, has attained nothing. He who in process of time does not attain his soul, attains nothing."[6] Neryosang thus renders this Pahlavi passage:—यत् न किंचित् गृहीतं येन न आत्मा गृहीतः॥ यावच्च इदानीं न किंचिद् गृह्णाति यो न आत्मानं गृह्णाति.

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1 *Vide* the *Academy* of 10th Feb., 1906, p. 134.

2 The word *Dryad*, comes from Lat. dryas, Gr. δρυάς Avesta *dâuru-* (Pahl. *dâr*) San. द्रारु P. دار (درخت) Eng. tree.

3 *Yasna* XXVI. 4. 6. 4 Haug's *Essays*.

5 *The origin and religious contents of the Psalter* (1891); *Bampton Lectures* of 1889, p. 437.

6 Chap. I. 28–30 (Vide *S.B.E.* XXIV, p. 6); Ervad Temuras's edition pp. [4–5.

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By "attaining the soul" (*roban vakhduntan*, आत्मा गृहीतः) is meant, what we speak of as, "salvation" in a very broad sense of the word. Do good acts yourselves now, and you are saved now in this world.

VI.

Iranian Proverbs or sayings reflecting the Doctrine of Kunishn or Karma.

Besides the above writings from the Avesta and Pahlavi, there are a number of proverbs or pithy Iranian sayings, that point to the truth of the doctrine of Karma. The following may be said to be the best Avestan proverbs illustrating the belief :—

Akem akâi, vanguhîm ashîm vanghavé[1] i.e. evil to the evil-minded, blessed good to the good-minded.

The following few corresponding Persian proverbs may be taken as reflecting the old Iranian belief :—

(*a*) هرچه کاری بدروي	Whatever you will sow, you will reap.
(*b*) هرچه کني بخود کني گر همه نیک و بد کني	Whatever you do—whether all that you do is good or bad—you do to yourself.
(*c*) سخت زني سخت خوري	If you will strike hard, you will be struck hard.
(*d*) کرده خویش آید پیش	Whatever you will do, that will come in front of you. (This and the following proverb seem to refer to the *karma* or *kunishn* or *kerdâr* coming before one's soul at the end of his life in the form of a maiden).
(*e*) آنرا که چنان کند چنین آید پیش	To him who does (a deed) in such and such a way, the same comes in front of him.

The following Gujarati proverbs or proverbial phrases are often heard from the lips of Parsis and may be taken as, well-nigh akin to, and in the line of, the Avestan proverb. Some of these are commonly uttered and some are rare :—

(*a*) કરણી તેવી પાર ઉતરણી.	As the deed, so the result of the crossing on the other side.

[1] *Gâthâ Ushtavaiti*, *Yasna*, XLIII. 5.

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(*b*) કરશો તેવું પામશો. As you will do, so you will have.

(*c*) કરશો હાથે તે લેશો સાથે. What you will do with your own hands, you will take with you.

The two variants of this last proverb having the same meaning are :—

(*i*) કરશે હાથે તો લેઈ જશે સાથે.

(*ii*) કરે હાથે ને રાખે સાથે.

(*d*) કરે તેવું પામે. One will have, as he will do.

(*e*) કરશે તે ભરશે. One shall have to fill up (or pay) as he will do.

All the above Iranian sayings and Parsi proverbs tell us, as it were that " to-day is the incarnation of yesterday, and to-morrow the incarnation of to-day." Take care of to-day and your to-morrow will be happy.

VII.

The Words daênâ, kunishna, kerdâr or *karma to be taken in a broad sense.*

The above Avesta and Pahlavi passages and the above pithy sayings point to the fact, that in order to understand the question of happiness and misery, we must understand the word *karma kunishna, daênâ* or *deed* in a very broad sense, not in the restricted sense of action or deed. Happiness and misery result not only from an action or deed in the strictest sense of the word, but also from a thought or word. For every one instance of a deed bringing happiness or misery, there may be a dozen or two instances of mere thoughts causing happiness or misery or a dozen or two instances of the utterance of words bringing happiness or misery. It is very often the case, that though no words may be uttered or no actions performed, still mere thoughts bring happiness or misery. It is very properly said that " As you *think* so you will be." It is mind that does the work first. It is mind that leads to the utterance of words and the performance of actions. So Mind or thought is the principal thing. So in the broad sense of *karma* or *kunishna*, thoughts and words both should be included with acts. That is especially the case in the above quoted passages about the noble allegory of *daênâ, kunishna* or *kerdâr*. The *daênâ* or *ku-*

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nishn that presents itself in the form of a maiden before the soul as the sum resultant of its actions, speaks of herself as the resultant of the soul's thoughts, words and acts all combined, and not acts or deeds alone. In a broad sense, a thought or word is as well a deed, as a deed properly so called. This brings us to the question of the Zorrastrian triad of *manashni, gavashni*, and *kunashni*, i.e. Thought, Word and Deed. The whole moral structure of Zoroastrianism rests upon that. This triad is, as it were, the pivot upon which the Zoroastrian moral structure turns. The Avesta and Pahlavi books are replete with passages about this triad, and that very properly, because every thing depends upon these and especially upon mind. It is very properly said :

"Nothing divine in world but the man,
Nothing divine in man but the mind."

Think of nothing but the truth, and you will speak what is true, and your actions will be truthful. *Think* well and you will *speak* well and you will *act* well. It is this *daênâ*, this *kunishna* this *Kerdâr* made up of the sum total of your thoughts, words and actions, that influences your happiness or misery.

Zoroaster thus conveys to his disciples a message from Ahura Mazda: "I declare to you the word which the most Beneficent told me and which is the best to be heard by mankind. Those who will grant me (a hearing) with obedience and attention, will be blessed with health and immortality. (The word is this:) 'Ahura Mazda (is approached) through deeds of good mind.'"[1]

The best of happiness which Eastern thinkers think of is that of being one, as it were, with the Great Architect of the Universe. Now, if one can attain that great happiness through good mind, as said in the above passage, all the worldly happiness is sure to be attained by good mind, i.e. by good thoughts.

What Constitutes Happiness ?

Righteousness.

According to the teachings of the Avesta there are two things that bring happiness and two that bring misery. *Asha*, i.e. Righteousness and Industry bring happiness. Unrighteousness and Sloth bring in misery. Broadly speaking, *Asha* or Righteousness

[1] *Gâthâ Ushtavad*, Yasna XLV. 5.

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must include Industry. But ordinarily it does not. So we will speak of them separately.

Firstly, according to the teachings of the Avesta it is *Asha* that constitutes happiness. Of the several technical or special words which cannot be sufficiently well rendered into another language, one is *Asha* (𐬀𐬱𐬀). It is the Sanskrit *ṛtā* ऋता. The English word *right* comes close to it. *Asha* is Righteousness—righteousness in thoughts, words and deeds. This Righteousness is the only path to happiness. There is an Avesta maxim which says: "There is only one path (and that is the path) of Righteousness. All other paths are no paths" (*aêvô paṇtâo yô ashahê; vispê anyaêshâm apaṇtâm*). *Asha* or Righteousness alone leads to happiness. That is the only road that leads to it, others are misleading roads. As Dr. Haug[1] has well said, the moral philosophy of Zoroaster "was moving in the triad of thought, word and deed." The word *Asha*, which signifies Righteousness, Purity or Piety, is as it were, the watchword or motto of Zoroastrianism. M. Harlez very properly says that the notion of word "virtue" sums itself up in that of *Asha*. According to the *Vendîdâd*, the preservation of good thoughts, good words and good deeds constitutes *Asha*.

There are a number of Avesta, Pahlavi and Pazend passages which recommend the above triad of good thought, good word and good deed which lead to *Asha* or Righteousness. Some of these are the following:—

(1) "Righteousness is the best good and happiness. Happiness to him who is righteous for the best righteousness."[2]

(2) "O Ahura Mazda! May Thou rule in all glory, as Thou likest, over Thy creation—over water, over vegetation, over all good things, which bear the seed of Righteousness. Let the Righteous be powerful. Let the unrighteous be powerless. May the Righteous rule as they like. May the unrighteous be without the rule of their choice.[3]

(3) The following dialogue presents, in a succinct form, the importance of the above triad of thought, word and deed:—

Question: Who is the most fortunate or happy man in this world?

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[1] Haug's *Essays on the Parsees* (2nd ed.), p. 300.

[2] *Ashem Vohû*, Yasna, XX. 1-3.

[3] Yasna, VIII, 5-6.

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Answer ? He who is most innocent.

Question : Who is the most innocent man in the world ?

Answer : He, who walks in the path of God and shuns that of the devil.

Question : Which is the path of God and which that of the devil ?

Answer : Virtue is the path of God and vice that of the devil.

Question : What constitutes virtue and what vice ?

Answer : Good thoughts, good words and good deeds constitute virtue; and evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds constitute vice.

Question : What constitutes good thoughts, good words and good deeds and what constitutes evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds ?

Answer : Honesty, Charity and Truthfulness constitute the former; and Dishonesty, Want of charity and Falsehood constitute the latter.[1]

(4) The *Virâf Nâmeh*[2] gives an instructive and inspiring message of God to mankind. It says :—

" O Ardâ Virâf ! Tell the Mazdayasnâns of the world that there is only one path and that (is the path) of Righteousness, which has come down from old for religious-minded people. The others are not (really good) paths. You follow that only path of Righteousness. Never turn away from it in prosperity or in adversity or in any other circumstance. Practise good thoughts, good words and good deeds : . . . . Follow the path of virtue and shun that of vice. Be informed of this, that your cattle will be reduced to dust, that your horses will be reduced to dust, your gold and silver will be reduced to dust, the bodies of men will be reduced to dust. (But) that man will not be reduced to dust, who will praise Righteousness and do Righteous acts of meritoriousness."

Industry.

Zoroastrianism elevates Work to the position of Worship.

According to the Avesta next to Righteousness, it is Industry that brings happiness. Idleness or sloth brings misery. An Avestan maxim says : " No harm comes to the honest and to the diligent (even when) living among the evil-minded." (*nôit êrêzijyôi frajyâitish, nôit fshuyantê dregvaçû pairî*).[3] The Pahlavi rendering of the

[1] *Ganj-i Shâyagân* (Dastur Dr. Peshotan B. Sanjana's Text, 2–7).
[2] Chap. CI, 14–21.
[3] Yasna, XXIX, 5.

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maxim says: "No disaster unto him who lives aright, nor unto him who is diligent. He is apart from the evil-minded." Zoroastrianism elevates *Work* to the position of *Worship*. The pursuit of agriculture is taken as the type of all good work, so much so, that in it, as it were, lies the spread of religion. We read the following dialogue in the *Vendîdâd*:—

Zoroaster asks Ahura Mazda: "O Holy Creator of the Material World! Wherein lies the spread of the Mazdayasnan religion?"

Ahura Mazda replies: "O Spitama Zarathushtra! In the plentiful sowing of the corn (lies the spread of the religion). He who sows corn, sows Holiness or Piety. He (thereby) causes the spread of the Mazdayasnân religion, as it were, with hundredfold acts of devotion, thousandfold acts of reverence and a ten-thousandfold acts of Yasna (prayer) recitals. Where grows corn, there, the Daêvas (or evil influences) are destroyed." [1]

Gibbon refers to this teaching of the *Vendîdâd* as "a wise and benevolent maxim" [2] of the ancient Persians.

Laborare est orare, i.e. "Work is Worship," and *servere est regnare*, i.e. "To serve is to reign," are, as it were, the maxims of the Avesta also. For a concrete instance, take the case of the domestic duties of women. For them, all domestic work is worship. There are three periods of the day (the *gâhs*), when a man has to say his necessary prayers (*farziât*). For a woman to do her domestic duties at these periods is equal to worship. According to the *Ganj-i Shâyagân*, the Sun himself, as it were gives to the men of the world, a message, three times during the day, reminding them of their duties. In the first period of the day (the *Hâvan gâh* in the morning), he asks them to be busy (*tôkhshâk*) with virtuous deeds. In the second period (*the Rapithwin* in the mid-day), he reminds them of the duties of a married life. In the third period when he goes down towards the horizon (the *Uziran gâh* in the evening), he reminds them of their acts of omission and asks them to repent for them.[3] All this amounts to saying: "We must read duty in prayers;" "Prayer is a self-preaching sermon." The efficacy of prayer, among other things, consists principally of this preaching of duty. The doing of one's

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[1] *Vendîdâd*, III, 30–31.

[2] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1845), Vol. I, p. 120.

[3] *Ganj-i Shâyagân*, 153–56.

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duty, brings in happiness. A prayer reminds us of our duties. So prayer brings in happiness.

VIII.

One's Work procures him Paradise.

Paradise or Heaven is the abode of Happiness or Bliss and it is good work that carries one there. The golden maxim—

"Early to bed and early to rise
Makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise,"

is one, that is well recommended by the Avesta. One, who rises early and falls to his work early, is thus represented as being blessed by the fire of his family hearth: "Get up. Time advances. He, who out of two, gets up early, goes first to Paradise. He, who, out of two, first carries with his two well-washed hands clean fuel for the Fire of Ahura Mazda, is thus blessed by that well-pleased, unannoyed, well-fed fire: 'May cattle increase (in numbers) in thy house. May thy progeny increase. May thy mind be active. May thy life be active. For all the nights that thou mayst happen to live (i.e. for all thy life) may thou live in the pleasure of a happy life."[1]

The Earth blesses the workers, curses the idlers.

In the Avesta, agriculture is the best type of all industry and work. The Earth blesses or curses an industrious man who tills the ground well or an idle man who neglects it:

"Zoroaster asks Ahura Mazda: 'O Holy Creator of the material world! Who is the fourth person who rejoices this Earth with the greatest of joys?' Ahura Mazda replied: 'O Spitama Zarathushtra! He, who most cultivates (the ground), for corn, pasture and fruit-bearing trees, who irrigates the waterless ground, who dries (i.e. reclaims) watery or damp ground . . . . (rejoices the Earth).

"O Spitama Zarathushtra! When a man cultivates the Earth with the left hand and the right, with the right hand and the left, the Earth says unto him: 'O man! (as) thou tillest me with the left hand and with the right, with the right hand and the left, I will bring prosperity here in thy country: I will come with fruit, I will bear food of fruit and corn.'

"O Spitama Zarathushtra! When a man does not cultivate the earth with the left hand and with the right, with the right hand

[1] *Vendidâd*, XVIII, 26–27.

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and with the left (i.e. with both hands and right earnestly), the earth says unto him: 'O man! thou, who tillest me not with the left hand aud with the right, with the right hand and with the left, thou shalt undoubtedly stand at the door of others as a vagrant: and when thou shalt sit (begging) at their doors, they will keep thee waiting, and will bring thee some stale food, fetched out of their plenty." [1]

The Avesta teaching on the subject of industry is like that of the proverbs, "The more the marble wastes, the more the statue grows" and "Work is polish, undue rest is rust."

Firdousi represents Naoshirwân the Just (Chosroes I) as saying the following words :—

تن آسان شود هر که رنج آورد ز رنج تن باز گنج آورد

He who works hard gets the ease of body. The body gets wealth (or happiness) by hard work.

The result of one's actions increasing with interest.

The Pahlavi *Dâdistân-i Dinî* [2] presents a beautiful view of the result of one's actions. It inculcates the moral, that the earlier in life a man does good actions, the greater the advantage to him. The good resulting from his actions increases with interest. It advises, that a man should, from his very young age, lead a good life and do good actions. One need not wait for old age for the performance of pious virtuous deeds. The earlier in life he performs these, the greater the advantage. The result increases as it were with interest (*vakhsh*). What is meant to be said by the *Dâdistân-i Dînî* is that for one's future happiness he must set a foundation from early young life.

Good deeds for the present as well as for future generations.

A Zoroastrian is asked to perform good deeds not only for the good of the present generation but even for the good of the coming generations. In the *Yasna* (IV, 5) he prays for the prosperity and well-being, both of cattle and of men, both of those that were born and those that will hereafter be born in the house (*fradathâi ahê nmânahê paçvâmcha narâmcha zâtanâmcha* zãhyamnanâmcha). There is a similar prayer in the *Visparad* (XI, 13).

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[1] *Vendîdâd* III, 25–29.

[2] Question IX, Chap. X, et seq.

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IX.

The Sense of Duty.

Duty done brings happiness ; duty neglected brings misery.

The *Vendîdâd* has a beautiful passage on the subject of Duty. It places those who neglect their Duty on the same level as that of robbers. It says : " He who does not do his duty towards those to whom duty is due, becomes a thief of duty, for having robbed them of what is due to them. He must stick during the night, or during the day, to his duty towards those, to whom duty is due, irrespective of their (high or low) position." [1]

We read in the *Mînôkherad :* " Every body has to undergo some trouble for (the sake of his) soul. He must know what work (duty) and meritorious acts are. That meritorious act, which a man unknowingly (unintentionally) does is less of a meritorious work (i.e. has less merit)." [2] " That worship of God is good, ... which does not seek one's own good and advantage at the cost of harm to others, which is kind to the creatures of Ahura Mazda, which seeks industry and perseverance in duty and acts of meritoriousness " [3] i.e. Doing one's duty is an act of Worship.

The Avesta teaches that a man must practise both active and passive virtues. A man *must* do what it is his duty to do. The commission of these acts of duty brings happiness. The omission of these acts of duty brings misery. For example, it is the duty of the parents to educate their children. That duty done has its own reward. If the children, by virtue of the good training received from their parents, do virtuous deeds, the parents are believed to have a share in the meritoriousness of the acts of their children and *vice versa.* We read in the *Ganj-ī Shâyagân* that the parents must teach their children (to do) some of those deeds of righteousness before they are of the age of fifteen. When they are thus taught, the parents participate in whatever deeds of righteousness the children may do. When they are not taught, if in consequence of not being taught, the children commit sins, the parents participate in those (sins).[4] The Pahlavi *Shâyast lâ Shâyast* says : " The duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand." [5]

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[1] *Vendîdâd* Chap. IV, 1. [2] *Mînôkherad* I, 23–25. [3] *Mînôkherad* LII, 2–13.
[4] *Ganj-i Shâyagân*, 143, Dastur Dr. Peshotan's Text, p. 15.
[5] Chap. X, 22 ; XII, 15 ; (*Vide* West, *S.B.E.*, V. pp. 325 and 345).

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All good work has its reward. If you, on finding a hungry, man feed him, and if the hungry man, by being well-fed, does some good acts, you participate in the meritoriousness of his good acts. The *Shâyast lâ Shâyast* says: "(If) A man gives a hungry man a bread, which is much (i.e. sufficient), all the good work, which he performs through that satiety becomes as it were his own as if done by his own hand."[1] In the same way, it is the duty of those who have, by their position, wealth or education, opportunities, to guide and help the less-favoured, the ignorant. If they do that duty, they are rewarded: if they neglect that duty, they suffer. We read in the *Bundehesh:* "Everybody will see (the consequence of) his good actions or bad actions. At the end, in the midst of the Anjuman (the whole assembly or community), the sinful will be conspicuous, in the same way, as a white sheep becomes conspicuous in the midst of black sheep. In that assembly, a sinful person will thus complain for a righteous person, who may have been his friend in this world: 'Why did you not instruct me to perform the virtuous deeds which you performed?' The righteous man shall have to pass by from the assembly much ashamed for not having done so."[2] The pith of what is said here is this: One has not to rest satisfied with a passive life of virtue. If he has opportunities to teach others, to improve others, he must seize these opportunities. If he neglects to do so, he will be put to shame and shall have to repent.

According to a later Persian *Rivâyat*,[3] if a leader (*sâlâr*), who has by his position, wealth or education, opportunities to lead others aright and to improve them, and if he takes hold of these opportunities, he is spiritually benefited by the meritoriousness of the good acts performed by those led and taught by him. One-tenth (دهیکی *deh-yakî*) of the meritoriousness of the good acts of those others accrues to him. If he misses the opportunities, and others commit wrongful deeds as the result of his omission to instruct them properly, he has his one-tenth share of the responsibility of the wrong deeds.

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[1] Chap. X, 23; (West, *S.B.E.*, Vol. V, p. 325).

[2] *Vide* my *Bundehesh*, XXX, 5. (West, p. 123).

[3] *Narîmân Hoshang's first Rivâyat*, Bombay University Library MS., Vol. I, folio 12*a*, ll. 4–5.

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The smallest act of goodness has its reward.

No action of man, however small, goes unrewarded. The Pahlavi *Virâf Nâmeh* has the story of one Davânôs who, according to a Pahlavi *Rivâyat*,[1] was a ruler over thirty countries. Though he had many opportunities to do good, he did no act of goodness except one. It was this: Once, an ox was straining himself to catch hold of a bundle of grass. While passing, Davânôs saw this, and in order to help the poor animal, he pushed the bundle towards him with his right foot. The result was, that though he was cast into hell where he suffered all pain, his right foot was saved from any trouble. This little story shows that every act, every *kunishn* or *karma*, however small, has its own recompense, its own satisfaction happiness or reward.

X.

Zoroastrian view of Heaven and Hell.

The above considerations of the Doctrine of Karma, some of which refer to the destiny of the soul hereafter, suggest the question of the original Zoroastrian ideal of Heaven wherein good is rewarded and that of Hell wherein evil meets its due. Though later books seem, like books of other religions, to localise Heaven and Hell, the early writings of the Avesta have a lofty ideal, irrespective of space or time.

The following Zoroastrian prayer tells us as to what leads to Heaven and what leads to Hell: "All good thoughts, all good words and all good actions are the result of knowledge. All bad thoughts, all bad words and all bad actions are not the result of knowledge. All good thoughts, all good words and all good actions lead to the best state of existence (i.e. Heaven). All bad thoughts, all bad words and all bad actions lead to the worst state of existence (i.e. Hell). The result of all good thoughts, good words and good actions is the best state of existence (i.e. Heaven). This is evident to the Righteous."[2]

This small prayer presents a beautiful view of what Heaven and Hell is. It does not give any space limit to Heaven or Hell, i.e. it does not localise Heaven or Hell. Again, it does not assign any time limit to Heaven, i.e. a man has not to wait till death to attain

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[1] *Virâf Nâmeh* of Hoshang,-Haug-West, Chap. XXXII and note.

[2] The Prayer of *Vîspa Humata*. Vide "*Le Zend, Avesta*" par Darmesteter Vol. III, p. 3.

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his heaven. Heaven is a state of existence to be attained even in this world, even in this lifetime. The only way to go to Heaven, the only way to attain heavenly existence, is to practise the triad of good thoughts, good words and good deeds above referred to. No priest or prophet, saviour or intercessor is required. Your own good thoughts, good words and good actions are your saviours, your intercessors. If you practise these, you are taking steps to proceed to Heaven, the moment you do so. If you do not practise these but resort to bad thoughts, bad words and bad actions, the moment you do so, you are taking steps to proceed to Hell.

The very word for Heaven in the Avesta is significant. It is *Vahishta-Ahu*, i.e. the Best Life. It is the first part of the compound word, viz.: *vahishta.* , Sanskrit *vasiṣṭa* (वसिष्ट) that has given us the later Persian word for Heaven, viz *behesht* بهشت which word is the same as English *best*. If one makes his progress from "good" to "better" and from "better" to "best" he makes his progress towards his *behesht*, towards his Heaven.

The converse is the case with the idea of Hell, the Avesta word for which is *achishta-ahu*, i.e. the worst life. Just as *vahishta* is the superlative form of *vanghu* , Pahl. *veh*, Sanskrit *vasu* (वसु) Pers. بهٔ *bah* so *achishta* is the superlative form of *aka* Sanskrit *aka* (अक), i.e. bad or evil (Eng. *ache* in headache). The fall from "bad" (*aka*) to "worse" and form "worse" to "worst" is a fall in the abyss of Hell. Here the "good" or the "bad" is to be understood not only in the material sense, but also, and especially, in the mental or moral and spiritual sense. Progress in the path of goodness is Happiness, and is an advancement to Heaven. Fall in the path of vice is Misery, and is a step to Hell. Heaven or Hell is a kind of state of existence and it depends upon a man's thoughts, words and deeds (*manashni, gavashni, kunashni*).

The Iranian Hamâzor. To be in tune with the whole Universe.

Zoroastrain scriptures say, that in order to be really happy—not only physically happy but mentally, morally or spiritually happy, one must be, as it were, in tune with the whole world, with the whole of the creation of God, with the whole universe. Happiness does not rest only upon one's own physical or material possessions. It depends more upon mental or spiritual possessions or qualities

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A man may be happy, if he chooses to be so, without possessing a single pie of his own. The whole of nature, the whole universe as it were, is his own, and he can draw from it, whatever materials he likes to be happy. He must try to be, as it were, in tune with the whole universe and he will be happy. In the Parsi books we come across a particular technical word, viz. *hamâzor*, which cannot properly be translated in any other language. The word also signifies a particular custom observed with the recital of the word.

As to the meaning of the word *hamâzor*, the first part of the word *hama* or *hamā* is the same as Sanskrit *sama* (सम), Lat. *similis*, English *same*. The second part of the word *zor* is Avesta *zaothra* ( ). Sanskrit होत्र which comes from the root *zu* Sanskrit हु, to dedicate, invoke, offer, to perform a ceremony. Thus the word means "to be the same or to be one in ceremony, in making offerings." The word also signifies a religious ceremony wherein the principal celebrants or participants in the ceremony, pass their hands in the hands of others. This custom or ceremony of *hamâzor* corresponds, to a certain extent, to the "Kiss of Peace" among the Jews and the early Christians. The passing of hands is often accompanied by the recital of a religious formula, viz. *hamâzor hamâ ashô bed*, i.e. "May you be one with us in the ceremony, may you be *asho* or righteous." The recital of the words signify the object and aim of the ceremony, viz. the general wish of the participants that all may be *asho* or righteous.

Now, there is not only the idea of physical *hamâzor* between man and man, but there is also a kind of mental or spiritual *hamâzor* between man and Nature, even between man and Nature's God. The Pâzend *Âfrins* recited at the end of the *Âfringâns*, when the *hamâzor* ceremony is performed, are full of expressions about this mental or spiritual *hamâzor* with the whole of Nature and Nature's God. The signification is, that man, in order to be happy, must try to be one with the Harmony, Order, System established by God in Nature. He must be in tune with the whole universe.[1]

I have referred above to an Avesta saying '*aëvô pantâo yô Ashahê*,

[1] The similar custom of "the Kiss of Peace" is still prevalent in Eastern Patriarchal Churches, where, on the Easter Eve, the participants in the religious services kiss each other with the recital of the words, "Christ is risen."

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vispê anyaêshâm a-pântâm i.e. "there is only one path and that is the path of Righteousness. All other paths are no (or misleading) paths." Rev. Casartelli referring to these words very properly ejaculates, "Voila ! le résumé de toute religion,"[1] i.e. "Here is the *rêsumê* of the whole of religion." This Avestan proverb reminds one of the Christian saying: "In the way Righteousness is life; and in the pathway thereof there is no death."

XI.

Karma (Deed) or Destiny—Freewill or Fate.

In the commencement of this paper, we referred to a recent writer who presented a pithy signification of the word Karma. He said: "The future both in this life and hereafter is the product of which the past and the present are factors, the past as Karma and the present as Freewill." Thus, with the question of one's *karma* or *kunishna* is connected the question of "Deed or Destiny." The question is spoken of variously. It is the question of Deed or Destiny, or that of Freewill or Fate, or that of Self-exertion or Fate, or that of Prudence or Providence. We have so far seen, that a man's happiness or misery depends upon himself, upon his own deeds, his own exertions, his own prudence, his own freewill. But, we know, that at times, notwithstanding one's best efforts, he fails, and meets with misery. There are, what are called accidents of life on which a man has no control and which unexpectedly bring grief, sorrow or misery. Cases like these may be taken as vitiating, to some extent, the wholesome law of *karma* or *kunishna* in the sense in which we have been considering it. But here comes in, the Belief in the Existence of a Higher Power or Intelligence, of Providence, of God. Whatever difference there may be in the different religious systems of the world, there are a few elements that are common There are different religions in the world, but at the bottom of all these there is *only one* religion. There is one religion under or above, within or without, all religions.

France was said to have at one time destroyed all belief, and a story is related in connection with that destruction. It is said, that M. Renan of France, once took Sir M. Grant Duff of England to Victor

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"He is arisen indeed." (*Forty Years in Constantinople*, by Sir Edward Pears, 1916).

1 *L'Idée du Péché chez les Indo-Eraniens de l'Antiquité* p. 14.

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Hugo at Paris. Victor Hugo said to Duff that they had attacked Christianity and destroyed a good deal: Duff inquired: Whether they had kept any thing in place of all that was destroyed. They replied, "Ces trois mots: Dieu, Ame, Responsibilité" (i.e These three words: God, Soul and the Responsibility of the soul to God). Sir Grant Duff is said to have been satisfied when he heard the above reply. He said: "O, then you have kept Religion." If a man, community or nation believes in (*a*) the Existence of God, (*b*) in the Existence of the Soul and its Future, and (*c*) in the Responsibility of the Soul for its actions, then, notwithstanding any disbelief or scepticism in doctrines or dogmas, the man, community or nation may be taken, to a great extent, to believe in Religion, to be religious. In the above consideration of the law of *kunishna* or *karma*, the existence of the last two elements out of the three above referred to, has been taken to be understood or granted. In the further consideration of the question of the law, the first of the above three elements or the first of "les trois mots" presents itself.

When, in spite of our best efforts, we fail, and misery or grief stands before us and stares at us, it is the belief in the power and wisdom of God that should afford happiness or consolation to us. With all our power, all our knowledge, all our mental faculties, our capability is limited. There is the Omnipresent, Omniscient, Omnipotent God who alone sees behind the curtain. So, when we fail in spite of all our best efforts, we have simply to depend upon Him. Contentment, which should be the result of such belief must come to our help.

This question of Deed or Destiny, Freewill or Fate is the question of what is known in later Persian, as the question of *Taqdîr* and *Tadbîr* (تقدیر و تدبیر). In the Pahlavi *Dâdistân-i Dînî*,[1] we read the following question and answer on the subject:—

Question—"Is any thing which happens unto men, through fate or through action? Is exertion destiny or without destiny? Does any thing devoid of destiny happen unto men?"

Reply—"There are some things through destiny, and there are some through action; and it is thus fully decided by them, that life, wife, and child, authority and wealth are through destiny, and the righteousness and wickedness of priesthood, warfare, and husbandry are through action."[2]

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[1] Chap. LXXI. [2] Dr. West, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 215.

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What is meant in this question and answer is this: Priesthood, warfare and husbandry were the three principal professions in ancient Iran, and so, as such, they typified all work. All men must practise *tadbîr*, i.e. must exert themselves in their different professions and thus seek livelihood and happiness. But there are certain things beyond the scope of exertion, and in the matter of these, they must depend upon their *taqdîr*, upon God. For example, in spite of all your efforts, you cannot be sure of your own life or of the life of your dear ones. Something unexpected may happen and the life is gone. In such cases, which are beyond your power of exertion, your source of happiness, or consolation is pure Faith in God. The beautiful words, "Thy Will be done," are your only source of comfort. The author of the Pahlavi *Dâdîstân-i Dînî* takes the selection of a wife also to be, as it were, in the hand of *taqdîr* (Destiny, Fate) and not in that of *tadbîr* or exertion. You may exercise all possible Prudence in selecting your wife, but notwithstanding that, it is a matter of chance, whether her disposition will agree with yours or not. It is in the hand of Providence. But in such a view of life's events also, the law of *kunishna* or *karma* is not without its influence. When you have done all your possible best, and in spite of your active work or virtues have failed, you have still to exert the passive virtues of patience, fortitude, forbearing, toleration. These may bring you happiness. You have done your best, exercising all your prudence to select a good wife, but have been unfortunate in your selection; then you are to depend upon Providence and pray for the passive virtues of contentment, patience, etc. They may bring you a little happiness even in the lot of having a bad wife.

To sum up, the Avesta teaching is, "Exert your best. Do good to-day. Do better to-morrow. Then go on doing better and better every day, keeping 'the best' for your highest 'ideal.' Let 'Excelsior' be your watch-word. Then, have Faith in God. First, exert and then have Faith in God." As Tennyson says:—

> "Cling ever to the summer side of doubt
> And cling to Faith, beyond the form of Faith."

The man of Faith ought to be the man of work. In the consideration of such a question, one must use more the word "God" than the word "Fate." With Faith in God, there must always be within us a "mounting spirit," which is the root of all *tadbîr*.

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It is this "mounting spirit" which inspires the following Avesta prayer :—

"O Ahura Mazda! Whatever Thou hast thought, whatever Thou hast uttered, whatever Thou hast done, has all been good. So, Ahura Mazda! We offer and dedicate our things to Thee. We worship Thee, offer our homage to Thee, render our thanks to Thee."[1]

The following story attributed to Prophet Mahomed very properly represents the view which we must hold in this matter of the question of Fate and Freewill. Mahomedanism, which is said to have taken many of its thoughts from Zoroastrianism, is often represented as teaching Fatalism, but this story shows, that, really speaking, it is not so. Unbounded faith in God is possibly misunderstood to be Fatalism. The story says, that a camel-driver, who had accompanied prophet Mahomed in his travels, once, at the end of his day's journey, set the camel loose and said to Mahomed: "I have set the camel free and I now depend upon God, that He will take care of it." Mahomed said: "No, do what you have to do as a matter of course. Fasten the camel with a rope and then depend upon God." The moral of the story is, that one must first do his duty, his necessary work and then depend upon the Almighty God. His *tadbîr* first and *taqdîr* second.

The following story of two kings who were equally pious and righteous, illustrates the view we must take of the doctrine of *kunishna*, *kerdâr* or *karma* :

There were two monarchs who were both equally pious and righteous. Owing to some differences they had to go to war against one another. Both exerted their *tadbîr* to the best and prepared good fighting armies and personally commanded them. The battle was long and well-fought by both sides. There came a critical time, when the result hung, as it were, in a balance, the scales of which would turn one way or the other by the mere weight of a straw. In the midst of these critical moments, one of the two pious monarchs got down from his elephant; knelt down before his God and prayed for victory. The other monarch who had the same amount of faith in God, prayed for victory at the critical moment, but he did not get down from his elephant. He prayed from over his elephant, and therewith, drawing sword, went forward, encour-

[1] Yasna XIII. 5.

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aging his troops. The other monarch who was equally pious and righteous committed the fatal mistake of getting down from his elephant for prayer. The result was that his troops, not seeing him on his *howdâh*, took it that he was killed. So, they got dejected and lost courage and thus lost the battle. Here, both the monarchs had exerted their full in the matter of both of *tadbîr* and *taqdîr*, but, at the critical moment, one had more of *tadbîr* than *taqdîr*, and so he won.

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THREE PASSAGES FROM THE YASNA.

By Dr. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B.A., Ph.D.

There are still many passages in the Avesta which are by no means clear as to their meaning and scholars are by no means quite agreed as to their real signification. For the purpose of this paper, I have chosen three passages which I have come across in the course of preparing the syllabus fixed for study at the M.A. Examination in Comparative Philology of the University of Calcutta. These are Yas. LVII. 29; Yas. LX. 10–11; and Yas. LIV. 1. All three have one important point in common, namely, that their interpretation depends a great deal upon a critical examination of the text itself, especially of the metre. The question of Avesta metre does not seem to have received the attention it deserves and except for Geldner's *Über die Metrik der jungeren Avesta* there is hardly anything else written on the subject. And the three passages are all chosen with the special object of indicating how some attention to the metrical requirements of a passage might lead to a correct understanding of the meaning.

A. The first passage I have taken is Yas. LVII. 29 from the famous *Sraoṣa Yašt.* The passage is thus printed by Geldner:[1]—

yōi 'vaēibya snaiθižbya
frāyatayeiṉti vazəmna,
yim vohūm Sraoṣəm aṣīm,
+ yaṯ-ciṯ uṣastaire Hindvō (āgəurvayeite)
yaṯ-ciṯ daoṣataire Niγne.

The *yōi* refers of course to the horses of Sraoṣa, who are mentioned in verse 27 of this *Hā*.

'vaēibya snaiθižbya has been taken variously. The dual is remarkable, Mills seems to think that the dual indicates that there are two weapons hurled on both sides "on this side and on that"[2]. Bartholomae does not give any reason for the dual number.[3] Kanga says बे हथियारे करीने (with two weapons). I suggest that the meaning is

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[1] I am omitting the first three *pādas* which do not concern us directly. The + indicates a defective *pāda* and I have enclosed the extra word within brackets.

[2] *S.B.E.*, V, p. 304.

[3] *Wb.* 1628.

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"a double-edged weapon" or rather a weapon which combines within itself the qualities of two. We read in verse 10 of this *Hā* of Sraoṣa smiting the demon Aēṣma with *stərəθwata snaiθiṣa* and in verse 16 he is represented as guarding the whole world with *ərəδwa snaiθiṣa*. Kanga clearly points out the difference between the two [1]: the former, he says, is a weapon which has to be aimed at an object by bringing it up to the level of the eyes (from √*star*, to stretch, to level), e.g. a bow or a javelin. The latter is a weapon which is lifted up (*ərəδwa* = ऊर्ध्व) to strike, e.g. a sword or an axe. In fact Mills translates the *snaiθiṣa* as a "battle-axe" in one place and as "halbert" in the other. The latter seems to be more likely the weapon of Sraoṣa as it combines the spear-point with the axe-head. Moreover such a weapon is probably to be wielded with *both* hands (because verse 31 speaks of *zastayō*), as every two-edged or two-handed weapon has to be.

The fourth *pāda* and the fifth really form the centre of our discussion. The *pādas* are of eight syllables each and it is quite easy to see that the fourth *pāda* has the word *āgəurvayeite* as an extra addition. Even without this word the sense can be complete and it is because the metre has been overlooked that the meaning of this passage has not been sufficiently clearly explained by scholars. To add to this we have the word *Niγne* which seems to be a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον to all intents because though it is found also in *Mihir Yašt* (Yt. X. 104), the passage is identical with this one. The word *Niγne* is taken by Jackson and Bartholomae to be the ātm. present, 3rd sing. of *ni* + √*gan* (हन्) and they translate the word as "smites down." Bartholomae gives the rendering of this passage as follows: [2] "Whether he seizes it in Eastern India or (whether) he is in the West and throws it down." The "it" is probably the *snaiθiš*. This would imply that Sraoṣa throws down his weapon after sunset (in the West), which sense would directly contradict verse 16, which represents him as guarding the world with uplifted weapon—*pasca hū frāšmō-dāitīm* (after the setting of the sun).

Mills translates the word *Niγne* as "alights" and says that Sraoṣa starts from the East and alights in the West. Darmesteter holds the same opinion, as also Kanga, who quotes him.[3] But Kanga in his Dictionary (p. 292) suggests that the word is a proper name

[1] *Kh. A. b. M.*, p. 284, ftn.

[2] *Wb.* 1814.

[3] Op. cit., p. 293.

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and that it signifies *Niniveh.* Unfortunately he does not tell us how he arrived at this conclusion. But here we find the passage of the *Mihir Yašt* throws sufficient light upon it and rather confirms this latter view of Kanga. That passage (Yt. X. 104) is as follows :—

+ yeŋhe darəγā-ciṯ bāzava | frāgrəwəṇti Miθrō-aojaŋhō,
+ yaṯ-ciṯ ušastaire Hindvō (āgəurvayeite),
yaṯ-ciṯ daošataire Niγne,
yaṯ-ciṯ sanake Raŋhayå,
yaṯ-ciṯ vīmaiδəm aiŋhå zəmō.

The last two *pādas* may throw some light on *Niγne.* Evidently the last four *pādas* are equally balanced. The phrase *sanake Raŋhayå* is also found in *Rašnu Yašt* (Yt. XII. 19), where it is contrasted with the *aoδaēšu Raŋhayå* (in verse 18). These two phrases are rendered by Bartholomae as "the mouths of the Raŋhā" and "the source of the Raŋhā" respectively. These are explained by Darmesteter as the southern and northern basins of the Tigris,[1] though the identification is by no means certain. The word *Raŋhā* is identical originally with Sanskrit रसा (river) and might have been used later on as the name of a particular river like the word सिन्धु.[2] Wherever the *Raŋhā* might have been, all commentators are agreed in saying that "the mouths" of that river are in the *South.* The *Bundahishn* (XX) mentions two big rivers the *Aurang* (= Av. *Raŋha*) and the *Vehrōt*[3], which both rise out of the *Hara-barəza.* So *Hara-barəza* is the region of the *aoδa*[4] or the head-waters of the *Raŋhā.* The "centre of the earth" referred to in the passage from the *Mihir Yašt* is the region of *Hara-barəza.* There is also a mention of the name *aoδa Raŋhayå* in Ven. I. 19, which is mentioned as the name of a land which was a republic[5] and against which Aŋrō Mainyuš created bitter cold winter. Whether we go upon the identification of *Hara-barəza* with the Hindu mount *Meru*[6] (which is also the centre of the earth), or whether we think of the cold winter which was created against the *aoδa Raŋhayå* by Aŋrō Mainyuš, one thing is clear from all these considerations that this region represents the

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[1] *S.B.E.*, XXIII, p. 173, ftn. 3.
[2] In fact Dar. renders the word *hindvō* here by the word "river."
[3] These have not been satisfactorily identified (Barth., *Wb.* 1510–11). Skt. जध्रः.
[4] *asārō*, see Barth., *Wb.* 210.
[6] As is done by Nairyosang.

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North. The mention of Hind of course means the *East.* Thus we see that all the four quarters are represented in this passage and that all these four regions are mentioned there by *name.* The whole trouble about *Niγne* seems to have arisen because scholars have failed to note that the word *āgəurvayeite* is an extra word. Taking it as an integral part of the *pāda* they have tried to take *Niγne* as a verb in order to balance this *pāda* with the previous one. But as the word *āgəurvayeite* is apparently a later interpolation, the word *Niγne* must correspond to *Hindvō* in the previous *pāda*; in other words it must be a proper name.[1] And therefore Kanga is quite justified in taking it as Niniveh on the Tigris, for that river formed the western boundary of Irān.

I would add here the translation of our passage and it will be seen that the retention or omission of the extra word[2] makes not the slightest difference in the meaning of this verse.

"Who (i.e. the horses) speed on bearing him, the excellent Sraoṣa the Holy, together with his double weapon, whether [he takes (his course)] in easternmost Hind, (or) whether in westernmost Niγna.

B. The second passage is Yas. LX. 10–11. There is not much difficulty about the first verse but the second is really the difficult portion. Verse 10 is as follows :—

+ haχšaya azəm-ciṯ (yō Zaraθuštrō) fratəmą̄
nmānanąm-ca, vīsąm-ca,
zaṯunąm-ca daχyunąm-ca,
aiŋhå daēnayå anumatayaē-ca,
anuχtayaē-ca, anvarštayaē-ca,
yā āhūiriš zaraθuštriš.

And it may be translated thus :—

I will guide, even I, who (am) Zaraθuštra, the leaders of (these) houses, and of (these) villages, and of (these) provinces, and of (these) lands, too, to follow in their thoughts, in their words and in their deeds (the tenets of) this Faith, which (is) of Ahura, revealed by Zaraθuštra.

The verse which follows has to be scanned differently from what Geldner has done in his texts. I read the verse almost according to Bartholomae's text and scan it thus :—

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[1] Kan. takes it thus in Yt. X. 104 (*Yt. b. M.*, p 121).

[2] That portion of the translation is enclosed in square brackets [ ].

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+ yaθa (nō) åŋhąm šyātō manå
vahištō[1] urvānō χ^{v}āθravaitiš tanvō
+ hən̲tō[2] vahištō aŋhuš;
+ ākås-cōit̲ āhūire (Mazda) jasən̲tąm.

Geldner divides this verse into five *pādas*, the last words of each being (1) *šyātō*, (2) *urvānō*, (3) *hən̲ti*, (4) *cōit̲* and (5) *jasentąm*. As arranged by Geldner the difficulty lies in the fact that the sense has to "run over" from one *pāda* to another, whereas, *as a general rule*, both in the Veda and in the Avesta, each *pāda* makes a clause by itself and the sense very rarely "runs over." This is especially true of the earlier strata in both the Veda and the Avesta and this *Hā* (IX) may be put down linguistically as among the earliest of the Younger Avesta. The construction here is very complex. It would, therefore, be more convenient if we consider the various words one by one first and then the passage as a whole.

yaθa nō.—Geldner takes *nō* as an enclitic pronoun and joins it on to *yaθa*. Mills takes it to mean "our" (नः), as also Kanga. Bartholomae also takes it the same way.

åŋhąm—Mills apparently takes this word as an auxiliary verb and translates "may be." He apparently thinks that the reading should be *åŋhąn*,[3] a form which is not known. The nearest verbal form to this is *åŋhən* which is the subjunctive present parasmaipada, 3rd plu. of √*ah*.[4] Bartholomae also derives it from the same root but thinks that it is the subjunctive perfect parasmaipada, 3rd plu.

vahištō—Bartholomae reads *vaštō*, explains this as an adverb referring to *urvānō* and translates "having their wishes fulfilled."[5] He thinks that the word is cognate to the *vasas-ca* in the 9th verse of this *Hā*.

hən̲tō—Mills takes it as gen. plu. of the present participle of √*ah* and translates "of saints." Kanga thinks it is the nom. plu. referring to *tanvō* and translates "our bodies being . . ." . Bartholomae takes it as the imperative present parasmaipada, 3rd plu. of √*ah*.[6] He also notes that the ending *-ən̲tō* for *-ən̲tu* is to be found in *jasen̲tō* (Yt. XIX. 66) and *iθən̲tō* (Yt. XIII. 141).[7] The use of the

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[1] Geld has *vahištō*, also Kan. But Barth. suggests *vaštō*.
[2] Geld. has *hən̲ti*.
[3] *S.B.E.*, XXXI, p. 312, ftn. 2.
[4] Jack., *Av. Gr.*, § 531. [5] *Wb.* 1393.
[6] Ibid, 274. [7] Ibid, 31 (note 12) and 279 (note 28).

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imperative in a clause introduced by *yaθa* (instead of the subjunctive) is also noteworthy.

ākǎs-cōiṯ—Mills and Kanga [1] explain this as "clearly" or "openly." Bartholomae, however, takes it to be *ākǎs + cōiṯ*, of which the former is explained as the ablative sing. of *ākā* (disclosure, revealing).[2] The word, he notes, has the specific sense of the opening out or disclosing upon the *Cinvaṯ*-bridge of the record of the deeds of the departed soul during life.[3] Also the ending *-as* for the ablative is notable, as definitely establishing the antiquity of this passage.[4]

āhūire—Kanga takes this as the vocative of *Ahura*. Mills translates "devoted to Ahura", but is uncertain as to the case. Bartholomae takes it as accusative plural of *āhūirya* (neu.) and says it means "the regions where Ahura dwells"; he compares the formation with Skt. आसुरौय. [5]

jasəṇtąm—Bartholomae for some unexplained reason translates this as if it was *first* person plural.[6]

Now we may consider the translation of the whole verse by the three authorities already mentioned, Kanga, Mills and Bartholomae. The construction is indeed difficult to grasp, and Kanga has very explicitly stated that he is himself uncertain of his own rendering.[7]

Kanga's Gujarati version (freely rendered) is this:—

So that our minds (may become) full of joy, (and our) souls become (i.e. attain) the best, (and our) bodies being full of heavenly glory (may be fit) for the best world (i.e. Heaven): O Ahura Mazda, may (all this which we have desired) reach (us) openly.

The following criticism may be offered for this rendering:—

In the first place *ǎŋhąm* has been omitted. The word might have been rendered by "may become" (as Mills has done) but Kanga deliberately puts these words into brackets. The second objection is

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[1] Kan. derives it from *ā* + √*kās* (काश्) + *cōiṯ* (चेत्, चित्).

[2] *Wb.* 309.

[3] Ci. *Gāθ. Vohū.* (Yas. LI) 13.

[4] See Jack, *Av. Gr.*, § 222 (under *Ablative*) where he says that "the gen. is used with abl. force." But there is no need to explain things in this roundabout fashion, because there is an old Aryan (Indo-Iranian) abl. suffix *-as*, which was used before *-ǎṯ* became general. Of course the older abl. form in *-as* would be identical with the gen., as also in Skt.

[5] *Wb.* 346–7; also Jack., *Av. Gr.*, §§ 63ff.

[6] *Wb.* 584.

[7] *Kh. A. b. M.*, p. 25, ftn.

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the use of the participle *hənṯō* as in a nominative absolute construction. This type of construction is, I believe, judging from the Sanskrit, entirely foreign to the genius of Avesta.

The rendering of Mills is as follows :—

In order that our minds may be delighted and our souls the best, let our bodies be glorified as well, and let them, O Mazda, go likewise openly (unto Heaven) as to the best world of saints as devoted to Ahura; and accompanied by Aṣa, etc. (Here he joins on to the next verse.)

Mills himself admits that the nominative form *vahištō aŋhuš* "is difficult."[1] Also the *āhūire* is not explained clearly as regards the case. The whole is moreover needlessly involved.

Bartholomae's rendering[2] is decidedly better, and he has adopted the reading *vaštō* instead of *vahištō*[3]. This emendation is not objectionable. He translates:

In order that our minds may be happy and that our souls may be with every wish fulfilled (*vaštō urvānō*) and in order that our bodies may be full of glory, (may) the best life (come to us), so that we may reach, O Mazda, from the disclosure (at the *Cinvaṯ*-bridge) up to the regions of Ahura.

This rendering, too, is open to criticism. First of all, there does not seem much need of adopting the reading *vaštō* even though we may get a more satisfactory sense. Secondly, the words *nō aŋhaṯ* (lit., be to us, or come unto us) are to be understood as construed with *vahištō aŋhuš*. And thirdly, the construing of *jasəṇṯąm* as if it were *jaṣāmaide* is not quite reasonable, especially if there is a possibility of translating the verse without this device.

I would now give my own rendering. I propose to read this verse in continuation with and as further elaborating the idea in verse 10. I would take *yaθa* and *nō* as separate words; and I regard the *nō* as a particle (sometimes also found as *nə̄*). The meaning is something akin to the Skt. नु. The particle can never stand at the beginning of a sentence or a *pāda*.[4] Then again I would take *ā̊ŋhąm* as the gen. plu. of the demonstrative pronoun (fem.), Skt. आसाम्, and I

[1] *S.B.E.*, XXXI, p 312, ftn. 3.

[2] *Wb.* 1393 and 585.

[3] It may be remarked that Geld. does *not* mention this v.l. Barth. has discussed this point in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, III. 19

[4] Barth., *Wb.* to 1072.

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regard this to refer to the *fratəmą* of the previous verse. The gender difficulty would certainly come in, as the word ought to have been *aēšąm ;* but very probably the influence of the last words of the previous verse which are feminine (as referring to *daēnā*) has been responsible for this word also being feminine.[1]

Hence my translation of these two verses would be:

10. I will guide, even I, who (am) Zaraθuštra, the leaders of (these) houses, and of (these) villages, and of (these) provinces, and of (these) lands, too, to follow in their thoughts, in their words and in their deeds (the tenets of) this Faith, which (is) of Ahura revealed by Zaraθuštra.

11. So that, verily, the minds of these (leaders) (may be) full of joy, (and their) souls (may be) heavenly, (and their) bodies full of heavenly glory,[2] (and thus too theirs) may be[3] the Heavenly Life (hereafter). May they reach, O Mazda, the regions of Ahura even after the disclosure (of all their actions in this life).

Thus the two verses hang well together and besides we find that the *pādas* do not run over though the last two are certainly defective.

C. The third passage I have chosen for discussion is the famous verse of *Airyəmā Išyō.* This verse is given in Geldner's text as made up of four *pādas :* but I propose to divide it into six *pādas* as under :—

ā Airyəmā išyo rafəδrāi jaṇtu
nərəbyas-cā nairibyas-cā Zaraθuštrahe,
Vaŋhōuš rafəδrāi Manaŋhō :
yā daēna vairīm hanāṭ mīždəm,
+ ašahyā yāsā ašīm,
yąm išyąm Ahurō masatā Mazdå.[4]

There is not much trouble about the first three *pādas.* But there is a considerable difference of opinion regarding the last three. And we need consider here these last three only.

yā is taken by Mills to be instrumental singular and he refers it to Manaŋhō above. Kanga refers this to Airyaman and translates as

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[1] Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, § 602.

[2] Even while living upon this earth.

[3] The *hənto* has to be construed with each of the four clauses, hence the plu.

[4] Geldner's four *pādas* are arranged thus ; 1, 2, (3, 4), (5, 6).

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if it were the nominative sing. masculine, which is decidedly bad grammar. Others refer the *yā* to the *daēna*.

daēnā—This word has been taken to mean "religion" (Darmesteter); "those who accept the (Zoroastrian) faith" (Kanga); "conscience" (Mills); "soul" (Geldner); "Self" (Moulton).

aṣīm has been explained here by Bartholomae to be the reward earned for good action.[1]

masatā—Bartholomae considers this to be the *s*-aorist of √*mad*, to apportion, to mete out.[2] Kanga takes it as from √*maz* (मद्), to be great and translates, "regards as great." In this he follows Harlez.[3] Mills renders it by "may grant," and adds,[4] "can *masatā* (sic) equal 'with his liberality or majesty,' leaving *jan̲tu* to be understood with Ahurō ?"

We might now consider the various renderings by various scholars.

Kanga's Gujarāti may be rendered freely into English thus:

May Airyaman, the desired One, come to (give) joy unto the men and women of Zaraθuštra, (and) for (giving) joy to the holy mind.

(i.e. may he come in order to give joy to the holy-minded men and women.)

Who (Airyaman) makes those who accept the faith (of Zoroaster) fit for receiving rewards.

(i.e. all who believe faithfully in the Zoroastrian religion are regarded by Airyaman as fit for rewards.)

I seek the Truth of Truth (i.e. Perfect Truth)[5] which (is) to be desired, which Ahura Mazda (Himself) has acknowledged to be great.

(i.e. Truth is such a thing that God Himself has given it a high place and has regarded it as worthy of reverence.)

This translation certainly keeps up the sense *pāda* by *pāda*. But there are two serious difficulties; (1) the sense of *daēnā* as a collective, the congregation of Zoroastrians, seems far-fetched and (2) *aṣahyā aṣīm* as "Truth of Truth" is also not very convincing.

Darmesteter's translation[6] is almost literal:

May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman come here, for the men and women of Zaraθuštra to rejoice, for Vohu-Manō to rejoice; with the

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[1] *Wb.* 241. [2] Ibid, 1113; cf. Gothic, *mitan*; Eng. *to mete* (out).

[3] See *Manuel de la Langue de l'Avesta*, Anthologie, p. 182.

[4] *S.B.E*, XXXI, p. 293, ftn. 3.

[5] संपूर्ण राती

[6] *S.B.E.*, IV, p. 229.

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desirable reward that Religion deserves. I solicit for holiness that boon that is vouchsafed by Ahura!

Geldner has given a different version[1], where he takes the word *raſəδrāi*, in a special sense. The construction also seems needlessly involved and he takes *daēna* to mean "soul."

May the dear Friendship appear for a call[2] upon the men and women of Zaraθuštra, for a call upon the (whole) faithful company. To every soul who earns the precious reward, I wish the granting of Righteousness, which is to be longed for, which Ahura Mazda shall accord.

Vaŋhōuš Manaŋhō as "the faithful company" is, to say the least, startling.

In the version of Mills we also find the construction needlessly involved. He says:

Let the Airyaman, the desired friend and peersman, draw near for grace to the men and to the women who are taught of Zaraθuštra for the joyful grace of the Good Mind, whereby the conscience may attain its wished-for recompense. I pray for the sacred reward of the ritual order which is (likewise so much) to be desired; and may Ahura Mazda grant it (or cause it to increase)[3].

The *yā* taken adverbially as "whereby" is rather unusual.

Bartholomae has the following version[4]:—

May the dear Airyaman come hither to protect the men and the women of Zaraθuštra, to protect the Good Mind. Whichever Self[5] earns the precious reward, to him I offer the prize of Righteousness, which is to be desired, which Ahura Mazda shall award.

The rendering of *daēnā* is to be noted. The rendering of *yāsā* by "I offer" is an unusual one.

Reichelt gives the same version word for word except that he leaves *daēnā* untranslated.

Moulton's version, too, is practically the same,[6] but he has one or two rather good suggestions to offer. He translates Airyaman by

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[1] *Studien zum Avesta*, I, p. 33.

[2] The German has "zum Besuch."

[3] Evidently Mills takes *masatā* as causal of √*maz* (मह्)!

[4] *Wb.* 199, 1288, 378 and 1119.

[5] In German, "welches Ich," taking *daēnā* to mean the "ego" in man.

[6] *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 390.

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"Brotherhood" and asks, "Is there anything to prevent the 'brotherhood' in question from being simply the fellowship of teacher and disciples who amid much detraction (Yas. XXXIII, 4) strive to spread their message through the community?"[1] He takes *aṣīm* almost as a proper name and translates *aṣīm . . . išyąm* as "dear Destiny."

Besides these renderings by modern scholars there are the three ancient, traditional renderings. These are the Pahlavi version[2], and, the two Sanskrit versions of Nairyosang[3] and of Dīnīdāru.[4] These versions have got a historical value. The last one especially seems to be pretty accurate and it is remarkable that Dīnīdāru translates *aṣahyā . . . aṣīm* by the Sanskrit ऋतस्य . . . ऋतिम्.

Now I would pass on to my own suggestions regarding this passage. About the first three *pādas*, as has already been mentioned, there is a general sense of agreement. The last three offer considerable difficulty. I propose to take *yā* (in *pāda* 4) to be the nominative plu. *neuter*, referring to the *nara* and *nāiri*. The neuter may be used as a sort of common gender.[5] This *yā* is to be construed as the subject of *hanāṯ*, the construction being *ad sensum*, as can be seen in my English translation. Especially with neuter plurals the verb is often in the singular, as in *tā . . . yā īm hujyātōiš pāyāṯ . . . kāciṯ* (Yas. XLVI. 8),[6] "those (deeds) . . . which keep him far from good life"[7] The word *daēnā* I would construe as instrumental singular, and understand it to be the second principle in the constitution of man as mentioned in Yas. XXVI. 4. The fifth *pāda* is, as can be seen, defective in metre and needs filling out, which I propose to do thus:

aṣahyā təm vaṇuhīm yāsā aṣim.

This proposed completion of this *pāda* has been suggested by Yas. LI. 21, which also has given the clue for interpreting this verse. That verse is from *Gāθā Vohūχṣaθra* and it runs as follows:—

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[1] Ibid, p. 117.

[2] This is in the Pah. Ven. (XX, 11) and has been translated by Haug (*Essays on the Religion of the Parsis*, p. 393).

[3] *Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis*, II, p. 125

[4] Ibid, I, pp. 43ff.

[5] Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, §§ 604ff.

[6] Ibid, § 619.

[7] Bartholomae's translation.

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ārmatōiš nā spəntō hvō
cištiš, uχδāiš, šyaoθanā
daēnā aṣəm spəṇvaṭ
Vohū χaθrəm Manaŋhā
Mazdå dadāṭ Ahurō
təm vaŋuhīm yāsā aṣīm.

Which Bartholomae thus translates [1] :—

Through piety one becomes holy. Such a man advances Righteousness through his thinking, his words, his deeds and his Self. By Good Thought Mazda Ahura will give the Dominion. For this precious blessing do I beg.

Hence my translation of Yas. LIV. I would read :—

May the ever-welcome Airyaman come hither for the rejoicing of the men, and of the women as well, of Zaraθuštra ; for the rejoicing of the Good Mind (may He come hither). Who(soever of these men and women) earns the precious reward through (his or her) heart [2] (for him or her) do I beg [that precious] [3] blessing of Aṣa, (the blessing most) to be desired, which Ahura Mazda doth bestow.

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[1] *Die Gatha's des Awesta*, p. 111 ; also Moulton, op. cit., p. 387.

[2] i.e. by purifying his Self or *daēnā*.

[3] *təm vaŋuhīm*.

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CASTE SYSTEM IN THE AVESTA.

By B. K. Chatterjee, M.A.

One prevailing characteristic of the Aryan and non-Aryan elements of the Indian population is that from the very ancient times, the Aryan element has been regarded with awe and veneration by the non-Aryan. This was certainly due to the superior nature of the culture introduced by them among the non-Aryan peoples who had been already in possession of the land which was subsequently named *Āryāvarta*. On the advent of the Aryans, some of these non-Aryan peoples took to hills and other remote places where they have been still living as peoples decidedly inferior in culture to the Aryans, and some began to render services to the more civilized new-comers and thus became Aryanised and included in the Aryan community under the class of *Śūdras*. These *Śūdras* or non-Aryan converts to the Aryan element in the Hindu community lived submissively for a considerable length of time with their Aryan teachers, until they became gradually grafted into the Aryan stock without any hope of elimination. New converts into any culture are always very critical of the culture they have deserted and become not only very zealous advocates of the new faith and culture but the greatest antagonists of the old one. This does not appear to have been different with regard to the social factors in ancient India. The new converts into the religion of the Aryans began to thrive under the new civilization, and owing to their fervent adherence to the new faith and their sincere submission to the sacerdotal caste, the *śāstras* began subconsciously to recognise them as members of the Hindu community, until in course of time it has become almost impossible to recognise what they once had been. In some of the lower castes of the Hindu community that grew out of the non-Aryan element there appears now-a-days a growing tendency to rise in the estimation of the Hindu *śāstras* and try to belong to the *Kṣatriya* or ruling caste, it being altogether impossible for them, under existing circumstances, to hanker after the rank of the highest caste of priests who have all along been far removed from the pale of the other castes. The contrary tendency of revolting against Aryan culture and

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wilfully embracing a non-Aryan culture has never been discernable within the long succession of centuries that may be called historic.

Such a course of events must speak of a very deep-rooted and time-honoured custom of the Aryan community in India. The Aryan community of Hindus which has for a long time been intermingled with a certain proportion of non-Aryan elements, must have in the gloomy ages of pre-historic time begun with a caste-system which subsequently developed in its various phases and flourished so gloriously in its conservative principles. To begin with, the Aryans must have been divided into three castes, who called themselves "twice-born" (*dvija*) and had a ceremony known as the "second birth" or initiation into sacred culture called *upanayana*, which the fourth caste of the *Śūdras* lacked. The innumerable castes which we now find in the Hindu community of present-day India must have been very late creations and a result of the mixing up of the different castes in numberless ways.

Unfortunately, however, we find that great minds that have been greatly associated with the researches into Aryan antiquities have entertained quite a different opinion as to the development of the caste-system. They are inclined to think that the institution of caste is purely of Indian origin and had only a post-Ṛgvedic development. Such authorities in the field of Aryan antiquities as Prof. A. A. Macdonnell and others appear to hold such hazy notions about the Aryan caste-system that they favour an Indian birthplace for it. The *Puruṣa-sūkta* (Hymn of Man) of the *Ṛgveda* is declared by Macdonnell to be of a later date than some other hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, and perhaps because it speaks of the mythic origin, among other things, of the four castes. The language of the hymn may also speak of lateness, but that is not a sure guarantee that it was *composed* in a later age. The songs of the Bengal poet, Caṇḍīdāsa, have been so modernised owing to their long use by the people of Bengal, that the language of Kavi-kaṅkaṇa, who lived about two centuries later, appears older than that of the songs of Caṇḍīdāsa, simply because the songs of the latter poet have not been as widely used. What is true now might have been true in ages gone by. The test of language is not always to be relied upon as infallible. The language of the *Puruṣa-sūkta* may betray lateness owing perhaps to its wide use, but the custom it

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speaks of might have been as old as the Aryan nation previous to their break-up into Indo-Aryans and Irano-Aryans.

The right method of investigation into such subtle subjects cannot be limited to enquiries relating to India and Indian culture alone. The investigation must prove futile so long as we do not take into account the condition of Aryan civilization as is embodied in the literary monuments of the ancient Irano-Aryans. The stupendous literature of the Mazdayasnian Aryans, which is believed to be subsequent only to the *Ṛgveda* in antiquity, speaks of a state of Aryan civilization which must be critically studied in the light of what ancient records our Indo-Aryan forefathers have bequeathed to us. The living evidence of both branches of Aryan culture must be studied separately and compared critically in the light of the most ancient literary documents of both the branches. In this way only are we to look out for a right conclusion as to what had been our oldest tradition which the working of subsequent ages developed into the multiplex social structure of modern times, "No language, no religion, that has lived long and changed much, can be understood at any moment of its development, unless we know what it became afterwards and what it was before." What they became we learn directly from tradition, since the tradition arose from the very ideas which the *Veda* expresses. Whence they came we learn indirectly from the *Avesta*, because the *Veda* came from the same source from which the *Avesta* arose. Therefore the tradition and the *Avesta* cannot contradict each other, if we take care to ask from each only what it knows, the present from the one, and the past from the other. The *Avesta* is not, however, the past of Hindu culture in the sense in which the *Veda* is the past of our traditions. The *Veda* and the *Avesta* have been derived from the same original tradition and culture which has been diversely altered in each in the course of generations. The tradition will give us only the materials and comparison will put them in order. It is not possible to make a fair study of either the *Veda* without the *Avesta* or the *Avesta* without the *Veda*. "Comparison alone can enable us to put things in their proper places, to trace their birth, their growth, their changes, their former relations, and lead us from the logical order, which is the shadow, to the historical order, which is the substance."

In the Avestan literature we find actual mention of the caste-

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system and of four castes, which must have been originally three in number, the fourth caste of artisans being subsequently added. In *Yasna* XIX. 17, we find the mention of the four castes as follows: "(Question made by Zaraθuṣtra to Ahura Mazda) with what classes of men? (Answer) The priest (*Āθravan*), the charioteer (*Raθaêštār*) as the chief of warriors, the systematic tiller of the ground (*Vāstryō*), and the artisan (*Huitay*). These classes therefore accompany the righteous man throughout his entire duty, with the correct thought, the truthful word, and the righteous action. These are the classes and states in life which give attention to the rules, and fulfil the laws, of religion; yea, they are the guides and companions of that religious man through whose actions the settlements are furthered in righteousness." In the *Shāyast-lā Shāyast*, 13, 9, there is mention of the same "four classes." "The three repetitions (*abnar*) of *ye-sevisto* (Ys. 33. 3) and the holding of the holy water (*zaotar*) at these repetitions, are for the *four classes*, and for this reason at the *Ahurāi Mazdāi* and *Ašem cā-frādaṯ*, the holy water is to be held level with the heart of him who is the officiating priest (*zōt*) and *sraōtā*, it is to be held level with the arm of him who is the officiating priest, so that while the warriors are in battle with foreigners (*anāīrān*) they may be of fuller breath (*vayō-gīrtar*) and the husbandmen stronger-armed in the tillage and cultivation of the earth." The translator in a note appended to this, says that there were originally only three classes or professions in the community, namely the priest, warrior and husbandman, but that at a later date the artisan was added. He also remarks that '*four classes*' is inconsistent with '*three repetitions*.'

In the appendix to the *Bundāhiṣ* (*S.B.E.*, vol. V, p. 186), where we have the description of the creation according to the Mazdayasnian faith, three great fires are thought of as the origin of the *three classes* (XI. 8). And in the beginning of the creation, the whole earth was delivered over to the guardianship of the sublime *Frōbak fire*, the mighty *Gūsnasp* fire and the beneficial *Būrzīn-Mitrō* fire, which are like priest, warrior and husbandman." In the *Farvadīn Yašt* (Yt. XIII. 88, 89), we have mention of Zaraθuštra having been "the first Priest, the first Warrior, and the first Plougher of the Ground." The translator in a note to this Yašt says that "his (Zoroaster's) three earthly sons *Isaṯ-vāstra*, *Urvataṯnara* and *Hvare-*

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ciθra were the chiefs of the three classes." In the same *Farvadīn Yast* (99), the Mazdayasnian "worships the *Fravaṣi* of the holy *Isaṯ-vāstra*, the son of Zaraθuštra," "the *Fravaṣi* of the holy Urvataṯ-nara the son of Zaraθuštra," and "the *Fravaṣ* of the holy Hvarə-ciθra the son of Zaraθuštra." In the note to the same *Yaṣt* the translator remarks that "*Isaṯ-vāstra* was the chief of the priests, and became the Mobad of Mobads, and passed away in the hundredth year of the religion; *Aūrvatadnar* was an agriculturist, and the chief of the enclosure formed by Yim, which is below the earth; *Khurshed chihar* was a warrior, commander-in-chief of the army of *Pēshyōtanū*, son of Vistāsp and dwells in Kang-dez."

Darmesteter says in his introduction to the translation of the *Vendidād* (Intro., III, § 15, p. xlvii) that "that *the priesthood was hereditary*, we see from the statement in the *Bundahish*, that all *Mubads* are descendants of King Minochihr and even now-a-days the priesthood cannot extend beyond the priestly families; the son of a *Dastur* is not obliged to be a *Dastur*, but none that is not the son of a *Dastur* can become one." In the same introduction he says (Intro. IV, § 37) that "a man of Asha is the *Athravan* (priest) who drives away fiends and diseases by spells, the *Rathaêštā* (warrior) who with his club crushes the head of the impious, the *Vāstryô* (husbandman) who makes good and plentiful harvests grow up out of the earth." The unsigned article entitled "*caste*" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (10th edition) affirms that the four-fold division of the ancient inhabitants of Iran as met with in the *Avesta* "was no invention of Zoroaster, but a tradition from the golden age of Jamshid or Diemschid." Haug, in his *Tract on the Origin of Brahmanism*, maintains that the division in the *Zend Avesta* of the followers of Ahura Mazda into *Atharvas*, *Rathaeštas*, and *Vastrya* was precisely equivalent to the three superior Indian castes. He also asserts that only sons of priests could become priests, a rule still current among the Parsis.

From what can be gathered from this mass of literary evidence it is evident that at first there had been only three castes and that the fourth caste of artisans (*Huitay*) mentioned in *Yasna* XIX, was a subsequent addition. Only the first three castes call themselves '*twice-born*,' and have what is called the *navajot* (*new birth*) ceremony corresponding to the *upanayana* ceremony of the Hindus. We Hindus, wear our sacred thread around the neck and over the right

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shoulder, whereas the Parsis wear the sacred thread girdle round the waist. The age appointed for the ceremony is between 7 and 15 years. The sacred thread girdle which is called *kusti* (*kūstik*) consists of 72 strands of wool twisted into 24 threads which are woven into a thick hollow tape-like shape. In the *Shāyast-la Shāyast* there are ordinances as to the shape and material of the *kūstik* and as to the various details connected with the *navajot* ceremony. "A sacred thread girdle (*kūstīk*), should it be made of silk (*parvand*), is not proper; the hair (*pashm*) of a hairy goat or a hairy camel is proper; and from other hairy creatures (*mūyīnō*) it is proper among the lowly (*nakhēzīk*). The least fulness necessary for it is exactly 3 finger-breadths; when it is exactly 3 finger-breadths altogether from one side and when the rest is cut off, it is proper. When one retains the prayer inwardly and has tied his girdle, and ties it anew once again he will untie that which he has tied, and it is not proper."

If two streams, issuing from the same rock and flowing in diverse directions, have the same smell of a rocky substance in both of them, the natural inference is that the rock which gave rise to both of them must contain the substance which has been dissolved in both the streams until we can know of their having flowed through different rocks having the identical substance in them. When the two streams of civilization flowing into ancient India and ancient Iran have got the identical caste system preserved in both of them, our inference is that the caste is an institution coming directly from the original tradition of the Aryan people prior to their separation into the two branches of the Indo-Aryans and Irano-Aryans and hence it is a common element of culture to both of them. We have heard of some form of caste-system or division of labour among the Egyptians, Iberians and Greeks, but it has never and nowhere been so deep-rooted as in India and Persia of ancient times. It may be that there had been a very powerful statesman, as Plato had been in Greece, who advocated in very strong terms the principle of compulsory division of labour among the Aryan people, but he must have lived in an age when the two branches of the Aryan people had not yet separated. The *Veda* and the *Avesta* being but two echoes of one and the same voice, the reflex of one and the same thought, we have found such an identity of the caste organization in both of them.

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ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE DEVASTATION OF THE ANCIENT LITERATURE OF THE PARSIS AT HIS HAND.

[*A Summary.*]

By SHAMS-UL-ULMA Dr. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., Ph.D.

I. Introduction.

The Pahlavi books of the Parsis speak of three personages as great enemies of ancient Persia. They are: (1) Azi Dahâka (Zohâk), identified by some with Nimrod and Belus (perhaps, the same with the Baêwar-aspa of the Avesta) of Babylon; (2) Afrâsiab, the originator of the long wars between Irân and Turân; and (3) Askander, Sikandar, Alaksander or Alexander.

The ancient Iranians were possessed of a great and varied standard literature, contained in 21 *nasks* or books, the names of which were associated with the 21 words of Ahunavar or *Yathâ Ahû Vairyô*, a very old sacred prayer-formula of the Parsis. This literature was first destroyed by Alexander the Great. It was then revived by, what is called, "the Iranian Renaissance," begun by Valkhash (Vologeses), an Arskanian king, and properly founded by Ardeshir (Artaxerxes) Bâbegân, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty of Persia. This revived literature was finally destroyed by the Arabs on their conquest of Persia. The fact of the destruction at the hands of Alexander is, now and then, doubted by some. The object of the paper is to collect Iranian materials referring to the fact.

II. Ancient Iranian Literature.

The ancient Iranian Literature may be divided into (1) Pre-Zoroastrian, (2) Zoroastrian, and (3) Post-Zoroastrian Literature.

(1) According to Firdousi, the art of writing was introduced into Iran by King Tahmuras (the Takhma-urupa of the Avesta) of the Peshdâdian dynasty. One Haoma, who seems to be the discoverer of the health-giving Haoma plant, is spoken of in the Avesta as a "master of learning" (*vaêdhyâ-paiti* Yasna IX. 27). He lived before the time of Yima Khshaêta (Jamshid), and, if his opponent Keresâni may be taken to be the Indian Kṛṣṇa, his age was truly pre-his-

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toric. Haoma is spoken of as having written some *Nasks* or books and as endowing with wisdom those who read the *Nasks* (*yôi katayô naskô-frasâonghô âonghenti spânô mastîmcha bakhshaiti.* Yas. IX, 22). His writings are spoken of as *Gâtha* (*imâo sê tê Haoma gâthâo*, i.e. O Haoma! these are thy *Gâthas*, Yas. X, 18). This pre-Zoroastrian literature was added to under seven rulers—Jamshid, Faridun, Minochehr, Kâus, Kai-khusro, Lohrâsp and Gushtâsp—and is spoken of by the Pahlavi *Shatroihâ-i Irân*, as the *Dinkard-i Haft Khodâyân*, i.e. the religious books of seven kings. This pre-Zoroastrian literature formed the Faith of the old Mazdayasnân religion. The old prayer-formulas of *Yathâ*, *Ashem*, and *Yenghê hâtâm* belonged to it.

(2) Two copies of the Zoroastrian literature, i.e. the writings composed by Zoroaster together with that of the older faiths, were placed by Zoroaster's royal patron Vishtâsp into two national libraries. The original (*bûn*) manuscripts were deposited in the library of the Treasury of Shapigân, known as Ganj-i Shapigân, and attached to a great ancient Fire Temple at Samarkand and a copy (*pazin*) was placed in the library which formed the Royal Archives at Istakhar (Persipolis), the capital. These archives formed the library, known as that of the Daz-i napisht, i.e. the citadel of writings. These two great libraries were to ancient Iran, what the British Museum Library and the Bodlein are to modern England. The Pahlavi *Dinkard* (Bks. III and IV) refers to these two libraries. Kâzvini refers to the library at Istakhar and says, "when Gustâsp went to Istakhar, he ordered a receptacle (*dakhma*) to be prepared and placed therein Zend books with all reverence, and he appointed some people to look after these." According to the Pahlavi *Shatroihâ-i Irân*, the manuscripts in the library of the Ganj-i Shapigan at Samarkand formed 1200 chapters and were written on gold-coloured tablets (*takht gâh i zahabâin*). Mirkhond, in his *Rozat-us-safa* referring to the other library, the library of the Daz i-Napisht, says that the manuscripts were written on 12,000 ox-skins (*pusht-i gâv*). I have identified the Mountain *Nafasht* near Istakhar as the seat of the citadel of the Daz-i Napisht (*J.R.A.S.* of April 1918.) The letter of Dastur Taosar, the Arch-priest and Prime Minister of Ardeshir Babegân, to Jasnasfashâh, the King of Tabaristân, which has come down to us in Persian from the original Pahlavi, through its Arabic translation by that great Arabic translator, Ibn al Muqaffa,

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whose name is also connected with the Arabic translation of the Sanskrit *Hitopadeśa* through Pahlavi, also speaks of the manuscripts of the Daz-i Napisht library, as having been written on 12,000 ox-skins. Pliny speaks of Zoroaster's writings as consisting of 20 lacs of verses. It was these two libraries that Alexander burnt and scattered.

(3) The Post-Zoroastrian literature owed its collection to the efforts of kings, like Valkhash (Vologeses), Ardeshir (Artaxerxes) Bâbegân, Shapur I, Shapur II, and Khushru Kobâd, known as Noshirwân Adal (the Just).

III. Evidence for the destruction of the Literature of the first two periods.

The fact of the above-said destruction of pre-Zoroastrian and Zoroastrian literature collected in the above said two great libraries of Persia is evidenced by (1) Pahlavi, (2) Persian, and (3) Greek Writings.

(1) *Pahlavi Writings.* (*A*) *The Pahlavi Dinkard.*

In the Pahlavi Writings, the *Dinkard* claims our first attention. In more than one place, it gives the traditional history of the Old Iranian literature, and refers to the devastation at the hands of Alexander.

(*a*) In its third book, we read: "During the calamity which spread in the country of Iran from the wicked, notorious (*mâr-i dush gadman*) Alexander, during his rule, that (library), which was in the Daz-i Napisht was burnt and that which was in the Ganj-i Shapigân came to the hands of the Arumâyân (Greeks), and they got it, rendered into Greek Language for getting information about the sayings of the ancients."

(*b*) The 8th book refers to Dârâ-i Dârâ (the last Darius), as continuing what Vishtâsp did, viz. getting two authentic copies of new writings to be made for the two State libraries and also refers to the calamity of destruction by Alexander (*vazand-i vashuftagarih-i Alexander*) and his plundering army. It says, that after the destruction, what the Dasturs or head-priests had kept by heart was put down in writing and preserved.

(*c*) The 8th book also refers to the collection of what was kept by heart by the Dasturs after the devastation which came from the wicked, ill-fated, wrathful Alexander.

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(*B*) *The Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i Irân.*

Speaking of the library of Ganj-i Shapigan, it says that "the accursed Alexander burnt and threw into the river the collection of the religious books of the seven kings from Jamshed to Gustâsp. As we will see later on, Nizâmi, in his *Sikandarnameh* also refers to books having been thrown into water besides having been burnt.

(*C*) *The Pahlavi Virâf Nâmeh.*

It says "The accursed Ganâk Mino (Âhriman), the wicked, in order to make men sceptical over religion, instigated the accursed Alexander the Rouman, who lived in Egypt." Alexander thereupon burnt the religious books and "killed several Dasturs and Dâtobars (dâvars) and Aerpats and Magopats (mobeds)[1] and supporters of religion and clever and wise men of the country of Iran." In punishment he went to Hell.

(*D*) *The Grand Bundehesh.*

It says that he killed the priests and the great men of the country of Iran and then extinguished a number of sacred fires, carried away the Zend books of the Mazdayasnân religion and took them to Aroum (Greece). He burnt the *Avesta.*

(*E*) *The Pahlavi Din-i Vajarkard.*

It refers to Alexander's devastation in seven places, always speaking of Alexander as the "accursed." In the end, it says that Alexander took several transcripts in his own language from the ancient books, especially books on Astronomy and Medicine.

(2) *Persian Writings.* (*A*) *Taosar.*

The first Persian writing, which draws our attention to this subject, is the translation of Dastur Taosar's letter, above referred to, into Persian by Mohammed bin Al Hasan in 1210 A.C. from the Arabic of Ibn al Muqaffa (died 760 A.C.) who had translated it from the original Pahlavi. The Pahlavi and Arabic are lost. We are indebted to Prof. Darmesteter for publishing for the first time its Persian text and French translation in the *Journal Asiatique* of 1894. In this

[1] These are various orders of priesthood.

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letter, Dastur Taosar refers to the fact of Alexander burning at Istakhar religious books written on 12,000 ox-skins.

Aristotle's advice to Alexander: "Do not kill, but divide and rule."

We saw above, that, according to some Pahlavi books, Alexander killed many priests and great men of Irân. Taosar's letter throws some fresh light on the subject, and shows, that Alexander seems to have done so, in spite of the advice of his great *guru* Aristotle, whom he held in very great respect. He, at first, wrote to Aristotle: "I wish to proceed to India, China and Eastern lands. (But) I am afraid, if I leave the great men of Persia alive, in my absence, some one from among them may raise disturbances, the suppression of which may be difficult. They may go to Roum and invade our country. So, I think it advisable to kill all of them." Aristotle, in reply, disuaded him from doing so, and said: "What distinguishes the Persians, is courage, bravery and prudence on the day of battle, qualities which form the most powerful instruments for sovereignty and success. If you will exterminate them, you will destroy from this world, the best pillars of talents, and once the great men have disappeared, thou shalt be unavoidably forced to pass down to villains the functions and the ranks of the great. Now bear this in mind, that in this world, there is no evil, plague, revolt and pestilence, the action of which shall be as pernicious as the promotion of villains to the ranks of nobles." Then, to provide against the danger, of which Alexander was afraid, Aristotle suggested the policy of "Divide and rule." He advised that the country may be divided into various principalities, ruled over by independent princes under his suzerainty, so that, none may be powerful enough to throw off his yoke. Alexander does not seem to have followed wholly the first part of Aristotle's advice, viz. not to kill the grandees, but followed the second part; and we find, that the system of government in the later Parthian rule, known as that of the *Muluk-i Tawâif* was the result of Aristotle's advice. It was this system, that Ardeshir Bâbegân overthrew. He united again the various principalities under one rule, and, bringing about the unity of the State and the Church, restored Persia to its former power. Dastur Taosar's statement about this correspondence with Aristotle is supported by other writers.

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(a) *Firdousi.*

Firdousi refers to some correspondence on the subject between Alexander and Aristotle. But, he places that correspondence after the return of Alexander to Persia from India. But the time, mentioned in the letter of Taosar, seems to be more appropriate, as it was to his interest that he should make proper provision for the safety of his base before invading India.

(b) *Al Makin, an Arab Writer.*

Al Makin, an Arab writer (602-672 A.C.), also supports Dastur Taosar and says, that Alexander having observed the understanding, intelligence, nobility of mind and the ruling power of the Persian grandees said: "Behold, I wish to slay them one after another; do thou now give me thy counsel in this matter"? Aristotle wrote in reply, "Slay them not, for thou will be able to change neither the spirit of their country nor the water of their land; but rule them well and be submissive unto them, and thou shalt vanquish them by love and they will be subject unto thee." This Arab writer says that Alexander followed this advice of Aristotle. The Pahlavi and other Persian writers speak of the Persian grandees being killed. But it seems that Aristotle's advice may have put, at least, some check upon his evil desire of a general massacre.

(c) *An Ethiopian Writer.*

The writer of the Ethiopian version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes also supports the Persian version and says, that Alexander slew some Persian grandees and burnt the gods of Darius, thereby referring to his destruction of the Persian Fire-temples and religion.

(B) *Persian Rivâyats.*

The next set of Persian writings, which refer to Alexander's devastation of Iranian literature are the Persian *Rivâyats* brought to India by Parsi messengers from here who occasionally went to Persia to get replies from the Dasturs there to religious questions. The *Rivâyats* of Kama Bohra, Narimân Hoshang and Shâpur Baruchi speak of this devastation by Alexander. One of these *Rivâyats*, that of Shâpur Baruchi, says that Alexander has gone to Hell for this devastation.

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(C) *Nizâmi's Sikandar-nâmeh.*

The *Sikandar-nâmeh* of Nizâmi is the next Persian book which treats of the devastation not only of the literature, but also of the Fire-temples and of the country generally.

(3) *Greek Writings. Plutarch.*

Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* indirectly supports the above named Oriental writers. It says that Alexander burnt the palace of Darius at the instigation of his mistress Thaïs, when he was under the influence of a drunken frolic. Plutarch says: "Such is the account most writers give us of the matters of his transaction." This shows that the fact of the burning of Darius's palace as Istakhar was referred to by several writers. Thus, when the palace was burnt, with it were destroyed the archives of the Daz-i Napisht.

Yunâni Hakimû i.e. *the Greek System of Medicine.*

We saw above that some of the Pahlavi writers say, that Alexander got hold of Iranian books on Medicine and Astronomy and got them translated into Greek. The Art of Medicine, as practised now in our country by Mahomedan *hakims* or doctors, is spoken of as *Yunâni hakimũ*, i.e. Greek system of Medicine. This has come to them via Arabic and Persian. When the Arabs conquered, the West, they translated into Arabic many Greek works, and among them, there seem to be some on Medicine, which were translated into Greek, as said above, by the Greeks of Alexander's time from Iranian writings. I know of a well-known Parsi Hakim of Surat, speaking with pride, that the *Yunâni* system which he practised was, in origin, his own, Iranian.

Books on Astronomy.

Similarly, some of the books got translated into Greek by Alexander were on Astronomy. The Arabs were in early times Star-worshippers to some extent. During their early occupation of Persia, they took up something in this branch of science from the Persians, and, in their march towards the West, they took up something from the Greeks, whose knowledge of Astronomy was influenced by what they learnt from Iranian books on Astronomy, translated into Greek at Alexander's direction.

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THE PERSIAN RIVĀYATS OF THE PARSIS AND THE SMṚTIS OF THE HINDUS AND THE TALMUD OF THE HEBREWS.

[*A Summary*].

By Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D.

Introduction.

The Persian *Rivâyats* of the Parsis are not known to many students of Persian outside the Parsi Community of India. They have not been regularly studied even by many scholars of Persian among the Parsis. The principal reason for this is that they have not been published. It is only now, that a compilation is being lithographed and published in two volumes, one of 568 and another of 450 pages. I beg to present for inspection their advanced proofs. I have the pleasure of writing an introduction for these volumes which will shortly be out. The object of the paper is to draw the attention of Persian scholars, other than some few Parsi scholars who know it, to this interesting collections of Persian writings, written by the Dasturs or Head priests of the Parsis in Persia and India during a period of 300 years from the 16th to the 18th century A.C.

What is a Rivâyat ?

As to what the word *rivâyat* is, Richardson and Steingass both take the word to be Arabic. *Burhan-i Kata*, the well-known Persian lexicon, does not give the word. I take the word to be Persian, coming from روا (*ravā*), i.e. permissible, lawful. The Parsis generally speak of customs as *ravā* and *nā-ravā*, i.e. what is lawful and unlawful from a religious point of view. It is the Persian rendering of the Pahlavi words *shâyast* and *lâ-shâyast*. In this sense, I derive the word *ravā* from Persian رفتن (*raftan*), i.e. to go. It means " what (lawfully or religiously) goes or passes as current." So *rivâyat* means, " what is ordinarily going or current or what is customary." Thus the Persian *Rivāyats* are writings which treat of religious and social beliefs, precepts, customs, manners, traditions, etc., of the Parsis that are current. In this sense some of the Pahlavi writings also are known as *Rivāyats*.

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The Persian Rivāyats.

The Persian *Rivāyats* are mostly the compositions of Dasturs or Head priests who lived in Persia from the 15th to the 18th century. The Parsis of India had, as it were, lost touch with their co-religionists in Persia several years after their settlement in India. Casual travellers—such as those who have inscribed their names in the caves of Kennery at Borivli near Bombay—may have come to India from Persia or gone to Persia from India. But there was no regular correspondence like that which we see embodied in the Persian *Rivāyats* written in the 16th and the subsequent centuries upto about 100 years ago. The Parsis of India sent some special messengers to the Dasturs of Persia to obtain the latters' opinions on the subject of their religious practices. The questions from India and the replies from Persia formed the Persian *Rivāyats*. These *Rivāyats* contained, in addition to the above questions and replies, copies of certain treatises in Persian on legendary, social, historical and religious subjects. For example they contain the texts of writings like the following :—

1. Ulmā-i Islām.
2. Mār-nāmeh.
3. Sogand-nāmeh.
4. Jāmāsp-nāmeh or Jamaspi or Ahkam-i Jāmāsp.
5. Kisseh-i Sultan Mahamad Ghiznavi.
6. The Dāstān of Mazdak and Noshīrvān.
7. The Kisseh of a Prince of Irān and Omar Khetāh.

The Persian *Rivāyats* are to the Parsis, what the *Smṛtis* are to the Hindus, the *Talmud* to the Hebrews and the *Shir'at* (شرعت) to the Mahomedans.

The Hindu Smṛtis and the Persian Rivāyats.

The *Avesta* is to the Parsis what the *Vedas* are to the Hindus. The word *Avesta* is variously derived by different scholars, but I am inclined to agree with Dr. Haug and say that *Avesta* is from *a* and *vista* (past participle of *vid* to know) and means "what is known" or "knowledge" corresponding nearly with *Veda*, the name of the sacred scriptures of the Brāhmaṇas.[1]

Now, as, broadly speaking, the *Smṛtis* come next to the *Vedas*, the

[1] Haug, *Essays* on the Parsis (2nd ed.). p. 121.

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Rivāyats come next to the *Avesta*. Monier Williams says of the *Smṛtis*, that they are "what has been remembered and handed down by tradition. In its widest application, the term includes the *Vedāṅgas*, the *Sūtras*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Dharma-śāstras*, especially the works of Manu, Yajñawalkya and other inspired law-givers, and the *Nīti-śāstras* or ethics, but its ordinary application is to the *Dharma-śāstras*; as Manu says, 'By *śruti* is meant the *Veda* and by *smṛiti* the institutes of law'." Similarly, all the Pahlavi writings are in the widest application of the sense of the word, *Rivāyats*. We know that some Pahlavi writings, like those that are found accompanying the Pahlavi *Dādistān-i Dīnī* proper, are specially spoken of as Pahlavi *Rivāyats*. All the Pahlavi books which speak of old traditions, laws, usages, ritual, customs, etc., are *Rivāyats*.

At present, there is before the Government, the question of codifying the Hindu Law, on which even the opinion of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society is also asked, and in that codification the *Smṛtis* have to be appealed to. The Parsis have codified their laws of Marriage and Inheritance about half a century ago. It was a long and arduous work for them. They had founded a special association for the purpose, which was known as the Zoroastrian Law Association. Their first move in the matter was in the year 1836. But that move and other moves in subsequent years had failed. But the final move which began in 1853 and ended in 1864 was successful and we have now our Parsi Marriage Act. In this movement, it was the *Rivāyats* that were looked into by the learned Dasturs, Mobads, and Behedins of Bombay, Surat, Naosāri, Broach and other places.

In Hindu cases before the courts, even now, it is the *Smṛtis* that have often to be referred to. In Parsi cases other than those that can be decided by the codified Acts, even now, the *Rivāyats* have been referred to in courts now and then. Like the *Smṛtis*, the Persian *Rivāyats* also are written partly in prose and partly in verse.

The Hebrew Talmud and the Persian Rivāyats.

As said above, to a certain extent, the Persian *Rivāyats* are to the Parsis what the *Talmud* is to the Hebrews. The Parsis have their Avesta books as their Scriptures or *Written Laws*, just as the Hebrews have their *Old Testament*. The Parsis have their five *Gāthās*

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as the original compositions of Zoroaster, *Gāthâo yâ panch Spitāmahe aṣaonō Zarathuštrahe*—Yasna VII), just as the Hebrews have their Pentateuch, i.e. the five books—the first five books of the *Old Testament*—as the original composition of Moses. And just as among the Parsis, the seven chapters of the *Yasna*, known as *Yasna Haptanghāiti*, have been taken as belonging to the class of *Gāthās*, so the book of Joshua, which forms, after the Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy, the sixth book of the *Old Testament*, has been added to the Pentateuch and the whole forms the Hexateuch or the six books of Moses.

Among the Parsis, later on, there came to be written commentaries on the original writings in the Avesta language itself; for example, commentaries on the Ahunavar, the Ashem Vohu and the Yenghe Hātām (*Yasna* XIX-XXI). The commentaries are spoken of as the Zend. Hence at times the whole of the scriptures are spoken of as the *Zend Avesta*. These commentaries, later on, in the times of the Sassanians came to be written in the then current language, the Pahlavi. These Pahlavi commentaries of the Parsis correspond to the *Mishna* of the Jews, which were the interpretations of the earlier writings.

Among the Jews, after the *Mishna*, there came the *Talmud* which was chiefly based upon the *Mishna*. Just as the *Mishna* itself was an explanation, commentary and expansion of the original Pentateuch or Hexateuch, so, again, the *Talmud* itself was an explanation, expansion and commentary of the *Mishna*. Now, the Persian *Rivāyats* of the Parsis also are like the *Talmud* of the Jews, the commentaries, explanations and expansions of the Pahlavi writings with here and there quotations from the *Avesta* itself. The following table shows at one glance, the corresponding literatures :—

Parsi.	*Hebrew.*
1. Avesta.	1. Old Testament.
2. The five Gāthās.	2. The Pentateuch, or the first five books of the Old Testament.
(*a*) Ahunavad.	(*a*) Genesis.
(*b*) Ushtavad.	(*b*) Exodus.
(*c*) Spentomad.	(*c*) Leviticus.
(*d*) Vohu-khshathra.	(*d*) Numbers.
(*e*) Vahishtoisht.	(*e*) Deuteronomy.

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Parsi.	*Hebrew.*
3. Yasna Haptanghaiti, or additional Gāthās.	3. Joshua, added to the Pentateuch forming the Hexateuch.
4. The Pahlavi commentaries and other writings, spoken of as the Pahlavi Rivāyats.	4. Mishna.
5. The Persian Rivāyats.	5. The Talmud.

Prof H. Polano, one of the translators of the *Talmud*, thus speaks of the nature of the *Talmud* :—

"The *Talmud* is a collection of early Biblical discussions with comments of generations of teachers who devoted their lives to the study of the Scriptures. It is an encyclopædia of law, civil and penal, human and divine. It is more, however, than a mere book of laws. It records the thoughts and the events of a thousand years of the national life of the Jewish people; all their oral traditions, carefully gathered and preserved with a love, devout in its trust and simplicity, accepted as a standard study, it became endeared to the people, who, as they were forbidden to add to or diminish from the law of Moses, would not suffer this work of their Rabbis to be tempered with in any manner. As it was originally compiled it has been transmitted to us. It is a literary wilderness. At the first view everything, style, method and language, seems tangled and confused. The student, however, will soon observe two motives or currents in the work; at times harmonious, at times diverse—one displaying the logical mind, which compares, investigates, developes and instructs; the other, imaginative and poetical. The first is called "*Halachah*" (Rule), and finds a vast field in the Levitical and ceremonial laws; the other takes possession of the ethical and historical portions of Holy Writ. It is called "*Hagadah*" or Legend, not so much in our present acceptance of the term, as in the widest sense of a saying without positive authority, an allegory, a parable, a tale.

"The *Talmud* is divided into two parts, *Mishna* and *Gemarah*. They are the continued works of successive Rabbis, chiefs or principals of the colleges in which they devoted their lives to study. Most of the redacteurs of the *Mishna* were dead, however, long before the *Gemarah* was commenced. The time consumed in the completion of the entire *Talmud* is stated to have been three hundred and eleven years. In its present form it consists of twelve folio

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lumes, containing the precepts of the Pentateuch with extended commentaries upon them; amplified Biblical incidents; occurrences affecting the religious life of those who prepared its philosophical treatises; stories, traditions and parable. It was called the oral or unwritten law in contradistinction to the Pentateuch, which remained under all circumstances, the immutable code, the divinely given constitution, the written law."

What is said above of the *Talmud* is true, to a great extent, of the Persian *Rivâyats*. What struck me especially when I read the above account of the *Talmud* was the word "wilderness." To a casual and superficial reader, the Persian *Rivâyats* also may appear like a "wilderness." They are a wilderness in the sense, that they bewilder you in the matter of the varieties of their subjects. From a very exhaustive Index of a manuscript of *Barzo Kamdin's Rivâyat* in the Mulla Feroze Library in Bombay, we find that, that *Rivâyat* treats of about 687 subjects. From this number—of course some of them can be grouped together—one may form an idea of the wilderness of the variety of subjects.

If you want to form an idea of the corresponding minute points of treatment in the *Talmud* and the Persian *Rivâyats*, I will refer to some questions treated in them. For example, the *Talmud* asks "During what time in the evening is the reading of the *Shemâ* begun?" A corresponding subject treated in the *Rivâyats* is: "At what time the *Vendidād* should be recited and up to what part the recital must be completed before the dawn?" The reply to the above question of the *Talmud* is: "From the time when the priests go in to eat their leaven (Lv. 22, 7), until the end of the first watch of the night." That was on the authority of R. Eliezer. But some sages said "until midnight." Gamaliel said, "until the coming of the dawn."[1] Thus, the Doctors of Divinity, like the Doctors of Medicine, differed. You have something of the same kind here and there, in the *Rivâyats*. The Dasturs or Doctors of Divinity of Persia, who sent replies to the questions from India, at times, differed. You will read: *Nariman Hoshang's Rivâyat* says this; *Aspandyar's Rivâyat* says thus; and so on. As to the above subject of the *Talmud*, the Jewish Doctors and commentators have entered into long dissertations and discussions. When one of the Doctors spoke of the dawn, the question was: "When did dawn begin?" Questions of

[1] Hastings', *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "*Talmud*."

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that kind remind me of a similar question among the Parsis, even now, as to When does the dawn set in? and When does the *Hushain gāh* end and the *Hāvan* commence?

The term *halakhah* of the Hebrew *Talmud* is similar to our word *Rivâyat.* It also comes from a verb meaning 'to go'. As Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley says: (1) "Under this term, the entire legal body of Jewish oral tradition is included, it comes from a verb meaning 'to go' and expresses the way of 'going' or 'acting,' i.e. custom, usage, which ultimately issues in *law.* Originally, it was used in the plural form *halakhoth,* which had reference to the multifarious civil and ritual laws, customs, decrees, etc., as handed down by tradition, which were not, however, of Scriptural authority. Sometimes the word *halakhah* is used for 'tradition' which is binding in contradistinction to *Din,* 'argument' (lit. 'judgment'), which is not necessarily binding." [1]

If you will look into the contents of one of the large classified *Rivâyats,* you will find the same thing. You will find a number of subjects which you would class under the head of *Rivâyat* proper, i.e. the writings which treat of religious beliefs, manners, customs, ritual, etc., all which form, as it were, the Iranian *halakhah* (rules). Then you will find a number of subjects which you can class under the head of legends "not so much" as said by Prof Polano "in our present acceptance of the term, as in the wide sense of a saying without positive authority, an allegory, a parable, a tale." Most of what is narrated under the headings of *kissehs,* i.e. stories, falls under this second class.

Again, the duration of time during which the *Talmud* was written and that during which the Persian *Rivâyats* were written is well-nigh the same. "The time consumed in completion of the entire *Talmud*" says Prof Polano, "is stated to have been 311 years.'' The time during which the Persian *Rivâyats* were written, comes to about 295 years, the first *Rivâyat,* that of *Nariman Hoshang* being dated 1475 A.C., the last *Iṭhoter Rivâyat* being dated 1142 A.Y (1773 A.C.).

The Language of the Rivâyats.

The language of the *Rivâyats* is the Persian language spoken about three to four hundred years ago by the Zoroastrians of Persia. When I speak of the language of the Zoroastrians of Persia, I

[1] *Ibid.*

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mean the language spoken generally in Persia by all Mahomedans there but with a tinge of special Zoroastrian religious phraseology all round.

It is a fact, that when a certain community or a group of people living in the midst of a larger community or groups of people in a particular country or a tract of a country, speak the language of that country, in spite of their speaking the common language of the country, they have in their language certain specialities or peculiarities which make their language differ a little from the language of their country. For example, the Parsis speak Gujarāti, the language of Gujarāt; but their Gujarāti has peculiarities of its own.

The Persian *Rivâyats* throw some light on some forms of their speech. I did not understand up to last year, why in order to express "to take oaths" the Persians used the phrase. سوگند خوردن (*saogand khurdan*) and the Parsis say सोगंद खावा (*sogand khāvā*), i.e. to *eat* the oath. Marathi Hindus also generally speak of it as शपथ घ्यावे to *take* the oath. Some Hindus do use the words सोगंद खावा but that is more after the influence of the Persian language during the times of the Moguls. Now, it is the *Saogand-nāmeh* in the *Rivâyats*, which explains why the Parsis speak of *eating* the oath. It was a custom of the ancient Iranians to take an oath, after a religious ritual, in which at the end they had to eat solemnly a piece of bread (*nān*).

Classification of the Rivāyats.

The *Rivâyats* may be divided into two classes—

I. The *Individual Rivāyats.* This class includes those that bear the names of the individual messengers who went to Persia and brought replies to the questions of the Indian Parsis. These *Rivâyats* are the works of the Dasturs of Persia.

II. *Compiled Rivâyats.* These are the works of the Dasturs of India. They are of two kinds (1) *Compiled Rivāyats* and (2) *Classified Rivāyats.*

(1) The Dasturs of India have collected in one volume some of the *Individual Rivâyats* of the first class. These are compilations. Three compilations of that kind are known. They are those of (1) *Bahman Punjiāh*, (2) *Hormazdyār Frāmroz*, and (3) *Barzo Kāmdin.*

(2) In the *Classified Rivâyats*, the Indian Dasturs have tried to arrange under the headings of different subjects the replies from Persia brought by different messengers and embodied into *Indivi-*

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dual Rivâyats. These classified *Rivâyats* also include some of the religious treatises brought from Persia by the individual messengers. In some cases, they also contain the original compositions of the compilers or classifiers.

The Importance of the Rivāyats as sources of materials for history.

We saw above, that the *Rivâyats* treat of various matters. They contain, at times, opinions or views of individual Dasturs, which are not on all fours with what is said in the *Avesta* books. Some views may, from our point of view be pure errors. But as Milton says: "All opinions, all errors known, read and collected, are of much service and assistance towards the speedy attainment of what is Truth."

A good history of the Parsis in India still remains to be written. The Persian *Rivâyats* will supply a number of materials for that history. They refer here and there to some events in Persia. For example, there is a story about Firdousi which refers to the case of the jealousy of other poets towards him in the king's court.

The story of Firdousi and the jealous poets corroborated.

We learn from the life of the great "Homer of the East", that his success in writing poetry and his consequent welcome at the court of Mahamad of Ghazni had drawn the jealous eye of some other persons of the court. His enemies tried to direct the wrath of the king towards him by saying that Firdousi praised too much the ancient Iranian kings, and that he was not an orthodox Mahomedan in his belief.

Now the *Rivâyats* give a story from which it appears that the other poets of the court of the king had a great hand in drawing the anger of the king upon Firdousi. The story is spoken of as the *Kisseh-i Sultan Mahamad.* It says that when Sultan Mahamad came to the throne, the condition of the Parsis in Persia was not good. In his reign, when Firdousi wrote his *Shāhnāmeh,* the king got it read and was much pleased with the poet's work. This roused the jealousy of other poets of the court. They said that Firdousi was praising the Fire-worshippers who were not a good religious sect of people. To spite Firdousi they misrepresented the Zoroastrians whom he had praised. Their misrepresentation succeeded and the king sent for the Parsis and asked them to become Mahomedans,

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and said, that if they refused they would be massacred. Thereupon, their leader said, that they may be killed by the king if he liked, but they would never turn Mahomedans. They liked their own religion brought by Zoroaster who had proved the truth of his religion by miracles. The king then demanded that if their Zoroastrian religion was true, they might prove it by some miracles. The story proceeds further that they showed some miracles to the king and won him over and he allowed them to follow their religion. This story, however exaggerated, throws some side light on the life of Firdousi in the court of Mahamad of Ghazni.

The numerous various subjects treated in the classified *Rivâyat of Darâb Hormazdyâr* can be classified under the following broad heads :—

I. Iranian Alphabets. The oldest *Avesta* prayer formulas of *Yathā* and *Ashem*. An account of the 21 *Nasks* or books which contain all the ancient Iranian Literature.

II. The investiture of a child with the sacred shirt and thread (*Sudreh* and *Kusti*).

III Patet, the Prayer of Repentance.

IV. Truthfulness.

V. Fires and Fire-temples.

VI. Death. The dead body. The place of its exposure. The funeral ceremonies relating to the disposal of the body and those relating to the soul.

VII. Marriage.

VIII. Women in menses and accouchément.

IX. Things and actions lawful and unlawful.

X. Miscellaneous subjects.

XI. *Pādiyāb* (purification) and *Nirang* or *Gō-mēz* (cow's urine).

XI.I Various *Nirangs* or incantations.

XIII. Various *Āfrīngāns* and *Afrīns* or Blessing-prayers.

XIV. Priests, their qualifications and disqualifications.

XV. Some liturgical sermons.

XVI. The genealogy of Zoroaster.

XVII. The other world.

XVIII. The Āhriman or the evil person.

XIX. Treatises on different subjects.

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Ethnology and Folk-lore.

President :

RAO BAHADUR L. K. ANANTHA KRISHNA IYER, B.A., L.T., F.R.A.I.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

THE STUDY OF ANTHROPOLOGY: ITS IMPORTANCE AND NECESSITY.

By Rao Bahadur L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, B.A., L.T., F.R.A.I.

In the commonly accepted sense, Anthropology—the Science of Man—deals more particularly "with the origin and place of man in evolution, his development as an individual and as a race; the physical and mental changes he has undergone in his struggle for existence, and finally his social organisation and religion."[1] In fact it is leading to most important results and is throwing fresh light upon all the sciences relating to man. Naturalists, physicians, travellers, archaeologists, linguists, are all contributing for the advancement of the science. "A peculiarity of the study of Anthropology," says Dr. A. C. Haddon, "is the lack of demarcations. This lack of definiteness adds a charm to the subject, and is fertile in the production of new ideas, for it is in the fringe of a science that originality has its scope."[2] It is only by a synthesis of the various studies which are grouped together under the term Anthropology, that one can hope to gain a clear conception of what man is, and what he has done. The aim of Anthropology is to teach us the history of mankind in its various aspects mentioned above.

Very little is understood about this subject in India now, probably because it has not been, till very recently, included in the courses of studies in any of the Indian Universities. Further doubts have long been entertained by scientists themselves, as to whether Anthropology is after all a science. Owing to the large and steadily increasing amount of materials in this new field of research, its existence as a separate branch of natural science is more than justified. In fact, so wide is the range of the subject, that it has been found necessary to divide it into various sections.

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[1] James. *An Introduction to Anthropology*, p. 1.

[2] A. C. Haddon. *Presidential Address, Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 1903.

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In England the term Anthropology is used to cover all the phenomena which deal with the earlier stages of the history of mankind. It is divided into several departments.

The following classification proposed by the Board of Studies in Anthropology of the University of London may serve as a guide for the study and teaching of Anthropology, and it is given here :—

A. Physical Anthropology (Anthropography, Anthropology of some writers)—

(*a*) *Zoological* (somatology, including craniology, etc.) : Man's place in nature as evidenced by the study of comparative anatomy and physiology, more especially of the Anthropoidea.

(*b*) *Paleontological* : The antiquity of man as evidenced by fossil and semi-fossilised remains, including the geological evidence.

(*c*) *Physiological and psychological* : The comparative study of the bodily functions and mental processes.

(*d*) *Ethnological* : The comparative study of the physical characters which distinguish the various sub-races of man. Classification of the human race in accordance with the physical and psychical characters. Geographical distributions of the varieties of mankind. The influence of environment on physique.

B. Cultural Anthropology (Ethnology of some writers)—

(*a*) *Archaeological* : The antiquity of man as revealed by the earliest remains of his handiwork. The pre-historic periods; their characteristics, sequence, and duration. The survival of early conditions of culture in later times. (Folk-lore.)

(*b*) *Technological* : The comparative study of arts and industries, their origin, development, and geographical distribution.

(*c*) *Sociological* : The comparative study of social phenomena and organisation. Birth, education, marriage and death customs and systems. Social and religious associations. Government and Laws. Moral ideas and codes. Magical and religious ideas and practices.

(*d*) *Linguistic* : The comparative study of language.

(*e*) *Ethnological* : The comparative study and classification of peoples based upon cultural conditions and characteristics. The influence of environment upon culture.[1]

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[1] A. C. Haddon. *History of Anthropology*, pp. 4–5.

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Anthropological Work in India.

My friend Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Rai, an enthusiastic student of Anthropology, in his presidential address delivered at the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress held in Calcutta last year, gave a very interesting and exhaustive account of the Anthropological work done in India. It is not necessary for me to reiterate it now; but it must be confessed that the credit of the work is mainly due to the European experts to whom our thanks are due. No doubt a few eminent Indians have had their share of occasional contributions of ethnological interest. The ethnological work done in the country till now may be said to consist of Magazine articles in the journals of the Learned Societies, such as the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Anthropological Society of Bombay and other periodicals; Government reports and the volumes on Castes and Tribes of the various provinces which are the publications of the Ethnographic Survey inaugurated by the late Sir Herbert Risley, as also the individual monographs on Castes and Tribes. The part played by the Indians in this connection has been and is even now anything but satisfactory; the reason being that it is partly due to the lack of training, and partly due to the want of opportunities, which the officers of Government, missionaries and others are afforded.

Encouragement of the study of the subject for administrative purposes.

The Government of India was fully alive to the lack of training of its officers in the knowledge of the manners and customs of the people amidst whom they have to discharge their duties. With this object in view they made the following proposals :—

> "In the discussion of the Conference held at Simla in July, 1911, regarding the relation of the museums to the educational systems of India, it was said that one of the most urgent needs in India was "an Ethnographic Museum under scientific management designed to illustrate Indian civilization in varied phases, as otherwise students in future, would be compelled to visit museums of Paris, Berlin, Munich and other places in order to study subjects which obviously could be studied best on Indian soil." The Government of India were inclined to favour the formation of a Museum of Indian Art and Ethnography at Delhi. Their accepted policy was to develop local museums with special regard to local interests, and to concentrate on matters of general interest in the Imperial Museum. This proposal would give a stimulus to the popular studies of the subject,

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but only specialists are expected to collect specimens, and to so arrange them in the museums as to represent the various grades of the culture of man in India."[1]

"In a letter of the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute, dated 18 April, 1913, to the Secretary of State for India, expressing their views on the subject of the Oriental Research Institute which the Government of India proposed to found, the Council emphasized on the importance of the study of Social Anthropology in that Institute from an administrative or political point of view, and its bearings on the difficult and peculiar problems which confront the Government of India at every turn. It is almost important that the officials and others intending to spend their lives in the East or in parts of the Empire inhabited by non-European races should have a knowledge of the social characteristics, so that they should be acquainted with their speech and the Colonial Office shares this view."[2]

Again, "in the course of the recent meeting of the British Association at Edinburgh one of the sessions of the Anthropological Section was devoted to the discussion of the ways and means by which the Science of Anthropology might be made of greater practical utility in the administration of the Empire, particularly in relation to the government of the subject and backward races." The question was raised by a communication from Sir Richard Temple, who recalled the fact, that in the course of his address as president of the Section at the Birmingham meeting in 1913, and in a discussion which had been held later in the same meeting, he brought this question before the Association and recapitulated the steps which had been taken afterwards by the Association and other bodies to bring this matter to the notice of the Government of that time and the public. This movement which gained considerable support, was, for the time being given up by the outbreak of war. Once more, Sir Richard Temple, in the present appeal, urged the necessity of official recognition of Anthropology as an essential part of the training of those members of the public service whose duties in remote parts of Empire will bring them into contact with an alien or primitive culture. For this purpose he emphasised the importance and the requirement of an institution of an Imperial School of Anthropology the function of which should be both the training of the official; and the collection and classification of the data gathered in the field by such trained officials and others, to form at once the subject-matter of the instruction given by the school as the basis of further research.[3]

Thus, in the opinion of the British Association and in that of British statesmen, the training of the official is a question of vital importance upon which there is no difference of opinion. It

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[1] *Indian Educational Policy*, pp. 27–28.

[2] Sir Herbert Risley. *Presidential Address. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. XLI.

[3] *Nature*, Nov. 1921, Vol. 108.

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is significant that many of those who have insisted on the importance of such a training and given the proposal their strongest support, have themselves been successful administrators. They point out "that not only are sympathy and understanding essential in dealing with a primitive or alien population, but also that in acquiring such sympathy and knowledge by a long and sometimes painful experience, an official must be guilty of many mistakes which a little training in anthropological method and outlook might have averted." It must be remembered that the training advocated is intended, not to turn out specialists in anthropological research, but to give the future official such a knowledge of primitive beliefs, institutions and modes of thought as will enable him to acquire in a reasonably short space of time a sympathetic knowledge of the people with whom he has to deal, as well as make it possible for him to appreciate the bearing of the psychological and sociological factors which go to make up their culture as a whole.

Happily the recognition of the bearing of these facts upon the preliminary training of the official is increasing. Candidates for the Sudan and African service are trained in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London. This training requirement should be extended and the institutions of additional training centres should receive every encouragement. The necessity for a Central Bureau for the proper carrying out of the Anthropological work is also recommended for the co-ordination and preparation of materials for such a study. The teaching centre would concern itself with organisation and instruction, while the Bureau would be responsible for the collection and collation of the data for publication. The preparation of bibliographies of the materials already available should be an essential condition of the Bureau. Such were the proposals made by the specialists in England in the last British Association. If we examine the state of affairs in India, the position is far more deplorable. More than half the troubles in the country has arisen from a lack of proper understanding and sympathy between the administrative officers and the people. In the opinion of Prof. Patrick Geddes and others at the Edinburgh meeting, it is the "lack of the Anthropological point of view in dealing with our own and other peoples, which lies at the base of much of the troubles all over the world," to which India is no exception. What has been decided for the administrative officers to be sent out from England,

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should be made equally applicable for all similar Indian officials as well.[1]

Remedial measures.

Unfortunately, the sciences of Anthropology, Ethnology, Sociology, and the allied subjects, as has been already said, are very little understood by our young and grown up men of Western culture, in India, mainly because of the absence of the introduction of them in the courses of studies of the Indian Universities. Of late, the Universities of Mysore, Patna, and Calcutta have taken the matter in hand, and have introduced the subject into the Post-graduate courses, and only in the last is a fair foundation laid. It is hoped that by the strenuous exertions of the young and enthusiastic lecturers, backed up by the Honourable the President of the Post-graduate Studies and Vice-Chancellor of the University, there will be at no distant date, in the Calcutta University a real school of Anthropology and the allied subjects, which, with the Indian Museum and the Asiatic Society of Bengal, will afford many facilities to students in the pursuit of the studies of these subjects. It is also high time for other Indian Universities to follow the example of the Calcutta University in the pursuit of the same studies. There is yet another function of the University which is of equal, if not of greater, importance. It is the diffusion of "Anthropological knowledge, and the inculcation of an Anthropological point of view" among the general public. In the present state of things it can be done only by a course of University extension lectures in the various parts of the province both in English and in vernacular. "It is often believed, that Anthropology deals exclusively with backward races, and with the physical characters of the civilised. It must be remembered that the culture and the underlying psychological basis of that culture among civilised races and peoples are within its scope."

A real School of Anthropology with a Museum and a Bureau as above referred to require a large outlay of expenditure. The suggestions of the British Association to appeal to the Government for financial aid, must be adopted also here by applying to the local governments for a similar aid. It is not unlikely that some Zemindar or merchant prince may endow the University with necessary funds for the purpose.

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[1] *Nature*, Nov. 1921, Vol. 108.

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Thus far have we discussed the importance of, and the necessity for the study of Anthropology from an administrative point of view, in other words of applied Anthropology. We have now to discuss the scientific aspect of it, namely, the materials already available and the urgent necessity for further collection of them. The materials already available are abundant and they are being systematically utilised ; but it must be remembered, that India is a vast continent with a veritable museum of races and peoples with various degrees of intermingling, and there is yet ample scope for special investigations into the manners and customs of the various aboriginal fragments and other primitive communities that are under the present civilizing influences, owing to their frequent contact with the members of the civilised communities of the plains.

Necessity for an early collection of materials.

The materials necessary for the study of these sciences are fast disappearing " The Geologist can examine the structure of the rocks at his leisure and collect and classify his fossils ; and if the records show a weak place he can go over again at any time, and can study the same phenomena at different localities. Relics of human culture, whether they be the rude workmanship of palaeolithic man or the highly elaborate work of Greek or Roman which have been under the surface of the earth varying from two to twenty thousand years, are not likely to suffer any material change if they are left undisturbed for another century or two. Again in the sciences dealing with inorganic matter and with living creatures other than man, the phenomena which form the subject-matter are stable. The decision of a chemist, whether he will use the present moment to attempt the synthesis of a substance is not influenced by the probability much less the certainty, that in a few years the materials for the synthesis will wholly have disappeared. The evidence now present will be equally available a hundred or thousand years hence." This factor of urgency is one from which the Anthropologist can never escape. The fossils of the Anthropologists, if we may use the term, are living organisms and they are fast disappearing or becoming so changed by contact or crossing with the higher forms of humanity, that their value as fossils tends to be lost. Some physical characteristics doubtless show a wonderful persistence, and this mainly gives the great and permanent value to the study of

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physical Anthropology; but social organisms and mental attributes suffer very quickly from foreign contact, and it will be found difficult for investigators to trace them properly. Thus the materials of the Anthropologist are not stationary, but are undergoing constant changes. In many parts of the world, the customs of the primitive tribes are undergoing rapid and destructive changes. Many of the religious ceremonies have already disappeared and are disappearing. The same phenomena are seen in all parts of India as well. The necessity for collecting materials, before they are destroyed by those and other agencies, is great and urgent. "The pressing necessity of instituting careful anthropological researches among the uncultured peoples is every day, becoming more evident. By contact with the missionary, the merchant, and the miner, these peoples are rapidly losing their primitive conditions, and our opportunities of observation are consequently becoming more and more diminished." While rejoicing at the progress of civilization, the Anthropologist feels that the dark places of the earth are precisely those places most likely to throw light upon many problems of the pre-historic past. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Ethnological enquiry has two main varieties which may be called the "survey work" and "intensive work" respectively. In India, the former has been in a way completed by the Ethnographic survey by the late Sir Herbert Risley. There are still Native States, and parts of British India where it remains to be taken up. What is urgently required is to have an intensive study of some of the primitive tribes such as the Khonds, Savaras, Bhils, Juangs, and have special volumes like those published on the Todas by Dr. Rivers, the Veddas by Dr. Seligman as also those on the Mongoloid tribes by the Government of Assam.

In India, a country with various creeds and ruled by an alien race, the important branch of the subject is what is known as Social Anthropology. In the present state of the science there must be a large number of trained students to take stock of the available materials and have them verified. A further collection of materials made after a careful enquiry is not an easy task; but it is not without an adequate value, and it will form the basis of systematic work. If we have at present neither the knowledge nor the leisure to examine and describe, we can at least preserve from destruction the materials for our successors to work upon.

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Photographs, models, anatomical specimens, skeletons or parts of the skeletons, specimens illustrating the manners and customs of many of the so-called aboriginal races now rapidly undergoing extermination or degeneration, will be of inestimable value. Drawings, measurements and descriptions are also useful though in a far less degree. Such collections must be made on a larger scale owing to the difficulties in the classification of man. It is only by large numbers that possible errors can be avoided. These must be located in museums. More valuable than collectors, investigators are necessary. In most branches of scientific enquiry, later investigations owing to more improved study, and improved methods are apt to overshadow the earlier investigations, which cannot be ignored. Students continually refer to them. Qualified investigators should set to work without delay. Every year's delay means that the work is so much lost. They have to bear in mind that they have the satisfaction of feeling that students of mankind will have to consult the publication, and then have the tremendous responsibility, that their writings will have to be accepted as correct, as there will be in future no means of checking it.

There is only one society in India, namely, the Bombay Anthropological Society which has been doing excellent work in the collection of the Anthropological materials or data, and its journals show many an attempt "to systematise and to theorise." Otherwise many valuable materials for Cultural Anthropology, may be lost. Asiatic Societies of Bengal and Bombay have also been doing excellent work in this direction. "A hasty and careless removal of good old beliefs, with a view to replace them by unsuitable brand new movements or ideas gives a shock to the foundation of faith, and brings the followers between two stools to the ground."

In this connection it may not be out of place to note that Prof. W. Ridgeway in his first Presidential Address to the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland on the subject of the "*Relation of Anthropology to Classical Studies*" suggests a similar course of studies in India also. Scholars in the West have devoted their attention in various ways to the subject from the point of view of the Western classics. As instances of the kind, there are excellent books, like the *Anthropology and the Classics* edited by Dr. R. R. Marret; the *Anthropology of the Greeks* by Mr. E. E. Sykes; and the *Anthropological History of Europe*, by Dr. John

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Beddoe, dealing with the Aryan question and the question of the variation of types. Some Indian scholars can well handle the subject from the point of view of the Eastern classics. The Anthropology of the *Vedas* and of the *Purāṇas* will be a very valuable addition to our anthropological knowledge.

Investigations in several departments of Anthropology multiply. and students necessarily become more or less specialists limiting their interest to small portions of the whole field of the science to which they have to devote themselves. In this way the general study of the subject can be promoted. All cultural phenomena, be they myths, beliefs, institutions, tools, dwellings or weapons must have originated in some definite area, and have spread over a long distance. Further every cultural phenomenon is an integral part of the whole culture. It cannot be separated. Its existence at any given part of the earth's surface is evidence of the diffusion, though to a small extent. Each community bears the mark of a series of cultural deposits, and the problem therefore is, to investigate these deposits and cultural groups, to determine their succession, and the direction from which they have come. Thus only can the scientific knowledge of mankind make any real progress. To do this we must confine ourselves to a strictly objective consideration of facts. Further it is necessary for the student of Ethnology to possess a wide practical knowledge of the human mind, and a comprehension of human nature in all its most delicate emotions. These qualifications are mostly inborn and cannot be easily acquired. They are inborn, and must be developed by an abstraction from the bonds of the whole mental world and a grip of the numerous possibilities, the consideration of which will prevent one-sided conclusions.

From what has been said above, it may be seen that the work hitherto done in Indian Anthropology and Ethnology has been mainly for administrative purposes. But nothing worthy of the name has been done to ascertain the types persisting in a country to which no other country in the world can be compared as possessing so many varieties. The whole matter of physical Anthropology as it relates to Anthropology, has been, as Prof. Dorsay has said, greatly abused "—chiefly because investigators failing to define their problems, have naturally come to no conclusions." The need for a systematic survey is pressing, and should be done by experts, but more valuable than the determination of types would be the

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application of Anthropometry to the rate of growth of children, and especially to the effects of environment and cross-breeding.

Scientific work of the above nature can be best done by Universities, which would give the subject its proper place in the course of studies.

The mere teaching of a subject is but a routine work of a University. No real school can be established unless research work in that subject is encouraged, and this encouragement must be regarded as an essential characteristic of a University. The sciences of Anthropology and Ethnology with their many approaches and aspects, will afford abundant opportunities for students of diverse aptitudes for original research, for which there is ample scope in every part of India. The Universities of Calcutta, Mysore and Patna have already taken the matter in hand, and introduced the subject of Anthropology and Ethnology into the Post-graduate courses. It is hoped that at no distant date the other Indian Universities also will follow them, and give such adequate encouragement as the subject deserves, and so stimulate the study of this important subject.

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THE HOME OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS AND THEIR POLICY OF RACIAL FUSION.

By Dr. R. Shamasastry, B.A., Ph.D.

Fabulous as is the geographical account of the world given in Brāhmaṇic and Jaina literary works, it seems to contain some reliable facts, though too difficult to recognise at a mere glance. The hard and dry facts traditionally handed down from generation to generation seem to have received frequent poetical embellishments, so much so that a fairy land was substituted for real land. Round the real Jambudvīpa and its *lavaṇoda*, salt water, there arose in the imagination of poets six or more concentric lands surrounded by six or more imaginary oceans of various liquids. Regarding the situation and designation of these imaginary lands and oceans, both the Brāhmaṇic and the Jaina accounts are almost identical. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (II. 2) names them as follows :—

"The Jambu with an ocean of salt water, the Plakṣa with syrup, the Śālmala with wine, the Kuśa with clarified butter, the Krauñca with whey, the Śāka with milk, and the Puṣkara with sweet water."

The *Tatvārtha-rājavārtika* (II. 7) mentions some more, giving other names and changing the order also :—

"The Jambu with the ocean of salt water, the Dhātakīkhaṇḍa with black water, the Puṣkara with sweet water, the Vāruṇīvāra with liquor, the Kṣīravāra with milk, the Ghṛtavāra with clarified butter, the Ikṣuvāra with syrup, the Nandisvara with *Nandisvara* water, and the like."

Coming to the Bhāratavarṣa and its divisions, both the Brāhmaṇic and the Jaina accounts seem to be reliable. Both the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and the *Tatvārtha-rājavārtika* (II. 10) divide the Bhārata continent into: (1) Bhārata, (2) Haimavata, (3) Hari, (4) Videha, (5) Ramyaka, (6) Hairaṇyavata, and (7) Airāvata. The *Tatvārtha-rājavārtika* (II. 10, 1–9) defines them, giving their respective boundaries as follows :—

"The Bhārata land is so called on account of king Bharata who ruled over it for the first time, and is situated in the midst of the Himālayas (in the north) and the three oceans (in the east, south and west). The Haimavata land is not far from the Himālayas and

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is situated between the lower range of the Himalayas in the south and the higher range of the Himalayas in the north and between the eastern and western oceans."

Evidently Bharata-land is India proper from lat. 8° to 32° north, the Haimavata is a long strip of land comprising central part of China, Tibet, Turkistan and Asia Minor enclosed between the latitudes 32°-40° north. Then the *Vārtikas*, 9, 10, go on defining the Harivarṣa as follows :—

"The Harivarṣa is so called because of the white colour of the inhabitants resembling the colour of *hari*, a lion. It is situated between the Niṣadha land in the north and the higher range of the Himālayas in the south and in the midst of the oceans in the east and the west."

It needs no saying that it is a strip of land comprising the north of China, the lower portion of Russia, both Asiatic and European and of Europe adjacent to the Caspian, the Black and the Mediterranean seas and comprised within the north latitudes 40° and 43°.

"The Videha is so called because of the people making no attempt at getting rid of their body (birth) or at embellishing their body with religious rites for emancipation; and it is situated between the Niṣadha land in the south and the Blue (Nīlavat) Mountains in the north and between the eastern and western oceans. It is divided into four parts: the Eastern Videha, the Western Videha, the Uttara Kurus and Deva Kurus. Some say that the Eastern Videha is situated to the east of Meru (axis of the earth) the Western Videha to its west); and the northern and the southern parts (of the centre) of this land are called Uttara Kurus and Deva Kurus respectively. But this is wrong. The strip of land situated between the Nīla and the Niṣadha countries and between the Meru in the north and the sea in the south is the Eastern Videha; the Western Videha is situated to the west of Niṣadha, to the east of (another) Nīla, to the north of the sea and to the south of Meru. The Uttara Kuru is situated to the west of the Gandhamādana Mountain, to the east of the Malayavat, to the north of the Nīla, and to the south of Meru; and the Deva Kuru is situated in the midst of the Saumanasa Mountain in the north, the Vidyutprabha in the west, Niṣadha in the south and Meru in the north."

Evidently Videha comprising Niṣadha and the Kurus seems to be a name given to the strip of land running from the sea of Japan in

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the east as far as the Bay of Biscay in the west and across Roumania between latitudes 43°–46°; for Ramyaka Varṣa, the land comprising Roumania is the next division which is defined (II. 10, 14–15) as follows :—

"The Ramyaka is so called because of the charming scenery of the land and is situated between the Nīla mountain in the south and gold-yielding mountain or land (Hairaṇya) in the north and between the eastern and western oceans."

Clearly this is a strip of land running from the Pacific Ocean in the east, across north Roumania to the Bay of Biscay in the west, between latitude 46°–51°.

"The Hairaṇyavata land is so called because of its not being very far from the Hairaṇyavat or Rukmī Mountain and is situated in the midst of Rukmī in the south, Śikharī in the north, the eastern and western oceans."

"Airāvata is so called on account of a king of that name having once ruled over that country; and is situated in the midst of the Śikharī Mountain in the south and the three oceans, eastern, western and the northern."

Clearly Airāvata land is the Arctic Region and below that must necessarily be the Hairaṇyavata land.

It must be noted that Bhaṭṭākalaṅka, the celebrated Jaina poet and philosopher, who lived in the 8th century A.D. is the author of the *Rājavārtika*, a brief commentary in *sūtra* style on the *Tatvārthasūtra* of Umāsvāti. Coming from such a learned scholar, necessarily acquainted with such older works as the *Jambuprajñapti* and other treatises on the geography of the world then known, the *Vārtikas* cannot be regarded as poetic imaginations. I presume therefore that the Jambudvīpa with its seven divisions, the Bhārata, the Haimavata, Hari, Videha, Ramyaka, Hairaṇyavata, and Airāvata comprised the whole of the continent of Asia, of Europe and of the northern part of Africa. Of the seven parts, the last five parts comprise Russia, both Asiatic and European with its inhabitants of *hari* or white colour and devoted to *bhoga*, enjoyment with no idea of what is termed spiritual. These two features, physical and mental of the inhabitants, coupled with the clearly defined boundaries of these five climes leave no doubt that they are comprised within the area of latitude 40°–90° north and longitude 5 to 175 east. The author clearly states that each of the seven

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climes is bounded by oceans both in the east and the west and that the Bhārata Varṣa and the Airāvata Varṣa are bounded by oceans, the former in the south and the latter in the north, the other five climes being situated within these two climes. Apart from these decisive features there are also other physical characteristics of these climes mentioned in the commentary. They are rivers, lakes, and mountains. But their names are so sanskritised that it is hardly possible to identify them with the local names now current. There are also other incredible tales told of the northern people, not stranger perhaps than what an uneducated or half educated American now thinks of India and its people. Hence it does not seem proper to accuse the ancients of credulity, exaggeration and want of accuracy in their description of what they *traditionally*, but never with personal observation, learnt. It must, on the other hand, be admitted to their credit that notwithstanding the utter lack of facilities for communication with each other among the civilised peoples then flourishing, they kept intact in their memory the guiding features of the several countries then known to, or heard of by them. Also it cannot be denied that till the 15th century A.D. the only countries that were known to the educated and the commercial people were Asia, Europe and the north of Africa. It is also probable that a part of Central America was also known, for the Mexican civilization is stated to be an unmistakable copy of ancient Hindu civilization. Leaving this doubtful point apart, there is no reason to doubt that there was commercial communication between Asia and Europe coupled with the north of Africa. This is confirmed by the prevalence of commodities with their names and scientific ideas peculiar to India, in China in the east and Asia Minor and Europe in the west so far back as the pre-Christian epoch. It is believed by all that rice, sandal, peacock and spices among commodities and astronomical ideas pertaining to the *nakṣatra* system are peculiar to India and were made use of in all the countries mentioned above. Accordingly the only difference between the ancients and the moderns in the conception of the world is the absence of a detailed geographical treatise with maps of countries among the ancients. In other words, their conception was vague and misleading and ours exact and true to nature.

Regarding the mountains that are said to mark the boundaries of

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the seven climes, the *Tatvārthasūtra* together with its *Rājavārtika* (II. 11, 1–14) goes on to say as follows :—

"The mountains that stretch east and west dividing these lands are (1) the lesser Himālayas, (2) the greater Himālayas, (3) the Niṣadha, (4) the Nīla, (5) the Rukmī, and (6) the Śikharī. The first is so called because of its snow and divides the Bhārata and the Haimavata climes. The second is so called on account of its snow and divides the Haimavata and the Hari climes. The meaning of the name of the third is that gods sit upon it and it stands between the Hari and the Videha lands. The fourth is so called on account of blue colour (fancied or real), and marks the boundary between the Videha and the Ramyaka. Here there are many Jaina temples. The fifth bears that name owing to its gold and stands between the Ramyaka and the Hairaṇyavata. The last is so called on account of its many summits, and forms a bridge from the Hairaṇyavata to the Airāvata. On the summits of these six mountains there are six lakes named (1) Padma, (2) Mahāpadma, (3) Tigiñcha, (4) Kesarī, (5) Mahāpuṇḍarīka, (6) and Puṇḍarīka, respectively. The Ganges has its source in Padma and flowing through the eastern countries, falls into the eastern ocean. The Indus also has her source in the same lake and falls into the western ocean. Likewise the river named Rohitasya rises from the same lake and falls into the western ocean. The great river (Mahānadī) termed Rohit rises from the lake Mahāpadma and falls into the eastern ocean. Likewise the Harikānta rising from the lake, falls into the western ocean. The river called Harit rises from the lake Tigiñcha and falls into the eastern ocean. Similarly the Śītoda river, rising from the same lake, falls into the western ocean. The river Sīta rises from the lake Kesarī on the Nīla Mountain and falls into the eastern ocean. Likewise the river Narakānta rises from the same lake and flows into the western ocean. The river known as Nārī has her source in the lake called Mahāpuṇḍarīka on the top of the Rukmī Mountain and flows into the eastern ocean. Similarly the river Rūpyakūla rises from the same lake and falls into the western ocean. The river called Suvarṇakūla originates in Puṇḍarīka on the top of the mountain Śikharī and falls into the eastern ocean. Likewise the rivers Rakta and Raktoda arise from the same lake and fall into the ocean."

Thus the *Sūtras* and *Vārtika* name fifteen important rivers

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giving two rivers to each of the first six climes and three to the last *Varṣa*. Of these three, the first called Suvarṇakūla is said to fall into the eastern ocean while the ocean into which the other two flow is not named. Perhaps it must be that they flow into the Arctic Ocean. Anyhow it is certain that the authors of the *Tatvārtha* and the *Rājavārtika* appear to have heard of the combined continents of Europe and Asia and of their seven divisions east to west with principal mountains. To what extent in the description of these lands the authors are guilty of commission and omission, it is not easy to say. The statement that the inhabitants of the Harivarṣa and other countries north of it are white as compared with the black inhabitants of the Haimavata and other lower latitudes is what renders their geographical account credible.

In Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* the *Brāhmaṇs* or rather the *Dvijas* as a whole are said to have been identifiable by their white colour, as contrasted with the black colour of the *Śūdra* traders.[1] Thus colour as well as Aryan descent, as indicated by the philological affinity of the Sanskrit language to the other Indo-European languages, lead to the conclusion that once the Hindus were the inhabitants of the northern parts of Asia and Europe and migrated southward, some to India, some to Asia Minor, and others to the countries bounded by the Mediterranean Sea in the south. This migration explains the traditional account of the Russian continent both in Europe and Asia, as stated in the *Tāṭvārtha Sūtra*. Also the northern climes are called *Bhogabhūmi* or land of enjoyment and India *Karmabhūmi* or land of work and suffering, by the authors of *Tatvārtha* and *Rājavārtika*. This statement is in keeping with the natural tendency of people to represent their native land as a paradise on earth and their adopted home as a savage land worse than hell.

Coming to the people of the globe, the authors of the *Sūtra* and *Vārtika* (I. 36. 1–4) divide them into two races, the Aryans and Mlecchas. The *Āryas* again are subdivided into two minor divisions, the successful and the unsuccessful. The latter are subdivided into five classes, as people of sacred lands (*Kṣetrāryas*), (1) such as the people of Benares, the people of Kośala, etc., (2) nations, (*Jātyārya*) such as the Ikṣvākus, the Bhojas, etc., (3) professional class (*Karmārya*) such as swordsmen, barbers, ironsmiths, potters, gold-

[1] Patañjali—*Mahābhaṣya* II. II, 4. *Sūtra* "नञ्".

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smiths, teachers, washermen, traders of butter, rice, cloth, and precious stones and the like, and religious preachers, (4) men of good conduct (*Caritrārya*) and (5) men of true learning such as *Tīrthaṅkaras* and their true followers.

Those that are termed the successful are men of wonderful intellectual or physical capacity, experts in performing penances, men of wonderful superhuman power, and physicians of wonderful medical knowledge.

Likewise Mlecchas are divided into two classes, those that are the inhabitants of other lands and those that are the natives of what is called *Karmabhūmi*, or land of good and bad work. Among the former come those that have tails, those that are dumb, those that have horns, those that possess ears or faces of various forms and those that live in caves or on trees, living on fruits and herbs; while those that are called the Śakas, Yavanas, Śabaras, Pulindas and others form the latter class.

Coming to the question of colour, we find in works anterior to Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* in the 1st century B.C. decisive manifestations of pride based upon colour (*Varṇa*). It is probable that the four *Varṇas*, the Brāhmaṇ, the Kṣatriya, the Vaiśya and the Śūdra, were originally classes of people of four different tints. The Brāhmaṇs are said to have been white, the Kṣatriyas red, the Vaiśyas yellow, and the Śūdras black. The garments prescribed for their wearing are such as corresponded to the natural colour of their skin. It is more than likely that in the time of Patañjali there was no Brāhmaṇ having a black skin; for Patañjali makes white skin (*gaura*) a characteristic feature to identify a Brāhmaṇ. If the four *Varṇas* were, as we are told in the ancient *Smṛtis*, of four different tints, it would follow that the Brāhmaṇs like the modern white race formed a class devoted to intellectual and spiritual learning, the reds like the Russians and the Turks a warrior class, the yellow like the Chinese, a trading class and the blacks like those of India and Africa, a serving class, and that later on by migration and intermixture of races in lower latitudes or in equatorial regions there came people of mixed colour If. on the other hand, the physical colour of the four classes except that of Brāhmaṇs and the Śūdras were purely imaginary, it would follow that originally there were only two races, one white and the other black and that intermarriage between the white and the black produced various degrees of physical colour. It

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would also appear that on his migration into India the original white Brāhmaṇ had no caste in the beginning, and freely intermarrying with the black, elevated the latter to Brāhmaṇhood of black colour. If philology could be relied upon and if Patañjali's statement that *gaura* or white man might be taken for a Brāhmaṇ, could be trusted, the conclusion would be that the original Brāhmaṇ belonged to the same race from which the white man of Europe has descended and that unlike the present white man, he, in virtue of his adaptability to environments and for his own safety and survival in the struggle for existence, allied himself with the black socially, economically and politically, and not caring for his own degradation in colour and intellectual vigour and undue elevation of the black whom he must have despised, solved the racial problem for the good of humanity of his own time.

The one solution of the terrible racial and political conflict in the world lies in the adoption of the noble example set by the ancient Aryan. It is intermarriage among the black and white races and the division of people into classes according to their profession with no barrier to fusion of the people as a whole. It is not that there is no sexual connection now between the high and the low caste man and woman or between those of the white and the black races. But it is illegal and the offspring either becomes a bastard or follows the caste of the mother. Again if a child begotten by a man of high caste or white race is found qualified to play the part of its father, it is not allowed to exercise the privileges of the father's caste or race. Caste comes in the way in the former and colour in the other. What is it that induced or compelled the ancients to give up their pride of colour and their caste or isolation excluding connection with the black races (for caste is nothing but isolation due to sentimental pride of religion, custom, or colour) ? If that unreasonable sentiment is shaken off, there is no doubt that the world will be happier. The answer is simple : it is the idea of self-preservation and the noble selfish love of survival. The ancient white man like Akbar the Good, thought and thought well with reason that unless he socially allied himself with the black man he would not be allowed to live ; nor would he find himself happy and peaceful in the terrible struggle for existence with the black man. He thought that given the black man his reward for his labour with some qualified social privileges, he would be more serviceable to

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himself than otherwise. In those days neither gunpowder nor destructive weapons were known. Hence hand to hand fight or battle with horses or elephants or both was all that was resorted to. In such warfare it is the number of men that counted. Hence the ancient Aryan was wise enough to think that love was a better weapon to put down the huge black race than his own limited number of men with swords and horses. Caste he had not yet formed. Religion was in the making. His mind was bare of prejudice. So he succeeded in fusing the white with the black, and his nature-worship with the fetishism of the black man.

But the scene has now entirely changed. The casteman's mind is formed and so surcharged with ideas, sentiments, and rules and prejudices that there is no space left in it and that a little addition is likely to threaten the existence of the mind itself. Hence he would receive no free thought. He would not tolerate even the mention of no-caste or alliance with the low caste. It means thousands of things to him. Such alliance is nothing but the ruin not merely of himself, his god and his heaven, but also of the world itself. Before his innate ideas, those scientific or historical ideas are a myth to him.

Similarly a section of the present white race behaves like another caste of the day. Its colour, its inordinate desire to enjoy, its gunpowder and its scientific skill in manufacturing destructive weapons to make the black subservient to it are so many tangible and real ideas. It is so surcharged with them and so optimistic of its own future and of the future possibilities of its science that unless it preserves its white skin and its scientific secrets and political shibboleths of liberty and equality with white man's birth right to civilize the world of the black, the world would come to an end and the white race to ruin and extinction. Its first business is to clear the world of black man's supremacy and take the responsibility of ruling over it with its gun and bombshells. The black man must serve it, if he would like to live. The savage has no business to claim equality with the white. He is a nigger, his accursed black skin is loathing to see for the white lady. The exclusion of the black from Australia and the ill-treatment of black settlers in South Africa, New Zealand and other European colonies are sad examples of the hatred of colour.

In making marriage alliance with the aboriginal people of India,

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whoever they might be, the Aryan immigrants seem to have apprehended no loss of intellectual vigour which is a distinct characteristic of the Aryan race. In view of preserving their racial and hereditary intellectual vigour, they seem to have prevented the Aryan women from marrying the aboriginal men, while the Aryan men had no restriction to marry aboriginal women. It was the seed that was all important in their view, the *kṣetra* or the field being quite insignificant. It seems to have been believed that the offspring of a couple of two races inherits more of its begetter's qualities than of its mother. Accordingly there is a controversy between Cāṇakya and his nameless teacher as to whether the offspring belongs to the begetter or to the mother. Some are said to have opined that it belonged to the begetter while Cāṇakya's teacher held that it belonged to the mother. Cāṇakya's own view on this important question was that it belonged to both.[1] Apart from the religious and legal aspects of the question, it cannot be denied that it has some racial importance also. In its religious aspect it is necessary to know whether the child can properly perform the funerals of his begetter. In its legal aspect it is also necessary to know whether it can inherit the property of its begetter. Racially considered, the question is whether it can follow the profession of the begetter or of its mother or of her male relations. During the earliest period of the Aryans in India the opinion that the offspring inherits its begetter's characteristics seems to have been predominant. This is supported by the customary allowance given to the three classes of the Aryans to marry an aboriginal woman in addition to the wife taken from their own class. Only the woman of a higher class was not allowed to marry a man of a lower class. The offspring of the marriage of an Aryan with an aboriginal lower class woman was also allowed to follow the profession of its begetter or any other profession according to its capacity and liking. This view is supported by Lāṭyāyaṇa's statement in his *Śrauta Sūtra* that in the *Dasapeya* sacrifice the Brāhmaṇ priests have to omit to pronounce the name of their mother, if she happens to be a non-Brāhmaṇ woman and repeat only the names of Brāhmaṇ women.[2]

There is no doubt that this fusion of races by intermarriages and

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[1] *The Arthaśāstra*, III. 7.

[2] In connection with the *Dasapeya* Sacrifice, IX. 2, 5-6.

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allowance to practise any profession at option helped a good deal to mitigate, if not to put an end to, the consequences of racial animosity and communal hatred. Isolated castes and sects are of later growth in India. They seem to have come into existence in consequence of the abolition of intercaste marriages in the beginnings of the Christian era.[1]

There is historical evidence to believe that India during the Vedic and Buddhistic periods suffered more from religious differences than from racial, communal or sectarian differences. Then intermarriage irrespective of race and creed was a powerful remedy against racial and sectarian ill-will. Religious toleration was yet to come into being and there is evidence to say that religious toleration was an established fact in the Court of Śrīharṣa in 6th century A.D. Religious toleration means the division of society into a number of castes and sects, each having permission to follow its own faith and observe its own customs without interference and, what is yet regrettable, without *connubium* and *commensalis* which prevailed during the earlier period.

The introduction of *connubium* and *commensalis* together with religious toleration among the Hindus of all castes and creeds will therefore surely put an end to all social, religious and political splits in India as elsewhere.

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[1] *See Kalivarjya prakaraṇa* in *Smṛti Candrikā* Vol. I.

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THE ORIGIN AND FOLK-LORE OF MAṄGAL CAṆḌI.

By Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte, F.Z.S.

J. Bryant tells us (p. 7) "The Amonians call Ham, Amon, and having in process of time raised him to a divinity, they worshipped him as the sun." The reading of folk-lore stories is therefore a fascinating study. One has to divest them of fantastic allegory with which they have been obscured. He adds, "They have been veiled in allegory, and they are often renewed under a different system and arrangement. A great part of this ancient lore has been transmitted through poets, who have rendered it still more extravagant and strange."

Sir William Jones declares the subject to be "so obscure and so much clouded by the fictions of the priests that we can hope to obtain no system of Indian chronology to which no objection can be made." "We find the whole like the grotesque picture blazoned high and glaring with colours, and fitted with groups of fantastic imagery. But in the allegorical representations of facts, there was always a *covert* meaning, though it may have escaped the discernment of subsequent writers." The intelligent and well-informed delegates of the Oriental Conference will, it is hoped, find out the 'covert meaning' Sir William thus refers to.

Brennand, in his *Hindu Astronomy*, says, "The early religion, indeed, of the Hindus, like other religions, had, as we know, a close intimacy with time and seasons".[1] Some of the popular and general Hindu holidays seem to have been based on changes of the season, and others on natural phenomena. Gaṇeśa and Gaurī, for instance, represent the death and resurrection of the season —so do *Vatasāvitri*, *Divāli* and *Holi*. *Vasanta Pañcamī* marks the near approach of the summer. *Campā-Ṣaṣṭhī* marks the phenomenon of the rising sun driving or dispersing a fog; *Mahā Śivarātra* marks the night on which the *Mṛga* constellation or Orion is seen in its best aspect. *Somavatī* represents the absence of *Soma* (the moon) on a Monday, like 'Hamlet without Hamlet.' *Navānnapūrṇimā* implies as its name shows, the day on which the first meal

[1] Brennand, *Hindu Astronomy*, p. 25.

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of the new corn is to be tasted. These are possibly the most ancient ceremonials, and signify the reverence felt at the change of the seasons by primitive people.

"The knowledge acquired by the Hindu astronomers was guarded with the greatest care as sacred, and was supposed to be so secret that it was not *known even to the gods.* It was not to be communicated to the common people, and being regarded as a revelation to inspired saints, was only to be divulged to disciples similarly inspired.[1] They were to be communicated only as myths and allegories with hidden meanings."

"The astronomical mythology of the Hindus, grotesque and barbarous as some of their stories may appear, had within it much that was *valuable in point of instruction.*[2] (The italics are mine).

Some of these folk-lore stories will show that they are intended for recording discoveries in astronomical phenomena. When writing was not known, or when it was not communicated to the masses, stories were used instead. The folk-lore of *Kokilāvrata, Kapilā Ṣaṣṭhī* and of the tortoise incarnation are examples. The shapes given to the constellations served as hieroglyphics to fix them in memory. The *Divāli* and *Vatasāvitri* drawings also served as hieroglyphics. They have served to transmit from generation to generation the folk-lore of 'the death and resurrection of the seasons.' In this connection Lord Arundell of Wardour records in his book called '*Tradition principally with reference to the Mythology and the Law of Nations*' (p. 122),—"What strikes one most forcibly in contemplating these ages, is the contrast between their intellectual knowledge and their mechanical and material contrivances for its application, when paper, parchment or even the smoothed hides, as adapted for the purposes of writing, were unknown." "This establishes the retentive strength of their memory, and their intellectual familiarity with great truths." According to the Chinese accounts, the works of Confucius were proscribed after his death, by the Emperor Chi-Hoangti, and all the copies were recovered from the dictation of an old man who had retained them in memory (like the *Vedas*). In the article in the '*Cornhill Magazine,*' November 1871, containing a valuable collection of South Indian folk songs, it is said, at page 577, "They are handed down from generation to generation entirely *viva voce*,

[1] *Ibid*, p. 27. [2] *Ibid*, p. 323.

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and from the minstrels have passed into public use." So are these folk-lore stories and songs about Hindu holidays and ceremonials. In many instances they possibly record in addition to natural phenomena, a few historical facts intermixed with supernatural fiction. They, moreover, record the manners, customs, and beliefs of the time. Compared with similar stories of the different provinces, they yield interesting material for the comparison of manners and customs of different societies at different stages of their existence. Brennand again adds—

"With the Hindus this study became a duty in as much as the celestial bodies were viewed as *Gods*, and the worship of them was enjoined by the *Vedas*."[1]

The originators knew the causes of many of the phenomena, as Brennand has recorded—"There is no doubt that the cause of the eclipses, notwithstanding the superstition of the people generally, was well understood by the Hindu astronomers, and that even in the paganism and mythology of the Hindus, there is substratum of worth so far as they are connected with their system of astronomy,"[2] But, he says, "To extend further investigation on the subject, many Hindu writings and symbols exist which, if translated or interpreted, would throw greater light upon the evolution of myths. It was the diligent use which the Hindu astronomers made of astronomy that *gave them their superiority over all other nations*." (The italics are mine).

There is every likelihood of many of these mouth to mouth stories and *zenana* ceremonials disappearing in the near future, as I have myself noted great changes during the last forty or fifty years. The zeal, the enthusiasm, the solemnity, and even the fear of displeasure of the demi-gods at the slightest mistake in the ceremonials, have undergone great modifications. Many of the *vratas* have become obsolete and most of them are more tolerated than appreciated. The advance of civilization under the British rule has arrested the growth of superstitious observances, and no new stories are being added. Of the old ceremonials, those that are voluntary, are scarcely observed and those that are compulsory are delegated to the care of priests with a few additional coins as hush money! '*Purohita dvāra*,' viz. 'through the priest, I do perform this *pūjā*,'

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 26. [2] *Ibid*, p. 320.

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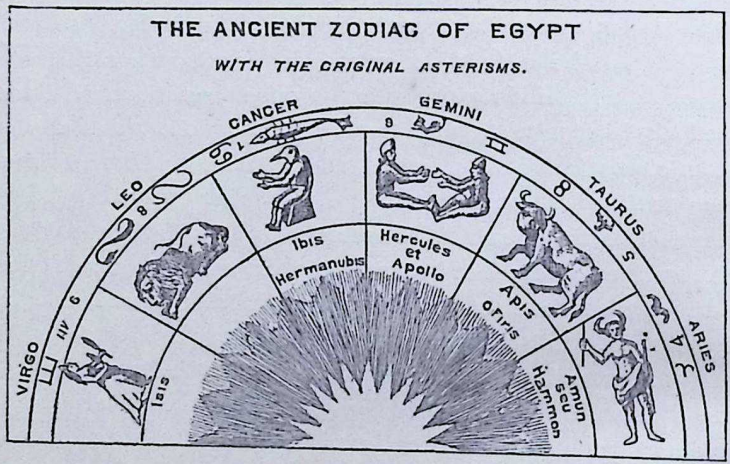
has become a very common formula. Before, therefore, they disappear altogether, it is important ethnographically that they should be carefully recorded.

The *story* of *Maṅgal Caṇḍī* has got itself mixed up with local folk-lore, but a careful shifting shows that:—

"There was a merchant. He went out and he lost his way. His son went the same way in search of his father after fourteen years' absence. The route was marked by the appearance of a goddess who seemed to swallow an elephant and then vomit it out This peculiar aspect is the key which leads me to believe that *Virgo* the sixth sign of the zodiac was the goddess, and *Cancer* or crab subsequently named Gaṇeśa was at this stage taken to represent an elephant. *Virgo, Leo,* and *Cancer* are the signs which play an important part in the investigation. They are of course not in the same plane and from different angles of view show overlappings, which were interpreted into swallowings and vomittings."



The points which invite careful attention in comparison with the names of places and planets which occur in this folk-lore are:—

Ujjain.—It is the most ancient seat of astronomical study in India and is known as the landmark of an observatory.

Maṅgal Caṇḍī.—*Maṅgal* means auspicious, and any ceremony is *maṅgal* which brings good luck. In Eastern India, *Caṇḍī* is a favourite name for a goddess.

Śaṅkhapati.—It means the ocean. Here, it indicates blue sky in

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a poetical sense. *Siṃhastha, Siṃha* is the *Leo* and *stha* means a resident and marks the place. It will thus be seen that *Maṅgal Caṇḍī* is originally the day now known as *Siṃhastha.* But we have yet to explain why Budha the son took fourteen years to find that out. Let us calculate. According to ancient calendars a year was supposed to contain only 10 months. 14 by 10 is equal to 140. Divide these 140 months by 12 the present accepted divisions of a year. It come to 11 years and 8 months; to this add the fraction of time which gives us an *adhikmās* every fourth year. $11\frac{8}{12}$ divided by 4 yields 2 months and 11 days. Add these to the 11 years and 8 months and we get 11–10–11 days. This is why 14 years means about 12 years, according to the present way of calculating time.

Guru or Jupiter, the father (it is said), left Ujjain and went eastwards. He lost his way. Fourteen years after that his son *Budha* (Mercury) went in the same direction, saw a goddess (Virgo—*Kanyā* swallowing an elephant—overlapping the constellation of *Karka* (crab, elephant, Gaṇeś)—and throwing it out. He went to the south and came back with his father (*Guru*, Jupiter, Bṛhaspati) *through* that passage. While on his way back he passed between the *Karka* (elephant) and the goddess (Virgo), just above Leo the fifth sign of the Zodiac. That took place at a *maṅgal* auspicious moment and enabled astrologers to mark definitely the period of the completion of one revolution of Jupiter round the sun. It took nearly twelve years by rough calculation. This result coincides with the time of the sidereal period of the planet, starting from Leo and returning to the same spot. Five such periods make up his cycle, and is marked by another *Vrata* known as *Kapilā-ṣaṣṭhī.*

The *Maṅgal Caṇḍī* is therefore the astronomical landmark or spot at which Jupiter completes its sidereal period.

It is for expert astronomers to see if *Maṅgal* or Mars was at the sign Virgo when this discovery was first made. It is also for experts to ascertain the relative position of *Budha* or Mercury at the time of the discovery of the first *Siṃhastha.* I leave these interesting points for the consideration of learned orientalists and add that they will find many interesting astronomical discoveries recorded by our ancestors in the shape of folk-lore stories. A scientific study of this aspect of the Hindu ceremonials is therefore solicited.

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My friends and admirers claim that I am the first to discover this very interesting feature of the scientific origin of some of the Hindu holidays and ceremonials. But I am neither a discoverer nor an inventor. I do not claim that honour. I merely work like a churning rod in a pot of curd and see if we can get any butter out of it. I wish you to try the same with your better education and better health. My health does not now permit of hard work, I shall be grateful if any younger scholar takes up the clue, and works up the wonderful history of man from his holidays and ceremonials mystified by priests and are therefore being lost to this world.

Moral.

The discovery we have made is the fact that *Maṅgalcaṇḍī* or *Kamale Kāminī marks* the discovery of the twelve-year sidereal period of Jupiter, known as *Siṃhastha.*

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THE AUTONOMY AND EXPANSION OF THE VILLAGE PAÑCAYET.

By Dr. Radhakamal Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D.

It is in South India that the rural administration has preserved in tact the most complete picture of an autonomous and self-managed community recorded in annals and epigraphs in spite of dynastic fights and political revolutions in the fertile agricultural districts. Here the village communities still possess in themselves all the elements that go to form a strong corporate spirit: a common temple and a feeding house, in which the villagers collect and gossip, a village police and a complement of artisans and other functionaries, to whose support every one makes a ratable contribution, pasture-grounds, cattle-yards and threshing floors, common to all, often tanks and irrigation channels in the repair and maintenance of which almost all alike have an interest. All villages have their common funds, often called *padupanam*.

The sources of village taxation which I have found in one district after another in the Madras Presidency are :—

(1) Marriage and burial fees.

(2) *Mahimai*, taxes on carts which carry away grain from the village.

(3) Tax on artisans, on oil-mills and on looms. The most significant instance of a tax on looms is to be seen in Mannargudi in Tanjore (Inscriptions No. 261 of 1909, No. 567 Cuddapali District, and No. 15 of the Nasik series refer to taxes on oil-mills and looms). In Tinnevelly Kaikkilaiyans as well as Mahomedan weavers pay a fixed sum on every loom to a common purse.

(4) Market fees, for instance, one anna for cart, three pies for a bag, three pies for goat, which go to the temple: with this compare Inscription No. 242 of 1892, which refers to the *mulavisas* where tolls were paid, viz. at Vasaula garuvas, watersheds, salt-beds, market towns, roads to towns of pilgrimage, at the rate of half padikamu on every bag of certain articles, one padikamu on every bag of certain other articles, one damma on every bag of some goods, two dammas three, four, six, etc., on still others. A double bullock load of women's garments had to pay a chavela. The inscription is dated 1520 A.D

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(5) During the harvest season, temporary stalls are erected near the threshing field for the sale of betel leaves, arecanuts, sugar cane and confectionery, and the lease money goes to the common funds. With this compare Inscription No. 321 of 1910, which records that the assembly of Nalur sold the right of collecting the tax called *angadi-kkuli* from stalls opened in the bazar to a temple. The fees are specified to be one *nali* in kind in each measurable article of paddy, rice, etc., brought for sale from towns outside Nalur; one *palam* of articles sold by weight; one *parru* on each basket of betel leaves; and two nuts on each basketful of arecanuts.

(6) The communal holding of village lands was the rule in the past and even to-day we find in many villages an important income of the village accruing from the communal land or from the annual sale in auction of the right to the fishery of the tank and from trees which are generally owned by the whole village. Caste obligations as well as shares of each harvest to be paid by householders to the village artisans, menials and watch and ward are imperative now as in the past (Inscription No. 324 of 1911).

Other present sources of village funds are lease money for the grazing of ducks on wet lands, for the manufacture of salt-petre on the village house-site, for the privilege of monopolising sale in certain commodities, etc. In Inscription No. 353 of 1904, we find that the people of a village made a similar agreement with two persons who in return for the privilege of levying brokerage on all the betel-leaf imported into the district would supply 30,000 arecanuts and 750 betel-bundles every year. The people of the district and "the Five-hundred constituting the *padai* (army) of the district" were to supervise.

The extent of the communal income of the village amounts from Rs. 200 to Rs. 50,000. In South Indian villages the income is generally a thousand or a couple of thousands. Some of the *Karayogams* in the south-west coast have amassed large sums for communal purposes in different ways. Thus among the Izhavas at Cerai in Cochin the *Karayogam* has collected a sum of Rs. 60,000; and at Vycome and Muthakuna in Travancore the village assembly has got a sum of more than Rs. 100,000.

The sources of village taxation that still survive are indeed multifarious: they vary from district to district and from village to village and it would have been an interesting task to compare and

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contrast in detail the present items of village revenue with those we meet with in the inscriptions and also to indicate their adaptation to the special social and economic conditions of each region. Space does not permit a more detailed treatment: suffice it is to observe that the scheme of taxation still exhibits an unusual business capacity of the village assemblies of to-day. In fact the scheme of *padu-panam* and *mahimai* of the districts of the Madras Presidency continues the traditions of the autonomous local bodies and village assemblies of the past whose sources of income were exclusively derived from the village, such as *padaippanam, idankai, valankai-panam, pracandakanikkai* (40 A–B, Travancore State), *perakada-mai* (on individuals), *tarikkadamai* (on looms), *attaikkanikkai, nattuviniyogam, pattirai, padavari, almanji, arisikanam, konigai, viri muttu, vanniyavari* (30 of 1913, Trichinopoly District), *antaraya, vetti,* and other taxes like those on documents, *Ajivakas*, cloths, oil-mills, washermen (74 and 75 of 1887, Arcot North District, which is of value in enumerating all items of village revenue).

In many of the South Indian villages the costs of repair and improvement of minor irrigation channels are still met out of contributions levied according to the number of *karis* under irrigation; the custom of *kudi-maramat*, still vital and effective, represents the joint responsibility of the villagers to repair and maintain irrigation under the supervision of the village assembly by cesses or by compulsory labour levied according to the areas under irrigation owned by the households.

The village assemblies utilise their common funds for the maintenance of the tanks and irrigation channels, the expenditure on the daily rituals and periodical festivals of the village temples, the maintenance of the guest-house for strangers, the payment of wages to the village accountant and treasurers and to the petty village menials or temple functionaries, charity to the poor, gifts to learned *Śāstrīs*, communal recreations, such as village plays and wrestling or acrobatic feats. Agricultural loans are sometimes advanced from the *Padupanam, nidhis* or agricultural banks are not extinct, and in Coorg temple-bulls are lent for agricultural purposes. In these the village elders are following the traditions of the past, while the artisan castes still gladly accept their joint responsibility and the burden of expenditure for conducting a few days' festival even as the twelve families of fishermen dedicated them-

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selves for conducting a seven-day-festival by paying a tax of ¾ *kalanju* per head earned by them "either by weaving or by venturing on the sea." Gifts of land for maintenance of a village tank, a guest-house, a flower-garden or a watershed, of money for offerings, lamp, oil, ghee, betel-leaves and arecanuts, red and blue lotuses for village temples are still made; schools and *sattrams* are endowed; merchants set apart on marriage occasions a certain amount of money to be spent for repairs of important temples or collect a *mahimai* for building new ones; even dancing-girls of village temples bequeath at their death large sums for digging a big tank or for building a *choultry*.

The village *pañcayet* is composed of different caste-people, Brahmins and Sudras, representatives of all the communities, except the "untouchables"; there are, again, sectional *pañcayets* which deal with disputes of particular castes, while all things that pertain to the whole village are decided by the village elders. We do not usually meet with the different village committees for the management of the different spheres of rural economy. But there are usually to be found the important village officers, headman, the accountant and the treasurer; there are the village scavengers and the village watch and ward, and the full staff of artisans, carpenter, blacksmith, potter, etc., often still enjoying *manyam* lands; there is also the irrigation man who is in charge of the distribution of water in the village, and is to be found in those provinces which normally depend upon irrigation water for agriculture.

There is the water-carrier in the dry regions of the Punjab. There are bards, ministrels, priests, astrologers and playrights in almost all tracts. The erotic accompaniments of the ethnic religions which have universally created bands of female religious ministrants and attendants, virgins, *Devadāsis* and *Basvis*, grouped round temples and shrines have assumed a peculiar form in the South. The exorcist and the sacrificial priest are representatives of the forces of magic and shamanism. In fact the organisation of village services and their relative gradation and status have varied from province to province and even from district to district due to economic needs and wants, whether physiographical and social and the force of traditional and customary social values. In the Christian villages, in addition to the necessary village artisans and menials, there is to be found a hierarchy of church functionaries whose status

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is the result of the social values of the Christian scheme of life. The village assembly as a whole generally looks after the affairs of rural economy, the management of the school, the organization of temple labour, sanitation and police, but it sometimes resolves into smaller bodies for the decision of disputes, the management of the common lands, or of temple funds, the arrangements for a new gift or transfer, etc.

In the south, one may come across a tank-committee in the *Sethis* of Ramnad and Tinnevelly Districts. All cultivators whose lands are irrigated by a particular tank are members of the particular *Sethi*. The headman is called *Karaiswan* and he looks after the maintenance of the tank, levying contributions from the people under his *ayacut* or borrowing from other *sethis*. The Temple Committee is oftener met with in different parts of India.

In Bombay the organization of village communities has still preserved the same type with regional variations. At the head of the village is the *paṭel* or hereditary headman. In many villages two or more families either each provide an official or serve in rotation, but in most villages the headman is always taken from the same family. There is also the *kulkarni* or village accountant. The duties and position of the *deshmukh* or district-head, and the *deshpande* or district clerk formerly corresponded for a group of villages to the duties of the *paṭel* or village head and the *kulkarni* or village clerk in one village. Under the British system of land management no duties attach to the offices of *deshmukh* and *deshpande*. The British system of management and collection superseded the Peshwa's district system, but the village system had to be retained. Ordinary villages have a varying number of menials and every village has at least the *paṭel*, *kulkarni*, *mang* and *mhar*. The village artisans and menials are still paid either by grants of rent-free government land and partly by a fixed proportion from each harvest. In some districts contributions for repairing temples, *gaṅgā-yātrās* and other works of religion and charity, for digging tanks, filling up roads, etc., are still levied on holdings and ploughs; fuel is gathered from common lands about the village and *busti* lands near the hills; and for two generations after they arrive a family of newcomers do not get the full rights of villagers. Religious and caste disputes and disputes regarding the sharing of ancestral property when the amount is not large are still referred to village councils. Besides

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the *paṭel* and the *kulkarni* there are five *pañcayets* in the village council, which include representatives of the Brāhmans, the Mahrattas and other castes. The *paṭel* and the *kulkarni* would draw up the *patti* or subscription list for common purposes. There are separate caste *pancayets* for separate castes, while there is also the *Bara-pañcayet* when an affair concerns several villages.

The Borsad tāluka of Kaira, for instance, presents the most complete system of village *pañcayets* represented by a central committe of fifty-three members which in turn has a *sarpañc* of eleven. There are also village funds put out at interest. In Kapadvanj and Broach there are relics of an older feudal system with presiding *Thakor* who summons all meetings and is a final court of appeal. Usually where the caste *pañcayet* is a living force there are village *pañcayets* to decide smaller questions, and a central court of appeal to deal with more important matters and revise, if necessary, the decisions of the lower court. The big trade guilds of Gujrat are best illustrations of mixed local bodies. The artisans and traders of Kathiwar, Cutch and Baroda have central *pañcayets* at important trade centres as well as permanent village *pañcayets*. Sometimes the fines imposed by the village *pañc* are credited to the village *pañc* accounts and those imposed by the central *pañcayets* are equally divided among the villages under their jurisdiction. These funds are administered by the *Shetias* and spent on repairs to communal rest-houses, religious charities, help to the poor, etc. The *Nyat Pañcayet* or caste committee takes cognizance of all matters whether social or professional which concern the caste, e.g. fixing rate of wages, hours of labour, holidays, breaking caste rules, giving permission to marry a child outside the limits of the area fixed for contracting marriages, granting divorces, etc.

The prevalent form in Madras and Bombay is the *ryotwari* village. This is probably of the most ancient type and this owes its original existence to settlement by some tribe or clan which already possessed a leader. The headman who is such a leader has been recognised by the British Government and taken into its service as an intermediary not necessary but adventitious between itself and the villagers and made hereditary. Individual assessment, however, has divested him of the great influence he formerly wielded as the representative of the village in all its dealings with governments of the past. The corporate life of the community is, however, com-

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paratively less disturbed here. In the case of the British *zamindari* or landlord system of Bengal and Bihar on the other hand, the chief men of the village will necessarily be the landlords (or their clerks and subordinates) with whom the settlement is made and who are responsible to government for the payment of land revenue. In the *zamindari* system the system of co-operative village administration, therefore, languishes, and village councils degenerate. There is again a third type of village, viz. the joint village where there is no longer a body of cultivators each of whom has his own independent rights as in the *ryotwari* system. Some of the villagers claim the ownership not merely of the fields they cultivate but of the whole of village lands. The management of the affairs of the joint body is properly by a committee of heads of houses. The joint village does not possess a recognised headman. Latterly, the government has found it necessary to institute a species of headman for these villages also, but such men are merely representatives of the joint proprietors in their dealings with the government. He is called *lambardar* (holder of a number) and his office is allowed to be in some degree elective. The joint village is the prevalent form in the United Provinces, the Punjab, and the frontier province. Remembering the three distinct types of villages we can at once indicate the relative importance of the functions of the headman and the strength of the village co-operative organization in different parts of India:

I. The village under the permanent settlement in Bengal and in parts of Behar and Orissa; in Oudh, the United and the Central Provinces.	The village headman, *mukhya*, *maṇḍal*, or *pradhān* is often a mere creature of the *zamindar*. The communal village system cannot prosper in the presence in the locality of the strong landlord and his minions.
II. The *ryotwari* village in Madras and Bombay.	The great change in the revenue management under which the amount of each cultivator's payment was fixed by government officers and not left to be adjusted by the community lowered the position and authority of the headman. He has now become a servant of the state and is now paid for his services in cash and land.

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In Madras the village headman, *munsif* or *manigar* and the village accountant, *karnam* or *kanakapillai* still retain their hereditary dignity and rights, and often their rent-free plots of land (*maniyam*) or are paid a fixed salary by government. He still holds a high position in the village and as the social head he leads all social and religious festivals, and gets precedence in all domestic ceremonies of the villagers.

The hereditary *paṭel* is found in all the different divisions of the Bombay Presidency, but the *kulkarni* or *talati* for historical reasons only in the Deccan and Southern Maratha country and not in Gujrat or the Konkan. The sources of income were (1) land, for the most part exempt from rent, (2) direct levies in cash and kind from the *ryots* or compensation in lieu thereof, (3) cash payments from the government treasury.

Their salary is fixed by a scale with reference to the gross revenue of the village.

The corporate life of the village community is seen in its strength and vigour so far as possible under *Pax Britannica*.

III The joint village,—the Punjab and the United Provinces.

The *lambardar* (headman) and the *paṭwari* (accountant) are not so strong in position and sometimes have too little influence. There are sometimes too many *lambardars* one for each section; the *paṭwari* is usually appointed not to a single village but to a circle of villages.

In the Punjab the groups of hamlets are often held together by strong ties. The rights of cutting wood and grass in the waste are sometimes held jointly by the *ghori* and fines imposed on the *tahsil* are levied by realising a fixed sum from each *ghori*. There is a still larger unit called the *parganna*. This comprises a group of *ghoris*

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usually three in number, and is administered by a *dashaungi*. The *ghori* again is under a *car*, and the hamlet under a headman who bears the modern title of *lambardar*. In some *tahsils* the large *parganas* are each under a *palasara*. The *parganna* appears to be a well-defined and very ancient unit. It was often administered in former times by a *kardar*. The *kardar* or appraiser of land revenue is the worst enemy of the village community, and the Muhammedan or Sikh *Mahtas* are now followed in their wake by British revenue-middlemen. On the densely populated banks of the rivers the villages are still compact communities and even to-day we find new village communities with their whole staff of artisans, menials and functionaries developing in the canal colonies of the Punjab.

In the villages of the north we frequently come across the common village funds called the *malba*. The sources of village revenue are as multifarious as in the Madras Presidency and include not only the sale or lease of common lands, the lease of pasture, the sale of *rehi*, the manufacture of saltpetre, but also the hearth-tax (*kurhi kamini*) paid by artisans and shopkeepers, non-cultivators, and a portion of the village grain-measurer's realisations.

The *Shamilat* is very often thus a source of definite income by the sale of the right to extract saltpetre or other natural products and in many villages the non-owners are still charged grazing-fees *bhunga*. In a large number of villages *dharat* or a cess on all grain bought and sold in the village is still levied, but, with the spread of market facilities, this is a declining source of income; the right to collect the *dharat* is generally contracted out to the village *Dharwai* or grain-measurer, who, as a rule, also keeps the account of village *malba*. Another cess is that levied on village menials and traders on the occasion of marriage in a family. This is usually known as *ahtrafi*, or occasionally as *kamiana*. In the United Provinces, Behar and Bengal also there are met with striking instances of a vigorous village co-operative organisation under a headman, whose office is either hereditary or elective for life and whose names are many, varying with locality. *Chaudhuri* is the most common title, others are *padhan*, *mahto*, *jamādār*, *takht* (throne), *muqquaddam*, *badshah*, *mahati*, etc. Their generic term is *Sirpanc*. Besides the headman there are occasionally one or more functionaries whose duty is usually that of vice-president or else summoner of the court. Their names also vary—*munsif*, *da-*

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rogha, sipahi naib-sirpunch, chobdar, chari-dar, diwan, dhari, mukhtar, piada, are some of them. The *pañcayets* deal not only with social matters but matters, which would normally come before a law-court whether civil or criminal, are usually discussed in a *pañcayet* before the courts are moved and finally decided these. For graver offences the *pañcayet* of several villages meet under a *sarpañc*. In Bulandshahr every 100 villages or so has a hereditary *chaudhuri* with two *diwans*, whilst each village has a *muqaddam* which decides minor cases. In Almora the *pañcayet* is described as a primitive court of justice: the accused, if found guilty, has to sign a *kailnama* or admission of guilt which is countersigned by all members of the *pañcayet* and handed to the complainant. There is also a regular *Dharmādhikārī*, who is a Tewari Brahman, who fixes the punishment in such cases. elsewhere any *Dharmaśāstra Brāhman* (i.e., one learned in the law) may be called in. The *jeth-raiyat* or village headman in the Behar villages and the village *mukhy, maṇḍal* or *pradhān* in Bengal though their powers are circumscribed by the *Zamindar* and by his agents are still the representatives of the villagers in matters of general or individual interest, and protect them from the landlord's oppression. In Behar, the *pañcayet* is a permanent institution consisting of all the village elders, for the time being of one or more villages of a local area who meet under the presidentship of a *maṇḍal*, when occasion requires. A number of *maṇḍals* are headed by a *sardār*, who exercises jurisdiction over several *pañcayet* units. Again several *sardārs*, sometimes as many as 14 to 22 *sardārs*, are headed by a *Baisi Sardār*. The jurisdiction of a *sardār* extends over 8 to 10 units, and the jurisdiction of a *Baisi Sardar* extends over 14 to 22 units and may consist of a whole *parganā* or a couple of *parganās*. In Orissa, there is also an organised system of self-government for each caste. The headmen are called variously *behara, padhan, thanapali*, who exercise authority over single village or groups of 2 to 6 villages. Over them, again, are superior officials called *mahantas, sardar beharas*, etc., with jurisdiction over large areas, e.g., 50 to 60 villages. In Bengal the unit of caste government is the *samāj* or association, which has in this connection a restricted special sense. It is in fact the administrative unit, and there may be one or more in a village or, usually, one *samāj* may comprise a group of villages. The decisions of this corporate body are strictly followed in all matters,

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and its seat is either the *Caṇḍī-maṇḍap* of an influential leader or the *Hari-sabhā*, the village hall for worship and song. The influential men of all castes may attend, while the lower castes have their own council, with their extending circles of jurisdiction. The *caṇḍī-maṇḍaps*, *ṭhākurbāris*, *mahant's muthas* or *gossain's sattras* are the social centres from which still radiate the decisions of the community in case of petty disputes or the impulse which establishes schools and temples and organises village plays, religious recitations, songs and processions as well as periodical worship and popular entertainments by the levy of subscriptions or marriage fees or contributions of a certain percentage of trade profits (*vṛtti*) or even the construction and repair of little distributing channels by communal labour as in the hill districts of Assam. Similarly the Uriyā *gaontia* village headman and his council set in the *bhagavatgadi* deal with social matters and village disputes, arrange for the recitals of the *Bhāgavata* and attend to the details of economic management of the village including the distribution of water among tanks.

In the more densely populated tracts of Berar, each village has its *pañcayet*, but elsewhere and specially in the Nerbudda Valley Districts and the Chatisgarh Division the jurisdiction of a *pañcayet* is much wider and may even overstep the limits of a district. There is in fact no word in the vocabulary of politics more universal in its use in India than the *pañcayet*, nothing which symbolises more the majesty and justice of authority, so the people often say that God lives in the *pañcayet* and the confessing offender addresses the five as *Pañcayet Gaṅga*, "forgive my faults and purify me." There is implicit faith in the justice of the *pañcayet* and implicit obedience to its decrees. The *pañcayet* also hear every side of a case, have often men to advocate each side and do not give their judgment until they are unanimous. There would sometimes be several sittings for them to arrive at an unanimous decision in a complex and difficult case. The democratic procedure of these bodies is obvious. In many *pañcayets*, the headman is elected, and is dismissed if he is found wanting. Partiality will be a sufficient ground for dismissal after one sitting, otherwise his conduct is closely watched for two or more successive meetings before his position is ratified. In the Telugu districts in the South the *Kula-pañcayetdars* are usually three to five. There are the headmen, one or three *ejamans*, who are assisted by two clerks, *gumasthas*. The plaintiff,

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bādī, and the accused, *pratibādī*,, are each represented by the clerks, who are nominated in the meeting. Among the untouchables each party is asked to sign a paper or to take an oath before the temple with a betel leaf, lime or salt in hand that the truth and nothing but the truth will be told. A "court-fee" of 8 as. to Rs. 10 is at the same time paid; this goes to the temple or communal funds. Any caste-people can attend the meeting. Each party has his advocate or *gumastha* who represents to the headman the particular side of the issue he has taken up. The enquiry proceeds. Witnesses are brought in. The judges consult one another, and, if they cannot immediately decide, quietly adjourn and hold meetings *in camera*, hearing carefully the two *gumasthas* and sifting the truth till there is no division of opinion. The decision is always by unanimity and not by vote of the majority. When an unanimous decision is arrived at, the date and place of the delivery of judgment are announced by beat of drum. The whole assembly then meets to hear and ratify the judgment. The use of such names as the *vādī*, *pratibādī*, *ejaman*,, and *gumastha* among Telugu, Bengali, Hindusthani or Gujrati-speaking peoples is very characteristic, and shows not merely the universality of the *pañcayet*,, but also the similarity of procedure. The word *kula* for the caste-assembly is itself a repetition of the traditional term in our legal literature. Excommunication follows the refusal to obey the *pañcayet's* decree. To carry this into effect, the caste *pañcayets* must have to refer to the village assembly which alone has control over the village well, and the barber and the washerman. Thus the strength and efficiency of caste-government depend upon the active co-operation of each caste with the village government as a whole. Village autonomy and caste autonomy, indeed, mutually support each other.

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THE ASTRONOMY OF THE MUṆḌĀS AND THEIR ASSOCIATED STAR MYTHS. (*Summary*).

By MANINDRA BHUSAN BHADURI, B.L.

An exact knowledge of the stars has always been useful, if not essential, to savages. The first moment in astronomical science arrives when the child mind of savage man looks at the stars with wondering curiosity. He next makes his first rough practical observations of the movements of the prominent heavenly bodies and formulates explanations for himself. So, when in a remote antiquity the Muṇḍās first took to agriculture and ploughing, they looked for its counterparts in the heavens.

The sword and belt of the Orion, they imagined, from their appropriate likeness, to the plough and ploughshare (*Har Juait*), which their Sing Bongā (god) first shaped in the heavens and taught people on earth, the uses of it. They say that the Sing Bongā was making the plough and ploughshare with a chisel and hammer, and when he had just finished it, he observed a *panrki* (dove) hatching on its eggs at a little distance ; and desiring to bag the game, threw the hammer at it ; but he missed his mark and the hammer went over the *panrki's* head and hung on a tree, where it is seen to this day. The hammer of the Sing Bongā is their *moogaru-ipil* (lit. hammer-star) which corresponds to the Pleiades which resembles somewhat a cudgel or hammer (*moogaru*). The Aldebaran is their *panrki* and the other stars of the Hyades are the eggs of the *panrki*. It is curious to note that even a Muṇḍā boy will unmistakably point out these star-groups.

Among the Muṇḍās, the *Panrki ipil* is associated with the approach of the wet season. Being close observers of nature by necessity, they also ascertain the advent of the months and seasons by observations of other natural phenomena. So when *Eotrong* (Hind. *Kari*) ripens, it is *Jete-candu* (lit. hottest month) and the wet season is near at hand. The end of *Jete-candu* is signified by the blossoming of the *Jilhur* tree and the frequency of dust storms and the smoky appearance of the atmosphere, when they say that *Rohin* (meaning Aldebaran) has come and all early sowing of paddy

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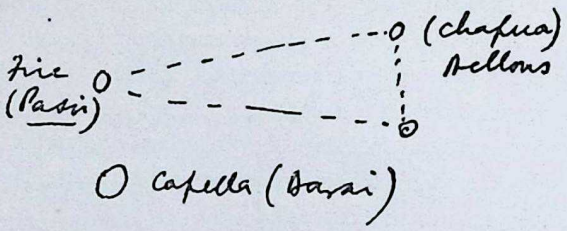
must be completed. The *Rohin* is evidently a corruption of the Hindu "*Rohini*" and has been borrowed from them.

The other star groups which the Muṇḍās are familiar with, are the Capella and the kids in the constellation of Auriga. Capella is very appropriately the *Barai* (the celestial blacksmith) and the kids (shaped like an isosceles triangle) are the bellows and the charcoal fire, as the following figure will show :—



The *Barai* sits near the fire (*Pasri ipil*) which is kindled by air coming from the bellows (*chapua ipil*). The two stars at the base of the triangle are the *chapua ipils* and the star at the vertex is the *pasri ipil* or charcoal fire. This heavenly *Barai*, at the direction of the Sing Bongā, taught people to make implements of iron, according to the Muṇḍās. The bright and scintillating Capella is a fitting representation of the *Barai* at his work. As the *Barai* is an indispensable member in the village organisation of the Muṇḍās, his heavenly counterpart was sought for and found in the bright Capella.

The next star group known to the Muṇḍās is the Great Bear. They call it the *Parkom-kumru ipil* (lit. Bed-stead-thief-star). By how many names, is the famous group known ? The Greeks called it by two names, the Great Bear or the Wain. According to them, the Great Bear keeps watch, on the hunter Orion, for fear of a sudden attack. To the Americans it is the "*Dipper*" a familiar utensil, the three curving stars which form the tail of the Bear corresponding to the handle of the "*Dipper.*" According to the Hindus it is the "*Sapta Ṛkṣa*" or "*Saptarṣi*'—the seven *Ṛṣis* or sages. It is also called "*Citra Śikhandī*" (i.e bright like a peacock's tail).

According to the Muṇḍās, their Sing Bongā retired to rest at night in the north of the heavens and slept on a bedstead (*Parkom*). The legs of this *parkom* are the four stars of the Great Bear forming a quadrilateral—*the* α, β γ δ of the *Ursa Majoris.*

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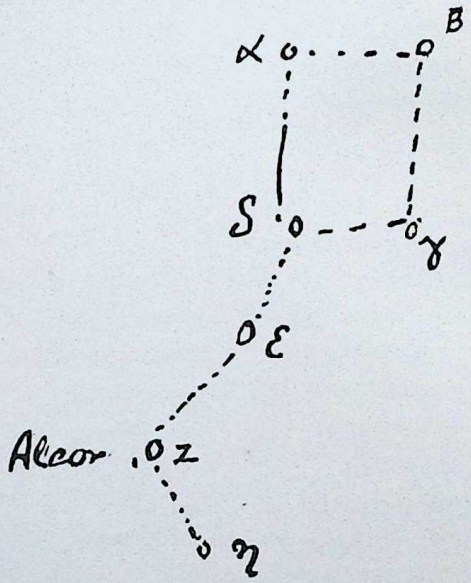
While the Sing Bongā was asleep, three thieves (*kumru*) came to steal the *parkom* and one of the thieves actually caught hold of one of its legs and pulled and displaced it. [The displaced position of the star *delta U. maj.* is explained in this way].

Meanwhile the guard of the Sing Bongā (the Alcor near the *zeta U. maj*—which is visible with difficulty)—who was in hiding and unseen by the thieves, suddenly raised a hue and cry and the thieves ran away. The curving stars (epsilon, zeta and eta) are the three thieves shown as running away. The accompanying diagram will show how appropriate and amusing the story is :—



The next prominent figure familiar to the Muṇḍās is the Milky way. They call the famous galaxy by the name of *Gai Hora*, i.e. the path of the cows. Their Sing Bongā is said to lead his cows everyday along this path and the nebulous appearance of the path is due to the dust raised by the herd of cattle, marching along the path.

According to the Muṇḍās, who divide the year into three seasons, the *Jete sa* (lit the hot weather), the *Jargi da* (the rainy season), and the *Rabang sa* (the cold season)—the *Gai Hora* is said to reign during the period of *Jargi da* and the dust raised by the cows is said to send down rains on earth. The other two monitors of the two seasons, *Rabang sa* and *Jete sa*—are the *Har Juait ipil* and the *Parkom-kumru ipil*, respectively.

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The other stars known to the Muṇḍās, so far as I have been able to ascertain till now are the *Ango-ipil* and the *Kumru-har-ipil*, which is also called the '*Burka*.' The latter is the Venus. The word '*Burka*' is probably a corruption of the Hindi word '*Bhṛgu*' which is a synonym for *Śukra* or Venus.

For fear of being too lengthy, I shall not here discuss their method of further division of the year according to the recurring moons, and other natural signs and phenomena.

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THE DISĀ-POTHI AND THE NĀM-GRAHAN OF THE PARSIS. (*Summary*).

By SHAMS-UL-ULMA Dr. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

Introduction.

Prayers in honour of the dead play an important part in the rites of many religious communities. It is so among the Parsis. To remember one's dead relatives is an important religious and moral duty. The departed dear ones, when they are remembered with love and piety, bless the living ones who remember them. This belief and this idea of duty have necessitated the keeping of two record books in a well-regulated family. They are: the *Disā-pothī* and the *Nām-grahan*.

The Disā-pothī.

The word *disā* among the Parsis seems to be another form of दिस (*dis*) or दिवस (*divas*), i.e. day. The word has then come to mean *the day* of the anniversary of the death of a person. The word *pothī* (पोथी) is a Sanskrit word meaning a book. So *Disā-pothī* or *Dishā-pothī* means a book in which are recorded the dates of the deaths of the departed dead.

Every family has its *Disā-pothī* in which the names of the departed ancestors and members of the family and also lateral and collateral relatives by blood and marriage are entered with the Parsi dates of their deaths. It is, as it were, a family calendar of the departed dear ones of that family. Like all calendars, the *Disā-pothī* begins with the first day (*Hormazd*) of the first month (*Farvardin*) of the Parsi year and ends with the last day of the year. Thus the *Disā-pothī* is divided into twelve parts for the twelve months of the year. The deaths in the family that have occurred on the first day of the year are entered under the heading of the first day; those that occurred on the second day under the heading of the second day, and so on. I produce for inspection a *Disā-pothī* of my own family. Well regulated families often look at their family *Disā-pothīs* and perform the required ceremonies on the days of the deaths of the departed. The *Disā-pothī* is also spoken of as *Vahi* (Gey. *vahi*, a book of accounts, a register).

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The Disā-pothī in the hand of the Family Priests.

Every family has its own family priest. He keeps with him a copy of that *pothī*, and, regularly referring to it, goes to the head of the family on the approaching occasion of the anniversary of the death of a deceased member of the family and reminding him of the coming occasion receives the necessary instructions for the performance of ceremonies, either at the house of the family or at his own house or at a fire-temple.

A Parsi priest is generally the family priest of more than one family. So he keeps with himself a "joint" *Disā-pothī* for all families of whom he is the family priest. He is spoken as the *Panthaki* (पंथकी) of that family. The work *panth* means a class, division or sect. So the word *Panthaki* among the Parsis means a family priest, and as such he may be the *Panthaki* of several families.

Sacerdotal Arrangements of Priests.

In some Parsi centres, there are special arrangements among the priests of those centres, as to who should perform certain ceremonies on the anniversaries of the dead of the various families of those centres. This sacerdotal arrangement has led to the preparation of larger or more common and general *Disā-pothīs*. I produce for inspection an old *Disā-pothī* of that quarter of the Parsis of Navsari, known as Malesar. It is dated Saṁvat 1782. In the writing of such large or common *Disā-pothīs*, the priests use certain abbreviations. For example, *be* (बे) to signify that the deceased was a *Behdīn* or a layman. These *Disā-pothīs* not only give the names of the deceased but also the relationship in which they stood to the heads of the families or others.

The Names of the Living Persons in the Disā-pothīs.

In some *Disā-pothīs*, there occur also the names of some living members of the family. This is because, there is a custom among the Parsis, whereby one performs in his own life-time the funeral ceremonies which would be performed at his death by his relatives. The ceremonies are almost the same, but in the recital during his life-time the phrase زنده روان (*zindeh-rawān*) is added to his name in place of انوشه راون (*anoushe-rawān*) used in the case of the dead. Such being the case, the family priest must keep a record of the events and

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must go and inform the living party upon each anniversary of the day when he first performed the ceremony and receive instructions for the celebration of the anniversaries. This custom of one performing his funeral ceremonies in his life-time reminds us of what we read of a German king who got all his funeral ceremonies performed in his life-time. The ceremonies were all complete up to the function of his open bier being placed in a tomb and the last sermon recited, in which he also joined. Then, after a quite half hour, he walked out of the tomb.

The Nām-grahan.

The word *nām* is the same as "name," and *grahan* comes from Avesta *gerew* to seize, to take (Skt. ग्रहण). So *Nām-grahan* is taking or reciting the names of the dead. The book in which the names of the dead are entered is also known as *Nām-grahan.* It is a book in which the names of the departed ones of the family are entered one by one without any reference to their dates. On the occasions of the celebrations of the anniversary of one deceased member of the family the names of all the members of the family are also recited from the *Nām-grahan.* In some Parsi centres, there is a common *Nām-grahan* book of the whole centre like the common or general *Disā-pothī.* I produce for inspection a common *Nām-grahan* of Malesar, a Parsi quarter at Naosari. Some devout Parsis on particular occasions get the names of all the departed ones of their particular street or quarter recited and remembered in the ritual whether they be names of the relatives or otherwise. In such a case, the number of the names to be recited might well come to a thousand and it takes the family priest about three or four hours to recite all these names. This custom has a parallel in the custom attributed to some old Christian monasteries, where the chief monk of each monastery communicates to the chief monks of other monasteries, the names of the dead of his monastery. Thus the names of about one thousand or more monks are remembered in ritual on particular occasions. The Parsi custom of remembering in their ceremonies, by all Parsi families, the names of the departed worthies of their community, whether of their own town or of other towns, has its parallel, to some extent, in the Bidding Prayer observed in the University of Oxford.

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Sanskrit and Prakrit Literature.

President:

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA HARAPRASAD SASTRI, M.A., C.I.E., F.A.S.B.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

By MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA HARAPRASAD SASTRI, M.A., C.I.E., F.A.S.B.

My friends in Calcutta have asked me to take charge of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Section of this Conference. They should have selected a better man for the purpose, one who has made the study of the languages and literatures his life work. The subject is too vast for one man. The languages themselves are a hard study not to mention the vast number of works written in them. The time at my disposal is very short, and the notice I received of my appointment was not adequate to do full justice even to one literature or one language, and I have to say something on two languages and two literatures. Under the circumstances, fail I must, but I have faith in the forbearance of my audience.

There were scholars in the early part of the 19th century who thought Sanskrit to be a forgery of the Brahmins, and there were many in that century who thought dramatic Prakrit to be a forgery. In the Calcutta University, questions are still asked in higher examinations whether Sanskrit or the Prakrit was ever a spoken language.

Happily such ideas have not taken a great hold on scholars generally, and there is a strong desire to investigate the origin of the languages derived from the Indo-Aryan language of the *Vedas*. So long as the Aryan Society was confined to the *Ṛṣis* and their families of settled Aryans, the Vedic language did not change much. But after some centuries of Aryan settlement in the *Antardeśa*, that is, the country lying between Allahabad and Lahore, there came another influx of roving Aryans, who in a short time not only overran the entire length and breadth of the country, lying between the Vindhyas and the Himalayas, but also made their influence felt in the *Antardeśa* itself. The settled Aryans found it difficult to maintain their position, their civilisation and their culture, and so they devised a plan of incorporating on equal terms this vast body of roving Aryans amongst them. This was done by a ceremony of purification, called *Vrātyastoma* which forms such a prominent feature of the later *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūtras*. This incorporation of a vast extra population however akin to

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themselves, meant a vast change in the language. The Vedic Sanskrit began rapidly to change. The *Lakāra let* gradually disappeared. The varied infinitives of the Vedic language gradually dwindled into one form and infinitives began to be indicated by other forms of expression, such as gerunds, and so on. This, I believe, is the reason why the language of the *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads* look so different from the earlier *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Ṛgveda*. But it was not yet Sanskrit. When the Aryans had settled their inter-tribal affairs on a satisfactory basis, and the incorporated nomad Aryans had formed one body of Aryans with the earlier settlers, there began a process of Aryanizing the non-Aryan population, imparting Aryan civilization, Aryan culture, Aryan thoughts and Aryan ideas to the black population, some of whom had a civilization and culture of their own. This produced a chaos in the languages—a veritable Babel of tongues. The upper strata of the society showed a leaning to the Vedic form of speech and the lower strata to the non-Vedic form. The Dictionary became richer, but the language began to lose the angularities of inflexions, infinitives, suffixes, tenses and moods. At this stage, thoughtful Aryans found it necessary to formulate rules for the language of the higher class Aryans and grammars began to be written. Grammatical language was regarded as *Saṃskṛta* and the non-grammatical *Prākṛta*. Even this, I think, is a later stage. In the earlier stages of the attempt to Aryanize the Indian element, the pronunciation was a very great stumbling block. The Indian element unable to pronounce the Aryan speech began to soften them down, and the Aryans to preserve their own pronunciation began to formulate rules. The same word was pronounced by the Aryans in one way and by the Indians in another. Thus the process began with the pronunciation and not with language. In a chapter of the *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra* dealing with language and pronunciation, with *Bhāṣā* and *Pāṭha*, we find that there were two different *Pāṭhas* or modes of pronunciation, the *Saṃskṛta* and the *Prākṛta*. The meaning, of course, is that the same word, the same sentence, the same verse had two pronunciations, *Saṃskṛta* and *Prākṛta*, and in the earlier stages of Buddhist literature, we often find the same verse pronounced in two different ways. This is the reason why we get works like the *Dhammapada* both in Sanskrit and in Prakrit. In prose, it is difficult to discern whether it is the pronunciation that

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differs or the language. But in verse when the metre is the same, it is easily discerned that it is the pronunciation that differs and not the language. A study of the Sanskrit and the Pali Buddhist literature will easily bear out my point.

The amalgamation of the settled and the roving Aryans and the Aryanization of the Indian element, produced, as I have said before, a chaos in the languages and pronunciations. But it also led to the great upheaval of the Indian mind in the 8th and the 7th centuries B.C.—an upheaval which produced Buddhism, Jainism, the Six Heretical Systems, and if I may be permitted to say, the classical Hinduism—the Hinduism of the *Purāṇas* and the *Smṛtis*. Everyone wrote in the dialect of his district, of his tribe and of his race. That is the reason why it makes it exceedingly difficult to study the literature of this period. Much of that literature perished in later times owing to the difficulty of understanding the language.

It is after the 6th century B.C. that people began to think of nationalization or imperialization The small kingdoms, tribal dominions and race governments began to coalesce into one harmonious nationality. The 5th, the 4th, the 3rd, and the 2nd are the centuries in which the classical Aryan speech was settled by the exertions of men like Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Vyāḍi, Gālava, Śakaṭāyana, Patañjali and others Patañjali distinctly says that he legislates for the Brahminic speech,—the speech of the *Śiṣṭas*, meaning well-to-do Brahmins of Northern India, well-versed at least in one of the sciences of the time. The language of the *Smṛtis* and the *Purāṇas* was examined by them and many forms were absolutely prescribed. They made the speech *Saṃskṛta* or ' purified ' but their influence was limited to the Brahmins. But what did the non-Brahmins do ?

They were not idle. In the 4th century B.C. the Jainas made a comprehensive collection of their literature in a language intermediate between Sanskrit and the Prakrit in which their books subsequently came to be written. The comprehensive name of this collection was *Purvis*. They not only collected written literature but they took great pains to collect oral literature also. Some works were not known to the collectors at Pāṭaliputra, being known only to anchorites in the Himalayas. Men were sent to the anchorites to get these works dictated to them. But the *Purvis* are all lost now. But when they were collected at Pāṭaliputra, we can confidently say that they were all reduced to the language of Pāṭa-

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liputra, prevalent at that time among the classes of men, from which Jaina monks were recruited. A thousand years later the whole Jaina literature was again collected and revised in the language of the time under the superintendence of Devardhigani. The little of the *Purvis* that were still extant disappeared from that time,—and we have absolutely no means of knowing the structure of the language in which the *Purvis* were written. But reading through the literature revised by Devardhigani we often meet with forms and expressions belonging to the older language. He and his co-adjutors did not venture to change those maxims and expressions which had become the common property of the Jainas,—and through these only we have a peep into the language of the previous literature. One who has seen the Bengali of the early 19th century will be struck with many older forms, even Sanskrit forms, in the language of writers. The present day Urdu has often Arabic and Persian words and phrases, so to say, imbedded in it. That is the case with the language of Devardhigani in relation to the *Purvis*.

Coming to the Buddhists we feel that we are on more firm ground. We do not know in what language Buddha and his followers preached. There is a diversity of opinion amongst scholars as to the dialect of the early preachers of Buddhism. But hundred years after the death of Buddha, that is, in the second century of the Buddhist Era there was a schism. The majority was known as the *Mahāsaṃghikas*. Some of their books have come down to us and this is written in *Miśrabhāṣā*, that is, in a language in which Sanskrit forms are freely mixed up with the vernacular forms This *Miśrabhāṣā* was most likely the language in which the literature of the *Mahāsaṃghikas* was written. In two or three centuries the *Mahāsaṃghikas* developed into the *Mahāyāna* School, and we find that in all early *Mahāyāna* books the subjects are treated in Sanskrit prose of a sort, but the authorities are cited at the end of each chapter in verses written in the mixed language. And I have reasons to think, that the prose portions of *Lalitavistara*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* and others were originally written in mixed language too. Scholars wonder that many of the idioms in the *Lalitavistara* are not Sanskrit, but Pali. But I suspect it is not Pali, but the mixed language, for what do we find the condition of *Saddharmapuṇḍarika?* We know it is Sanskrit prose with verses in mixed language. But from the Central Asian desert come, from

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under the sand, leaves of *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* wholly in mixed language. Books continued to be written in that language, for after the compilation of the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* in the 4th or the 5th century A.D., we find a book written on that work in the mixed language, entitled, *Śata-Sāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā-ratna guṇa-sañcaya-gāthā* following closely the chapters of the Sanskrit work. The *Mahāyāna* was a great religion ; it had a large following in India. Though much of its literature is written in Sanskrit, the popular works were written in the mixed language, and the mixed language has profoundly influenced the languages of Eastern India, but scholars have rarely, if ever, taken cognizance of this influence.

The other party in the schism of Vaiśālī was the *Theravādins*. They seem to have stuck to the ever-changing vernacular. The oldest work so far extant, is the *Thera-therī-gāṭhā*. This contains the *gāthās* written by the old followers of Buddha, and their followers. Chronologically the last *therī* whose *gatha* is recorded in that anthology belonged to the reign of Vindusāra, the father of Aśoka. It has many peculiar forms, in fact most of the *vikalpas* or optional forms given in the Pali grammars, belong to these *gāthās*. They have been modernized, but modernization is difficult in poetry and especially in those pieces which were almost in everybody's mouth. So in these *gāthās* we may have more than a peep into the structure of the language of the 5th and the 4th centuries before Christ. We have another genuine relic of the language of Aśoka's time in the *Kathāvatthu* composed under orders of the third *Saṃgīti* held in the 17th year of Aśoka's reign. The language goes under the name of Pali. It is not known how far it has been modernized. But still an examination of the structure of the language is likely to give us much information about the language of that time. And it would be exceedingly interesting if a scholar undertakes to give us the results of the comparative study of this work and the inscriptions of Aśoka in so far as the language is concerned.

The next important relic of language is the Hāthigumphā Inscription. Some great scholars have pronounced it to be nearer to Pali than the Aśoka Inscriptions. Dr. Hoernle, in his preface to the Prakrit grammar of Caṇḍa thinks that Caṇḍa's grammar formulates rules for a language which is very near Pali.

The modern theory about Pali is that it is the official language of Magadha as transplanted in the capital of the Andhras. This how-

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ever, requires verification. But if it is true, Pali must be a more recent language than that of the Aśoka Inscriptions, and the extensive literature it embodies must have the modernized forms of many ancient works. The oldest work of the Buddhists according to Kern is the *Mahāparinibbānasutta.* This is very natural. The *Nirvāna* of Buddha produced a deep sensation among his followers and that sensation should find an early expression. But it is available only in the Pali form, and if the above theory is true,—modernized in the 6th century of the Buddhist Era.

Having finished as rapid a survey of the ancient languages of India as time permitted, I have to draw your attention to a statement in Dandin's *Kāvyādarśa.* There he speaks of four languages, *Saṃskṛta, Prākṛta, Apabhraṃśa* and *Miśra.* This is not an enumeration, but I believe, a classification of languages under four heads. Sanskrit we know,—it does not require an explanation. But its subsequent history is interesting. After the composition of the *Mahābhāṣya* Sanskrit was confined to the Brahmins and the Brahminists. The Brahmins took great pains to make their language conform to the rules of Pāṇini and Patañjali; *apāṇiniya* and *bhāṣyaviruddha* expressions became a taboo. But they could not maintain this purity for a long time. The Buddhists began to change their mixed language into a sort of Sanskrit, which was definitely and distinctively *apāṇiniya* and *bhaṣyaviruddha.* There arose a sect among the Jainas, the Digāmbaras who also wrote in Sanskrit without studying *Pāṇini* and the *Mahābhāṣya.* Many Brahminists also found it difficult to master all the niceties of the Pāṇini School. Sanskrit began to take its leaven from the vernaculars. All this resulted in the 4th and the 5th centuries A.D. in the disappearance of the *Mahābhāṣya* altogether. Bhartṛhari in the 7th century speaks of the difficulty with which his *Guru* procured a copy of the *Mahābhāṣya* from the south. But from this time, the table was turned against the Brahmins. Buddhists began to write commentaries on Pāṇini. They wanted to revive the study of *Pāṇini sūtras* and discard Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Thus was the *Kāśikā,* a commentary on the *sūtras* of Pāṇini written by two Buddhists, Vāmana and Jayāditya. The commentary in its turn was commented upon by Jinendrabuddhi in what is called *Kāśikāvṛttipañjikā* or the *Nyāsa.* Maitreya Rakṣita, another Buddhist wrote the *Tantrapradīpa,* and last of all, when Lakṣmaṇasena, the last Hindu King of Bengal, wanted to re-

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vive Sanskrit learning he employed a Buddhist scholar for the work of compiling a Sanskrit grammar without the Vedic forms. He is Puruṣottama, the author of *Bhaṣāvṛtti*.

The *Śiṣṭas* of Patañjali who spoke in Sanskrit, gradually, as time passed on, dwindled and dwindled till in the 7th and the 8th centuries A.D. Sanskrit was no longer a spoken language. The accents, the emblem of a spoken language ceased to interest grammarians, and the study of the *Vedas*, though revived by Kumārila in the 8th century, could not revive the science of pronunciation, and Sanskrit grammars written after that time have discarded the Vedic and the *Svaras*. The various schools of grammar now current, do not even take a complete survey of the classical language. Their aims seem to be to make rules for literature current in their times, and also to legalize forms taken from the vernaculars and forms not sanctioned by Pāṇini and the *Bhāṣyakāra*. Attempts were sometimes made to revive the study of the *Bhāṣya* notably by Kaiyaṭa in the 10th century in Kasmir, and Bhattoji Dikṣit in the 17th at Benares. But the bulk of the commentaries and sub-commentaries was a stumbling block to their success.

But what is Prakrit ?—Nobody gives us a definition. There is a description however, *Prakṛtiḥ Saṃskṛtam*—that is, a direct descendent of Sanskrit. The *Bharata Nāṭyaṣāstra* uses the term in the sense of *Pāṭha* or mode of recitation or pronunciation. What we call Prakrits, Mahārastri, Sauraseni, etc., he calls *Bhāṣās :* some he calls *Vibhāṣās*, others again, as barbarian tongue not to be used in dramas.

There are so many Prakrits. The dramatic Prakrits, 18 in number, are Prakrits. The Jaina Prakrits are Prakrits ; Pali is a Prakrit. The Aśoka Inscriptions are called Prakrit and even modern vernaculars are called Prakrits. Vanamāli Dās translating the *Gītagovinda* in Bengali at Pancānantalā in Calcutta, in the year 1731 says, that he is translating it in Prakrit,—and the Pandits even now call the Bengali vernacular, a Prakrit. So Prakrit is a very vague word.

Prakrit, as we know it, is not even a direct descendent of Sanskrit, for Sauraseni is known as a Prakrit, but Vararuci in his *Prākṛta Prakāśa* distinctly says that it is a descendent of Mahārastri. Paiśācī we know to be a Prakrit, but he says, its *Prakṛti* is Śauraseni,—and so *Paiśācī* is remotely descended from Sanskrit. The names of different Prakrits are not always the same, and their number differs with

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different authors. *Bharata Nāṭyaśāstra* does not speak of Mahārastri. He speaks of *Dākṣināṭya* in its stead. It would be an endless task to give the different enumerations and the different names. The last great writer of Prakrit grammar is Mārkaṇḍeya whose *Prākṛtasarvasva* enumerates dialects not known to previous authors. Scientific accuracy would require the dropping of the word, "*Prākṛta*" altogether, and to name each dialect by the country and the century. Thus *Karpuramañjarī* should be described as written in the vernacular of Kanauj in the 9th century A.D.; Aśoka Inscriptions in the language of Magadha in the 3rd century B.C., and so on.

The word *Apabhraṃśa* is another term of indefinite import. Nobody defines it, yet it is in everybody's mouth. What is *Apabhraṃśa* in one century becomes a Prakrit in a subsequent century. For instance, Dandin calls Guṇāḍhya's *Vṛhatkathā Apabhraṃśa*, but later on, it is called Paiśācī. But what is an *Apabhraṃśa*? It is with the greatest difficulty that I found a definition or rather a definite description in a Hindi work of the early part of the last century. Kṛṣṇasiṃha, the bard of Bundi, the author of *Vaṃśa Bhāskara*, in the first chapter of his work, described the languages in which books are written. *Apabhraṃśa* is one of these languages, and he says, it is a language in which the inflexions are discarded. If that be the definition of *Apabhraṃśa*, then the vernaculars of the present day, which have lost their agglutinative character, are all *Apabhraṃśas*. It is a convenient word for those, who are unable to fix a dialect in time and place. This also is a word which should go out of use, and should be replaced so far as possible by the name of the country and of the century.

Dandin's *Miśrabhāṣā* has not been defined. It still, is a puzzle, for in describing Sanskrit and Prakrit and *Apabhraṃśa*, he is very definite. He gives the name of some works in these languages. But in attempting to give an example of *Miśrabhāṣā*, he says, *Miśrāntu Nāṭakādikam*. The *Nāṭakas*, so far known are in Sanskrit and Prakrit. Some characters speaking Sanskrit and some Prakrit. It is rather a form of literature and not of language. So he has not succeeded in giving an example. Perhaps Dandin took the classification from an ancient work, which he has not been able to explain properly. I suspect that the *Nāṭakas*, acted for the delectation of all classes of people, were at one time, written in the mixed language, which was within the comprehension of all; but that, that

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form of drama gradually disappeared with the mixed language and made room for the present form of dramas in Sanskrit and Prakrit. The only remnant of a drama in the mixed language is perhaps the *Sariputra* drama recently discovered in the desert of Central Asia, though in fragments. Dandin was perhaps not aware of the mixed language in which *Mahāsaṃghika* works were written.

I believe you have all seen the *Kheplā jāla*, the fishing net of Bengal that is swung over the head and cast into the ponds. It has one knot, which remains in the hand of the fisherman and strings radiate from it on all directions in the form of warps and they are met at intervals with parallel strings in the form of woofs. At the points of intersection there are knots. That is the case with the Indian languages. The central knot may be compared to the Vedic language from which all Indian languages are derived. These languages drift farther and farther from the central language in the course of centuries in different places—they are the strings that issue from the central knot. The parallel woofs are the changes in society. Now, whenever there is a momentous change in society, it is reflected in a corresponding change in the language, and very often a literature is the result. The literatures are the knots at the points of intersection. It is only through these literatures that we are able to detect the effects of a change in society on the language. Indian languages, as I have told you in the beginning are a vast field for study and research. Their importance has not yet come home to our scholars. But it is a great study and a number of men should devote themselves to it for years before we can arrive at sure conclusions. But thanks to our ancestors,—they often made strenuous efforts to unravel the mystery of languages, and have left most valuable results unparalleled in the history of languages of other countries. Let us all take advantage of these important results and proceed slowly but surely with single-hearted devotion to find out the truth and nothing but the truth in the mystery of languages.

Want of time prevents me from speaking more fully about the later forms of languages, especially the most fascinating subject of the beginning of vernaculars,—of works like *Dhyāneśvarī* in the Marathi, Chocubhatta's work on the *Bagdavats* in Hindi, and the Buddhist songs and *Dohās* in Bengali and so on. But yet I have another duty to discharge. I have to speak a few words on Sanskrit literature and on the Prakrit literature. The number of works in these

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literatures may be described in the words of the Buddhist bards as *Gaṅgānadīvālukopama.* A comprehensive survey is impossible. I will touch only those subjects in which European scholars admit that we achieved great results, viz. Philosophy, Grammar and Poetry. But before I take up these three, I think it my bounden duty to protest against the attempt made in certain quarters to deprive the Indians of the credit of the discovery of the decimal system of notation. We had indeed, a complete system of letter numerals. Our manuscripts and our inscriptions are all dated and paged in letter numerals. But still we have undoubted proofs both in Brahminic and Buddhist literature of the use of decimal system of notation very early. In *Abhidharmakoṣavyākhyā* it is stated that one *guṭikā* or figure acquires different values when placed in different positions. The same idea is also expressed in the *Vyāsabhāṣya* of the *Patañjali-sūtras.* So it can be confidently asserted that the Indians knew the decimal system at least in the early centuries of the Christian Era.

Our Philosophy began with the enumeration of philosophical ideas by numbers. Very early—in the latter days of the Vedic period —it gradually developed into a system of comparison in the *Vaiśeṣika,* the central point of which was the finding out similarities and differences, i.e. comparison. From comparison we rose to classification. From classification, the next step was *Kathā* or Controversy. Various systems of carrying on controversy were tried, leading at last to the syllogistic system in the *Gautama sūtras.* Attempts have been made to show that Gotama borrowed the idea from Aristotle. I am not a Greek scholar and cannot say how Aristotle arrived at his syllogisms; but Gotama had to work upon pre-existing systems. There was a time when ten elements were required in a syllogism. Gradually they were discarded one after another and Gotama believed in five. Some of his successors were ready to discard the first two of these and make the elements three only. This they say is Aristotle's syllogism. If it is so, the Indians arrived at it by a process which is all their own. But the Indians were not satisfied with this, so to say, mechanical form. Their originality lay in the investigation of the relation between the middle term and the minor term, and the middle term and the major term,—*Pakṣadharmatā* and *Vyāpti* and in defining these two terms, the Hindu and Buddhist logicians have displayed an accuracy and boldness of speculation which excite the admiration of all

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thinking men. For centuries they speculated on the definition of *Vyāpti*. They rejected fourteen definitions before they arrived at a conclusion, the *Siddhāntalakṣaṇa*. Their attempt to have a definition of fallacy also gave rise to infinite speculations. The relation of words and their meaning—the relation of inflexions with their bases were also investigated with great power of discernment. In the analysis of sentences they were not satisfied with a mechanical form or a tabular statement. Some made the verb to be the chief thing in a sentence—others again the nominative: and it is both interesting and amusing to hear the professors of these two schools of analysis discoursing at the *ghāts* of Benares in an evening to prove that his opponent was in the wrong. So far with Logic. In Metaphysics our ancestors divided themselves into various schools each having a number of great men as their professors. Their chief point was the emancipation of the soul. There was no dispute about that point, but the processes of emancipation are widely divergent. One school believes that the soul after emancipation remains absolute—all relations ceasing. Others again say that is impossible;—if the soul remains it must remain in relations. What is emancipation, then, according to these? *Śunya*, "Void." It is, however, not a negation of existence; it is a state beyond our comprehension, —it transcends our power of comprehension. Then comes another school which asks whether that state beyond our comprehension is positive or negative. One says, positive, another negative. I think we should not go beyond. When things are beyond our comprehension we should stop here But we cannot help admiring the boldness and subtlety of their speculations.

In grammar the Indians excelled in the matter of classification of words. In *Śrauta* times words were divided into four classes. *Nāma*, *Ākhyāta*, *Upasarga* and *Nipāta*, Nouns, Verbs, Prefixes and Particles. But Pāṇini was not satisfied with this classification. He replaced it by one of his own—into *Subanta* and *Tiñanta*, those that take the declensional and those that take conjugational inflexions. But in doing so he was obliged to have recourse to a fiction, in so far as to say that the particles take inflexions but drop them. Max Müller rails at him that he would rather have recourse to a fiction than made his classification incomplete. There can be not the least shadow of a doubt that Pāṇini's classification leads to clearness and accuracy.

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There is another point in which the Indian Grammar is in advance of grammars of other countries. It makes a distinction between *Kāraka* and *Vibhakti*, i.e. between the relation of words in a sentence and the grammatical inflexions. This is not to be found in any other language.

The Indian idea of grammar also is very distinct. It means derivation of words. How words are formed, and nothing beyond it. Words are formed from roots; from words are formed other words and verbal roots again; from verbs also are formed other verbs and words. Sanskrit Grammar concerns itself with this cross production of words. It does not care for pronunciation, prosody, punctuation and very little for idioms. For all these there are different sciences and I have told you before that the investigation of relation between words in a sentence and of the terminations with their bases have been relegated to the province of logic.

Indian grammarians have done an excellent service to the science of language by writing two different classes of grammar for the Prakrit languages. One class presupposes a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, and concerns itself chiefly with the change of letters—how compound letters are softened down to single ones, how hard aspirates are changed into soft ones, how semi-vowels are split up into their elements and so on. They had a thorough grasp of the principle of phonetic decay in languages. The other class wrote grammar for those who had no knowledge of Sanskrit grammar. They too have done a great service by showing in what respects they differ from Sanskrit—how far they are indebted to it and how far they are not. These Prakrit grammarians in fact laid the foundation of what developed in the last century in the science of languages.

It goes without saying that Indian drama is co-eval with Aryan migration into India. The dramatic tradition goes back to the wars of the gods and the demons. *Naṭasūtra* or dramaturgy presupposes the existence of dramas and our works on dramaturgy are pre-Paninean. That disposes of the question of the indebtedness of the Indian drama to the Greeks. The Greeks held their dramatic shows in the open, but the Indians had three different kinds of buildings for such purposes,—the paraboloid, the rectangular and the triangular (equilateral). The Greeks had no scenes but the Indians had

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scenes painted on the walls of the stage. The Greeks insisted on the three *Unities* throughout the drama. The Indians observed the restriction only within an Act. Parts of the story not required for dramatic purposes but for understanding the plot were recited by the chorus in Grecian dramas but in India they were parts of the drama, but not of the Act; so the main action of the drama was not interfered with. These were called *Kāryyopakṣepa* and were enacted either before or after an Act. This is certainly much better than the Chorus. The Indian drama like the Greek took in not only terrestrial but even celestial beings and demi-gods. Indecorous and violent scenes were never a part of the Indian drama; and the higher class drama avoided outbursts of feeling and lengthy display of sentiment. It always tried to limit the expression of feelings by the requirement of art. But in creating situations for the expression of feeling, for stirring the very depth of the human heart, for conjuring up beautiful images and loveliest and most enchanting scenes Indian drama yields its palm to none.

The Epics of India are divided into two classes, the popular and the artistic. The popular Epics are for the amusement and instruction of the people in general. They are couched in simple language and are full of human interest. But they do not much care for art. They are therefore regarded by connoisseurs as rather tedious. But the artistic Epic is written purposely for the delectation of the connoisseurs. It would circumscribe everything by art and would not allow anything to exceed the limits. There are some critics who would call this artificial poetry but to daub *Meghadūta* or *Raghuvaṃśa* as artificial poetry would be a violence of language. In no sense is this poetry artificial. It is as natural as Nature itself. The poets seem to be afraid of only one thing—that they may not be regarded as tedious. They always try to make their description of natural scenes or the feelings of the human heart as short as possible. But within that short compass they would either describe or suggest all that is worth enjoying, all that is good and all that is beautiful—leaving nothing unsaid that is worth saying and incorporating nothing that is not worth saying. The canon of criticism that controls Indian poetry seeks to elevate the moral tone of society by first softening the mind and then implanting moral truths. Indian poetry does not command, does not teach, does not preach, does not give friendly advice, but show

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us all that is good, all that is noble and all that is virtuous, in such a graphic and telling way that our minds are unconsciously mollified to love nobleness and virtue for their own sake.

Of popular poetry the highest and the noblest is the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the influence it exerts on the character of Indians is enormous; everyone wants that he should live like Rāma. And this influence is perceptible in every Hindu household, and the enormous good that it has done cannot be exaggerated. It has made Hindus what they are,—a mild, god-fearing, truthful, law-abiding and honest race of men.

The artistic Epic does not appeal to the people in general, but to the cultured society, with the same result. Nay more—it makes them more gentlemanly, more cultured and more refined, it makes them conscious of their limitations and always keeps them within the bounds of propriety. In creating beauty the artistic poetry is more effective than the popular and the beauty is always elevating, always mollifying and always inspiring.

Prakrit poetry is all religious or didactic. But some of the anthologies are full of exquisite sentiments and beautiful images. Creative fancy it has none. Some of its verses have become proverbial. That is all that can be said about Prakrit poetry in a short address like this. But its extent is very great and I believe it is an altogether unexplored field of work.

But Sanskrit language and literature, Prakrit language and literature in all their varied aspects deserve greater attention, greater energy and persistency than is given to it at the present moment. The whole history of the Indian races is buried both in these languages and these literatures, and if that history is to be recovered, if we want to know what we are, then these are our only means to achieve that result. But we have neglected them. Time has come that we make an atonement for this neglect or we would be swept away by disruptive influences from the West.

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MEDHĀTITHI AS REVEALED IN HIS MANUBHĀṢYA.

By Dr. GANGANATHA JHA, M.A., D.Litt.

A.—Time.

As indications of his time, the following points are noteworthy :—

(1) Under I. 55 he mentions *Vindhyavāsī-prabhṛtayaḥ* as writers on *Sāṅkhya*. The name of *Vindhyavāsī* occurs also in the *Ślokavārtika*, as the advocate of the same doctrine that is referred to by Medhātithi. That there was such a writer on *Sāṅkhya* is certain ; but the several identifications that have been proposed regarding him do not appear to be based on sufficient data.

(2) Under II. 3 and II. 18 he quotes from Kumārila, speaking of him as 'Kumārila' in one place, and as 'Bhaṭṭapāda' in another. And Kumārila is supposed to have lived in the seventh century A.D.

(3) Under II. 22, speaking of *Āryāvarta*, he says *ākramyākramyāpina ciraṃ tatra mlecchā sthātāro bhavanti* ;—and again under II. 23—*Yadi kathañcid brahmāvartādideśamapi mlecchā ākrameyuḥ tatraivāvasthānaṃ kuryurbhavedevāsau mlecchadeśaḥ* ;—which clearly indicates that up to Medhātithi's time, though there had been several invasions by 'foreigners,' no foreigner had come to stay in the country, much less to establish a kingdom. After the break up of Harṣavardhana's empire in the seventh century A.D. there were no invasions either by the Bactrians or by the Śakas or by the Huṇas. The destruction of Mihiragula's power by the later Guptas marks the end of the last foreign element in ancient India. The first invasion of India by the Mohammedans took place in 712 A.D. ; and from this time onward there were frequent invasions by them ; but it was not till the year 1192 that Mussalman power came to be consolidated in India. Thus Medhātithi must have lived before 1192 A.D.

(4) Under II. 6, he says that Paiṭhīnasī, Bodhāyana and Prācetas are not mentioned in any '*parigaṇana*' of *Smṛtikāras* ;—this shows that Medhātithi is much older than all those *Smṛtis* and *Nibandhas* wherein these *Smṛtikāras* are mentioned as such.

(5) Under II. 6, he quotes *Vivaraṇakāra*, and under II. 25 '*Smṛtivivaraṇa*'.

(6) Under II. 30, he speaks of the Lunar Mansions as beginning

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with *Śraviṣṭhā* (i.e. *Dhaniṣṭhā*)—and not with *Aśvinī*. What this indicates we are unable to determine. We know that the enumeration of the *Nakṣatras* began originally with *Kṛttikā* (Thibaut : *Indian Astronomy*, Indian Thought, Vol. I, p. 208) ; but we have nowhere read of its beginning with *Śraviṣṭhā* or *Dhaniṣṭhā*.

(7) Under II. 117 he mentions the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana.

(8) Under III. 232, he speaks of the *Purāṇas* as '*vyāsādipraṇītāni*' 'composed by *Vyāsa and others*' ; this indicates that he lived before the stereotyping of the notion that all the *Purāṇas* are the work of one individual, namely Vyāsa.

(9) Under V. 157 he quotes from the *Cūrṇikā*, a *vyākaraṇa* work. The Chinese traveller I-tsing, who visited India towards the end of the seventh century, speaks of the '*Cūrṇi*' as a work containing 24000 '*Ślokas*,' studied by advanced scholars. He attributes the work to Patañjali. Max Müller and Takakusu take '*Cūrṇi*' to be another name for the *Mahābhāṣya*. The author of the *Vākyapadīya* is believed to have written a commentary (containing 25,000 *Ślokas*) on the *Cūrṇi*.

(10) Under VII. 61, he quotes from the *Adhyakṣapracāra*, which is the name of an important section of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. But the lines quoted by Medhātithi are not found in the published text of this work.

(11) Under VII. 154, he quotes two verses from the work of 'Uśanas' ;—this must refer to a work on *Arthaśāstra* by Śukrācārya which was known to the *Mahābhārata* and to Kauṭilya. The verses quoted do not occur in the work known to us as '*Śukranīti*.' It is clear that Śukra's own work was well known in Medhātithi's time.

(12) Under VIII. 2, he mentions a writer of the name of *Bhartṛyajña* ; one such writer is known as the writer of a commentary on Kātyāyana's *Śrautasūtra*.

(13) Under VIII. 155, he mentions the writers Yajvan, Asahāya and Nārada.

(14) Under IX. 2, he uses the term '*bhavantiḥ*' in the sense of '*Laṭ*' Present Tense.

(15) Under IX. 42, he quotes *Piṅgala*.

(16) Under XII. 19, he quotes from '*Śārīraka*.' What is quoted agrees *in sense only* with what Śaṅkarācārya says on *Vedāntasūtra* 3. 2. 41. There is nothing to indicate that Medhātithi is quoting from

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Śaṅkarācārya. When he uses the term '*Śārīraka*' he may be referring to the earlier system of Bhartṛprapañca, who is referred to by Śaṅkarācārya in his *Gītābhāṣya*. This conjecture gains strength from the fact that under VI. 75, Medhātithi supports the *Jñānakarmasamuccaya-vāda*, of which Bhartṛprapañca was a well-known exponent.

(17) Under XII. 118, he quotes from the *Vākyapadīya* by name.

(18) While quoting freely from the *Mahābhārata*, he very rarely quotes from the *Purāṇas*. He does quote once (under 1. 55) from them; but there also he calls it only by the generic name '*Purāṇa*'

(19) Under the same verse we read—

Pramāṇāntarāṇāmapyekatvapratipādanaparatvādeva grāhiṇaḥ pratyakṣasya miśraiḥ kṛta'eva kleśaḥ. Who is this '*Miśra*'?

(20) Medhātithi is quoted by name—

(*a*) in the *Mitākṣarā* (on II. 124), which was written by Vijñāneśvara who lived under the Cālukya King Vikramāditya II, surnamed Tribhuvana-malla, who reigned from 1076 A.D.;

(*b*) in the *Parāśaramādhava* (*Acāra*,, pp. 256, 552, 560) a work of the fourteenth century;

(*c*) in the *Vīramitrodaya* (*Āhnika*, pp. 76, 77, 70)—a work of the sixteenth century.

(21) In 1375 King Madana found the work of Medhātithi '*jīrṇa*,' 'dilapidated,' 'its manuscript was nowhere to be found.'

From the above all that we feel justified in deducing is—(1) that Medhātithi lived long before 1076 A.D. when Vikramāditya II ascended the throne, and during his reign flourished Vijñāneśvara, who quotes Medhātithi as a writer of established reputation:—(2) that he lived after the seventh century, which is the date hitherto assigned to Kumārila;—and (3) that he must be assigned to the period 800–1000 A.D; or definitely to the ninth century A.D., which will explain his veneration for Kumārila (7th century), and the veneration for him by Vijñāneśvara (11th century).

B.—Place.

(1) As regards place—Under I. 103 he calls '*Śālayaḥ*' (rice) '*rājabhojanāḥ*' 'the food of kings,'—which indicates that he lived in a place where rice is dear.

(2) Under II. 18 he speaks of the marrying of the maternal uncle's

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daughter as the custom obtaining in '*deśāntara*', which shows that he was not of the South.

(3) Under II. 98, the wool of *aja* (goat) is described as 'not soft,' —this may be taken as indicating that he did not belong to Kashmir, where the goat's wool is generally soft.

(4) Under the same, he speaks of the oil of *devadāru* which indicates a country where the *Devadāru* tree (pine) grows in abundance.

(5) (*a*) Under III. 234 he says '*udīcyesu kambala itiprasiddhaḥ*'

(*b*) Under III. 238—*udīcyāḥ sāṭakaiḥ'śiro veṣṭayanti.*

He was very conversant with the ways of the northerners.

Under (b) again he speaks of men winding their hair round the head—which indicates a country where hair is worn long; and (*b*) also indicates a place where people generally keep their head covered with a *Sāṭaka*. It is an interesting question to investigate who these 'northerners' are. In the *Raghuvaṃśa*, in connection with Raghu's conquest, Kālidāsa uses the term *Udīcya* in the sense of people living in the country to the north of Sindh, i.e. Kashmir and the Punjab. And we know that Patañjali considers the town of Śākala as belonging to *Vāhīka* country and also to *Udīcya* country (under Pāṇini 4. 2. 104). Similarly Amara in his lexicon describes the *Udīcya* country as lying on the north-west of the Śarāvatī river in the Punjab. It is clear then that the *Udīcyas* as mentioned by Medhātithi were the people of the Punjab and Kashmir. The custom of wearing *Sāṭāṣ* by the northerners as recorded in Medhātithi is quite in keeping with the identification proposed above. Fine blankets also used to be produced in these parts.

(6) Under IV. 9, he speaks of only two harvests—one in the summer and another in the autumn. This shows that he lived in a country where there was no winter-harvest.

(7) Under IV. 59, speaking of the rainbow, he says *vijñānacchāyeti kāśmīreṣu kathyate*—he was conversant with the language of Kashmir.

(8) Under V. 14, the *Śyena* is described as being known as *Kākola* in the *Bāhlīka* country.

(9) Under VIII. 399, he speaks of '*Kuṅkuma*' as a 'royal monopoly' in Kashmir.

One does not feel quite sure, on the strength of the above data, that the valley of Kashmir was Medhātithi's native country as asserted by Bühler. Though there may be much that points to that

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conclusion, there is nothing that does so definitely. The arguments adduced by Bühler in support of this view are by no means conclusive. The very sentence (VII. 22) that speaks of *Kāśmīrakasya kāśmīrāḥ* also speaks of *Pañcālānām pañcālāḥ ;* the name of Kashmir is compounded with that of several other countries, e.g. Kuru (VIII. 41); if he speaks of the royal monopoly of saffron in Kashmir, he speaks also of other royal monopolies—of 'wool among the westerners' and of 'pearls' corals and precious gems among southerners (VIII. 399). The conclusion arrived at by Prof. Jolly that Medhātithi belonged to the South, is still more open to doubt. Jolly's arguments have all been answered by Bühler. (Intro. p. cxxiv, footnote).

All that we feel justified in deducing from the above data is—(i) that he was not a native of the South; (ii) that he was a native of the 'North'—where people keep their hair long, and keep their head wrapped with cloth—where there is no winter-harvest; (iii) that he was conversant with the ordinary language of Kashmir and Bāhlīka.

C.— Character, and other details.

(1) He is liberal in his views and inclined to be outspoken in his opinions:—

(*a*) He says that the whole account of the beginnings of creation is '*arthavāda*'—i.e. not meant to be literally true (I .23)

(*b*) Regarding the account of the *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya*, *Vaiśya* and *Śūdra* being created out of the mouth, the arms, the thighs and the feet of *Brahmā*,—he says that this is mere '*stuti*,'—again, not to be taken as literally true (I. 31).

(*c*) He is bold enough to accept the legend regarding *Prajāpati* and his daughter as literally true (I.32).

(*d*) He is no believer in the existence of the *Yakṣa* and other celestial beings (I. 37).

(*e*) He declares the gods to be mortal (I. 50).

(*f*) He says that in Discourse I with the exception of 'five or six verses, which describe the purpose of the *Śāstra*, all the rest is 'mere *arthavāda*.'

(*g*) He candidly confesses that we cannot be sure as to how the ordinances of Manu and other *Smṛtikāras* is based upon the *Veda* (II. 6).

(*h*) He is very frank in his criticisms on the text of Manu, e.g. In regard to verse II. 223, he says 'there is no useful purpose served by this verse'; and in several cases, he does not hesitate to say that certain expressions have been added only through 'metrical exigencies.'

(*i*) In regard to 'drinking, gambling and hunting,' he declares (under VII. 53) that 'absolute avoidance of these is neither proper nor possible.'

(*j*) Under VIII. 20 and VIII. 163 his remarks regarding the proprietary rights of women show that he was exceptionally liberal in his views.

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(2) Certain original ideas :—

(*a*) '*Manaḥputam samācaret*' explained as 'one should be pure in mind' (VI. 46), and not as 'one should do that which satisfies his mind or conscience.'

(*b*) '*Divāsvāpa* prohibited in VII. 47, is explained, not as 'sleeping during the day,' but as 'inactivity, laziness, at the time of doing work,' 'day-dreaming.'

(3) Other details :—

(*a*) Whenever he has occasion to quote a *Sāṅkhya* authority, he quotes the *Kārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa, and never the *Sūtra*.

(*b*) Under II. 6 and X. 5, he quotes largely from his own work called '*Smṛtiviveka*.'

(*c*) Under II. 49, he says 'women do not understand Sanskrit.'

(*d*) Under III. 7 he quotes the '*Vaidyaka*' to the effect that 'all diseases are infectious except the *Pravāhikā*' (Diarrhoea ?).

(*e*) The *Darśa* is spoken of (in IV. 25) as to be performed 'at the end of the half-month'; which shows that he held the view that the 'month' begins with the first day of the dark fortnight, and ends with the Full Moon Day;—not that it is to be counted from one Moonless Day to another.

(*f*) He knew that meteors are only 'falling stars' (IV. 103).

(*g*) From what he says under VI 75, it appears that he was a follower of the *Jñānakarmasamuccayavāda*.

(*h*) Under VII. 25 describing the '*Matsyadeśa*' as *Virāṭadeśa*, he mentions '*Nāgapura*' as another name for it.

(*i*) Under VII 220 he describes three methods of detecting poison in food—by physicians, by fire and by the *Cakora* and other birds. When thrown into fire food mixed with poison becomes *ati-mlāna* 'very much discoloured'; at the very sight of some poisons the *Kokila* perishes; and on seeing others the *Cakora* loses its eyes.

(*j*) Under V. 44, while justifying the 'Killing' involved in Vedic sacrifices he deprecates that involved in Tāntrika rites.

(*k*) Under VII. 190 we read of flag-signalling.

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AVANTISUNDARĪ-KATHĀ OF DANDIN.

By M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A.

In the course of recent research work for MSS. instituted by the Madras Government and ably conducted by M. R. Ry. Prof. S. Kuppusawmy Sastriar Avl, M.A., several rare old works have been obtained. Among them two manuscripts are specially interesting to the students of history and Sanskrit literature. They are *Avantisundarī-kathā* and *Avantisundarī-kathāsāra*. The former is in prose with a poetic introduction and the latter is an easy summary of the former in verse. The prose work was presumably written by Dandin and is acquired only as a broken fragment. It consists of a poetic introduction, the ancestry of the poet, the occasion for writing the work and the story itself—only a portion. The plot elaborated in the work is the same as what is summarised in the *Daśakumāracarita*. Avantisundarī, the wife of Rājavāhana, is the heroine of the story. The *Kathāsāra* as far as available to us is also incomplete and the story carries us to the first meeting of Rājavāhana and Avantisundarī and the narrative of Somadatta's adventure, i.e. nearly to the end of the *pūrvabhāga* (*the first half*) of *Daśakumāracarita*. The *Kathāsāra* is written generally in *anuṣṭup* metre in a terse and vigorous style which resembles the diction in *Kāvyādarśa* of Dandin. Incomplete as it is, it consists of 800 verses and its authorship is at best a conjecture. The last verse of each *sarga* has an indicatory word *Ānanda*, as *Lakṣmī* in Bhāravi, *Śrī* in Māgha, *Anurāga* in Pravarasena, etc. Bhoja says that *Ānanda*, is an indicatory word of Pañcaśīkha, the author of *Sūdrakakathā*.

The leaves containing the introductory portion in *Avantisundarī-kathā* are worm-eaten on both the ends, and the information has to be supplemented from the introduction in the *Kathāsāra*. These two works even as obtained, give us sufficient data for determining the date and place of Dandin and Bhāravi and much valuable information about several great poets who lived before Dandin. The portion describing the occasion for the work throws much light on the development of the ancient architecture and its indebtedness

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to the Pallava kings of Kāñcī. The story proper as far as gathered from *Kathāsāra* unveils the history of Śūdraka, Vararūci, etc., whose glories, in the imagination of poets, already attained a semi-mythological rank. Under these four heads we propose to take up the subject :—

(1) Dandin's ancestry, (2) occasion for the writing of the work, (3) early poets mentioned by Dandin, and (4) the story proper.

I.

Dandin after praising the divine triad, the goddess Sarasvatī and great poets proceeds to the narration of his own ancestry. In the north-west India a family of *Kauśika-gotra* Brahmins were living in Ānandapura, which is now in Guzerat. Thence they migrated to Acalapura in Nāsikya country (modern Ellichpur in the Central Provinces) in which Nārāyaṇasvāmī had a son *Dāmodara or Bhāravi*. He made friends with the crown prince of the place called Viṣṇu-vardhana and accompanied him in a hunting excursion, at the end of which he was obliged to save his life from starvation by eating flesh. He was ashamed to go back to his parents and became an exile. Durvinīta, a western Gaṅga prince, who was also an exile under the displeasure of his father, was attracted by the poetic talents of Bhāravi and drew him over to his camp. The Gaṅga princes had matrimonial relations with the Pallavas and carried intense enmity with the Cālukyas. Bhāravi sent a verse in praise of Siṃhaviṣṇu of Kāñcī, the great Pallava conqueror, who invited him to his court and treated him equal to his son, the great Mahendravikrama. Bhāravi was twenty years old when he was entertained in the Pallava court. Durvinīta, as we gather from the Gaṅga inscriptions, translated *Bṛhatkathā* into Sanskrit and commented upon *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi.

Durvinīta and Siṃhaviṣṇu were great ruling kings in about 580 A.D. and the movement of Bhāravi from the camp of exiled Durvinīta to the court of Siṃhaviṣṇu would give him a probable date of 575 A.D. The narrative then goes on that Bhāravi had a son Manoratha whose fourth son was Vīradatta who married Gaurī. To them was born Dandin, who even in his youth lost his father and mother and was instead fostered by *Śruta* (Learning) and Sarasvatī. In the meantime Kāñcī was invested by the enemies, probably the Cālukyas under Vikramāditya I. The siege

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continued for years and the enemies devastated the fair fields and gardens of the Cola and Pāṇḍya kingdoms The citizens of Kāñcī deserted it in a helpless condition; Dandin was one among them. He had to travel all over India and in his long sojourns received instruction in various *śāstras* in *āśramas* or hermitages. When the storm of invasion subsided and the Pallava glory once more rose to its height, that is, in 10 or 12 years, Dandin returned home and recovered his lost estates. He maintained the literary prestige of his great ancestors in the Pallava court. Narasiṃhavarman and his son who carried their sword to the heart of the Cālukyan capital, Vātāpi, seem to be his patrons. Viṣṇuvardhana, the crown prince of Acalapura who polluted Bhāravi, appears to be Kubjaviṣṇuvardhana, the conqueror of Veṅgi.

Dandin had as his friends several Nambūdri Brahmins of Malabar and among them was the distinguished Mātṛdatta, a poet and scholar, the grandson of Devasvāmin well learned in all the *Vedas* and the *Vedāṅgas*. We know one Devasvāmin as the commentator on the *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtras* and *Saṅkarṣakāṇḍa* in *Mīmāṃsā* and Mātṛdatta as a commentator on the *Hiranyakeśīya Śrauta Sūtras*. Whether these two scholars are the friends referred to by Dandin requires confirmation. His another friend was Ramaśarmā, the son of the military commander of the Pallavas.

II.

Dandin was well learned in architecture of royal and divine structures. One day Lalitālaya, a great architect who surpassed the glories of even the *Yavanas*, the son of Māndhātṛ whose genius in architecture highly pleased the great King Durjaya, probably the King Mahendravikrama, came to Dandin and requested him to accompany him to Mahāmallapura (modern Mahābalipura) to see his skill in the rejoining of the broken hand of the god's image. Dandin welcomed the proposal and went thither with his friends. The workmanship of the architect was perfect and no trace of the rejoining could be discerned. In the course of their admiration for the human skill a certain supernatural event took place which carries our imagination to the regions of mythology. While they were in the presence of god, whose feet were washed by the waves of the sea, a loose lotus flower was washed ashore and it touched the divine feet. Immediately it became a *vidyādhara*, who stood

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before god with folded hands intercepted by a sword and bowed to him. In a minute he vanished into the air. The vision excited the curiosity of all. Rāmaśarman implored Dandin for its revelation. Our poet who was equally puzzled, promised to learn the mystery from the god himself. They returned to Kāñcī and on the next *Go-dvādaśī* night, while he was lying on the *kuśa* bed, the great god revealed to him the story of *Avantisundarī* where a *vidyādhara* must have been cursed into a lotus. Dandin related the story to his friends in the form of a literary work.

III.

We shall next examine his poetic introduction. It opens with verses in praise of the *Tri-murtis*, Sarasvatī, Vālmīki, and Vyāsa and poets in general. Then Dandin bestows a single verse to the glorification of each of the great poets who lived before him. In the light of the recent research in literature and archaeology the mention of the poets appears to follow some strict chronological order Subandhu hails first :—

सुबन्धुः किल निष्क्रान्तो बिन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात्
तस्यैव हृदयं बध्वा वत्सराज .. .. .. ॥

It is said that he had his exit at the imprisonment of Bindusāra and Vatsarāja possessing his heart did something—which portion is lost in the broken leaf. The mention of Vatsarāja reminds us of immortal Vāsavadattā, the queen of Udayana, and the name Bindu sāra reminds us of a half verse quoted and commented upon in Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtras*. Bindusāra was the son of Candragupta and Subandhu is said to be in ministerial relation with the king. The available *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu has nothing to do with Udayana's mishaps and appears to be a later work as it contains references to the scholars of the 5th and the 6th centuries A.D. Abhinavagupta, in his commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭya-Śāstra*, when commenting upon the word *Nāṭyāyita*—a series of dramas one in another, cites as an illustration the *Vāsavadattā nāṭyadhāra* of Subandhu which is evidently a chapter in his *Vāsavadattā* which is mentioned as an *ākhyāyikā* by Patañjali. In the citation referred to both Bindusāra and Udayana are made audience and characters, one drama in another. Subandhu and Bindusāra belong to about 280 B.C.

Next comes Guṇāḍhya and then Mūladeva as an author of a work where Devadattā and Nārāyaṇadattā are probably heroines. We

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know that Devadattā and her sister, Vipulā are Mūladeva's mistresses and Śaśa was his amorous messenger dramatised in *Padmaprābhṛtaka* of Śūdraka. Mūladeva was the author of *Corasūtras* (aphorisms on the science of theft).

Next comes a glorious figure who is still in the regions of mystery, i.e. Śūdraka. The verse reads thus :—

शूद्रकेणासकृज्जित्वा स्वच्छया खड्गधारया ।
जगद्भूयोऽभ्यवर्त्तव्यं वाचा स्वचरितार्थया ॥

Śūdraka was king of Ujjain and great poet. From *Avantisundarikathāsāra* where his life-sketch is given, he defeated Svāti, an Andhrabhṛtya prince and carried away the royal maiden, Vinayavatī and married her. Bandhudatta who frequently helped him in times of danger was at last committed to prison and then to gallows. Śūdraka rescued him at the nick of the moment. As a poet, *Mṛcchakaṭika* and *Padmaprābhṛtaka* are already known to be his dramas; *Vatsarājacarita*, now known as *Vīṇāvāsavadattā* has been ascribed to him by Vallabhadeva in his *Subhāṣitāvalī* as we find in the manuscript. In the verse of Dandin devoted to Śūdraka the expression '*vācā svacaritārthayā*' tempts one to the minute examination of his works. As a result *Mṛcchakaṭika* and *Padmaprābhṛtaka* seem to relate the real incidents of life. Saṅghilaka, a Buddhist monk in *Padmaprābhṛtaka* was one of the villains who was sent by Svāti to murder Śūdraka. Cārudatta seems to be Bandhudatta, his intimate friend, and Śūdraka himself Āryaka, who was asked to remember him in his other avocations.[1] In *Vīṇāvāsavadattā* the poet identifies himself with Udayana whose exploits bear strong resemblance with those of Śūdraka. Svāti whom he defeated appears to have ruled till 56 B.C. according to the Purāṇic genealogy which is generally confirmed by the latest epigraphic researches. Śūdraka's reign seems to commence from 56 B.C. One is strongly tempted to identify him with the originator of Vikrama Era. In literature also there are numerous references where the word *vikrama* or its synonym *sāhasa* is usually applied to Śūdraka. In *Vīṇāvāsavadattā* the epithet, *Sāhasalāñchana* specially applied to Udayana may refer to himself if the author seeks identification with the hero. In *Mrcchakatika* also (Act VI)[2]

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[1] चारुदत्तः—स्मर्तव्योऽस्मि कथान्तरेषु भवता । (*Mṛcchakaṭika* Act VII—7.)

[2] आर्यकः—भवेद्भोष्ठीयानं न च विषमशीलैरधिगतं— (*Mṛcchakaṭika* VI—4).

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there is a latent reference to *Viṣamaśīla* which is another name for Vikramāditya (*vide Viṣamaśīlalambaka* in *Kathāsaritsāgara*).

After another poet whose name with Dandin's encomium is lost in the broken leaf, a full verse introduces us to great Bhāsa.

सुविभक्तमुखाद्यङ्गैर्व्यक्तलक्षणवृत्तिभिः ।
परेतोऽपि स्थितो भासः शरीरैरिव नाटकैः ॥

From a large number of quotations and references Bhāsa is known to be a profuse writer of dramas. But whether those which are recently published as his compositions are works of his or of several poets is still an open question. We shall speak of it elsewhere. Next to Bhāsa is mentioned King Sarvasena, the author of *Harivijaya*, a Prakrit *Kāvya* now extinct.

Next to him comes great Pravarasena, the author of *Setubandha* the well-known Prakrit work.

सेतुरूपेण तिष्ठन्तो लोके सद्वस्तुदर्शिनः ।
षट्पञ्चाशत्प्रमाणत्वं गता नः कविपुङ्गवाः ॥

We know from *Bharatacarita* that a king of Kuntala composed *Setubandha* and from Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* that Kālidāsa was sent by Vikramāditya as an ambassador to the court of a Kuntala king. The commentators on *Setubandha* ascribe it to Kālidāsa. From evidences of this nature the author of *Setu* has to be identified with Pravarasena II, the king of Vāghaṭakas who, issuing from their original home of Acalapura, overthrew the Kadambas of Kuntala and extended prowess to the heart of Vidarbha country. Pravarasena is assigned to 420 A.D. Dandin's use of नः (our) perhaps refers to that sovereign's patronage extended to his forefathers at Acalapura.

Then another poet is mentioned whose name or work is lost in the broken leaf. Then comes a full verse in praise of Kālidāsa :—

लिप्ता मधुद्रवेणासन् यस्य निर्विवशा गिरः ।
तेनेदं वर्त्म वैदर्भं कालिदासेन शोधितम् ॥

The date of Kālidāsa inspite of vigorous research is yet to be settled. From a number of literary references he was a contemporary of a certain Vikramāditya, Pravarasena, Diṅnāga and Kumāradāsa. (Mallinātha and his predecessor Dakṣināvartanātha, attest to Diṅnāga's disputations with Kālidāsa.). All these persons may be assigned to the first half of the fifth century A.D. Dandin's

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expression may mean that Kālidāsa as an ambassador actually travelled over Vidarbha where Pravarasena encamped or that he travelled from his native place near Rāmagiri in Vidarbha towards Ujjain.

The next poet mentioned leaves us only two words for any curious conjecture. They are चक्षुः क्षति (affliction in the eye). It may probably refer to Kumāradāsa, who was born blind.

Then a full verse follows in praise of Nārāyaṇa, who is undoubtedly the author of *Veṇīsaṃhāra.*

व्याप्तुं पदत्रयेणापि यश्शक्तो भुवनत्रयम् ।
तस्य काव्यत्रयव्याप्तौ चित्रं नारायणस्य किम् ॥

Out of three works attributed to him in the verse only one is available, and the others are still missing. He seems to have been a contemporary of Dharmakīrti and Bāṇa.

Then Dandin praises in very glorious terms some 'Emperor of poets.' The verse obtained is incomplete and may in all probability point to the celebrated Bhāravi, his great-grandfather.

कस्तं न स्तौत्यनुन्मत्तः कवीनां चक्रवर्तिनम् ।

Then come Bāṇa and Mayūra in a single verse, who, we know from the words of Rājaśekhara and Padmagupta (*Navasāhasāṅka-carita* II—18) flourished in the court of Harṣavardhana.

भिन्नस्तीक्ष्णमुखेनापि चित्रं बाणेन निर्व्यथः ।
व्याहारेषु जहौ लीलां न मयूरः .. .. .. ॥

IV.

Next we come to the story itself. The plot is the same as in *Daśakumāracarita* which appears to be only the summary of the main plot in the *Avantisundarīkathā.* For, several episodes, such as of Vararūci, Śūdraka, Śaunaka, Kādambarī, Samudradatta, etc., make us believe that the work was written after the model of *Bṛhatkathā.* Vararūci is spoken of as Kātyāyanī's son and a contemporary of King Mahāpadma. Śaunaka, the devout lover of Bandhumatī, the heroine of a certain drama becomes Śūdraka in the next birth and again was born as Kāmapāla in *Avantisundarī*; Bandhumatī too underwent transmigration as Vinayavatī, the queen of Śūdraka, and as Kāntimatī in her next birth in *Avantisundarī.* The handmaid of Bandhumatī was born as a wife of

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Śūdraka in the name of Raṅgapatākā and lastly became Tārāvalī in this story. Thus an intimate connection is maintained in the form of rebirths between the heroes of the ancient world and the main characters of Dandin's story. In the narration of Kādambarī's story Dandin is accurate to the end of Bāṇa's portion of the work but gave a free play to his own imagination in filling it up. For the plot differs a good deal from that supplemented by the son of Bāṇa, Pulindabhaṭṭa.

Even in the main plot it is predicted that Rājavāhana would have a brother Haṃsavāhana and that the former would conquer the three worlds and drive on a fiery chariot.

Apart from these differences the reader can discern some deeper meaning intended by the author in writing the work. He wanted to indentify his Pallava patrons with the great heroes of the *Purāṇas* and dramas as mere transmigration of souls. Several Gaṅga and Pallava kings bore the titles of Vikrānta Śūdraka, etc. One remarkable and unique name attracts our notice. Raṅgapatākā, one of the wives of Narasiṃhavarman who is connected with the construction of the Kailāsanātha temple in Kāñcī is the name of one of the wives of Śūdraka.

Avantisundarī in style resembles *Kādambarī* but is less monotonous and more difficult. The strings of epithets are generally longer than in *Kādambarī* but many a time present a finished picture worthy of a great poet. The loss of the work lamentably affects both history and literature.

Avantisundarī as an *ākhyāyikā* has been mentioned by Vādighaṅghāladeva, an old commentator on *Kāvyādarśa* and by an anonymous commentator on the same as well. The verse in praise of Vyāsa is found quoted under Dandin in *Subhāṣitāvalī*, a different work from that of Vallabhadeva.

Dandin is said to be the author of three celebrated works. One is *Kāvyādarśa*, the next *Avantisundarī*, and what is the third? We cannot for a moment entertain the theory of Dr. Pischel that *Mṛcchakaṭika* is his third work. Bhojadeva comes to our rescue and mentions Dandin's *Dvisandhānakāvya* and quotes a verse from it. The verse seems to possess a hidden allusion to great Harṣavardhana.

उदारमहिमारामः प्रजानां हर्षवर्धनः ।
धर्मप्रभव इत्यासीत् ख्यातो भरतपूर्वजः ॥

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A number of *ākhyāyikās* like this have almost become extinct; to name a few, *Trailokyasundarī* of Rudraṭa, *Cārumatī* of Vararūci, *Mālatī*, *Śūdrakakathā* of Rāmila and Somila, *Keralavaṃśa*, etc. We still hope that these and many more can be recovered if all the native States and corners of India which did not witness any terrible invasion are explored carefully.

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VASUBANDHU OR SUBANDHU:

OR

A GLIMPSE INTO THE LITERARY HISTORY OF THE MAURYAN AGE.

By RANGASWAMI SARASVATI, M.A.

The relation of the life of the famous Buddhist philosopher Vasubandhu to the history of the Gupta empire forms an important landmark in the literary history of India. Paramārtha, a famous Buddhist author of the 6th century and the author of a biography of Vasubandhu, states that Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā who at first was a liberal patron of the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy, was induced by the eloquence of the celebrated Vasubandhu, to turn a favourable ear to the teachings of Buddhism and to patronise its professors with equal liberality. His queen and the prince Bālāditya, who later on succeeded to the throne, both became disciples of Vasubandhu and Bālāditya after his accession continued his favours to the Buddhist sage. The famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsang also gives a variant form of the story, describing the king as Vikramāditya of Śrāvasti. This information about the life of Vasubandhu is augmented from an unexpected source. The ancient work on *Alaṅkāra*, written in the form of aphorisms (*sūtras*) by Vāmana, who also composed a gloss upon it cites a half-verse wherein Vasubandhu appears to be referred to. This was first brought to the notice of scholars by Prof. Pathak. The half-verse is followed by a short gloss by the author in explanation of the same. The half-verse and the gloss are given below. It occurs under the *sūtra* defining *ojas* :—

साभिप्रायत्वं यथा—

सोऽयं संप्रति चन्द्रगुप्ततनयश्चन्द्रप्रकाशो युवा ।
जातो भूपतिराश्रयः कृतधियां दिष्ट्या कृतार्थश्रमः ॥

आश्रयः कृतधियामित्यस्य वसुबन्धुसाचिव्योपक्षेपपरतया साभिप्रायत्वं ॥—

The translation of the hemistich would run thus, "This very son of Candragupta, the young Candraprakāśa, the patron of men of letters, fortunate in the success of his efforts, has now (*samprati*) become king." The author explains the passage further in the gloss of the *sūtra*, that the phrase, "Patron of men of letters" is an in-

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stance of "allusion" containing a reference to the ministership (*sācivya*) of Vasubandhu.

This reading of the passage and the comment thereon was first challenged by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasada Sastri, who said that the correct reading of the passage would be to have *Ca Subandhu* in the place of *Vasubandhu* and maintained that most of the manuscripts of Vāmana's work examined had the reading Subandhu. He thought that the passage contained a reference to Subandhu, the author of the Sanskrit romance *Vāsavadattā*. He also raised an objection that Vasubandhu, who was a famous Buddhist orthodox *bhikṣu* would not have accepted the office of a minister under a sovereign. He took Candraprakāśa in the passage as the name of Candragupta's son and suggested that the emperor Candragupta II had two sons, Candraprakāśa and Kumāragupta, and that upon the death of Candragupta II, a civil war broke out between the two brothers, in which however, Candraprakāśa was worsted and Kumāragupta was successful.

This interpretation of the passage was objected to by Dr. Hoernle, who thought that the correct reading was *Vasubandhu* and not *Subandhu*. He answered H. P. Sastri's objection that a Buddhist monk would not accept office by saying that the word "*sācivya*" which occurs in the passage may simply mean companionship or friendship. He took the word Candraprakāśa, as the name of Candragupta's son. But unlike Mr. Sastri, he does not deduce out of the passage a civil war, which broke out on the death of Candragupta II between his two sons. He says, "Is it not much simpler to suppose that Candragupta II's son was known as Candraprakāśa before, upon his accession to the throne, he assumed the regnal title Kumāragupta."

Mr. R. A. Narasimhacharya, the Director of Archaeological Researches, Mysore, referring to the same passage says that his examination of various manuscripts of Vāmana's *sūtras* showed that the correct reading of the disputed portion of the passage was *ca Subandhu* and not *Vasubandhu* He says "In the well-known 10th verse of *Vāsavadattā*, Subandhu mourns the death of Vikramāditya, i.e. Candragupta II, who was apparently his patron. There is nothing unreasonable in supposing that he became the minister of Candragupta's son, Kumāragupta." It might be urged against this supposition that Subandhu, who mentions the Udyotakāra, and ac-

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cording to some manuscripts, Dharmakīrti's work could not have been a contemporary of Kumāragupta, who lived in the first half of the fifth century. But according to him, this does not raise any difficulty about the chronology, since the dates of the Udyotakāra and Dharmakīrti have not been settled. He thought that the half-verse occurring in Vāmana's work is a quotation from the introductory portion of some drama, giving the *sutradhāra's* words.

Again Prof. K. B. Pathak wrote in *Ind. Ant.* 1911, page 170, Kumāragupta, son of Candragupta II, is alluded to by Vāmana, as a patron of the Buddhist author, Vasubandhu. Vasubandhu was according to him the contemporary of three successive Gupta sovereigns, namely Kumāragupta, Skandagupta and Bālāditya, and the interesting half-verse quoted by Vāmana was taken from some lost *Guptavaṃśamahākāvya*, in which the name of Vasubandhu is directly mentioned, or which was composed by Vasubandhu himself, to congratulate Kumāragupta on his accession to the throne, as the word "*samprati*," in the verse shows and he gives expression to the hope that the work might be discovered one of these days and shed fresh light upon Gupta history.

Again Mr. H. P. Sastri (*Ind. Ant.* 1912, page 15) writes that his study of Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, added weight to his belief of the reading of *Subandhu*, who appears, according to him, to mention Candraprakāśa in his work in the *śliṣṭa* form of the word *himakarodyota* and *Candraprakāśa* mean the same thing. He reiterates the belief that Candraprakāśa is a proper name. In the sixth verse Subandhu is very bitter against *khalas*, the wicked who are more wicked than serpents. In the seventh he compares the wicked with owls. In the eighth he is again hard at the wicked. The word *śaśiruk.* in this verse again means Candraprakāśa and he complains that the commentator who did not know history does not note the point. The tenth verse is well known throughout India and is in the mouth of every Pandit. It says that, "On the death of Vikramāditya, love of art and poetry are gone. Upstarts are flourishing and everybody's hand is on his neighbour's throat." "What does this mean," he questions, "unless it means a revolution, in which the author did not fare well on the death of Candragupta Vikramāditya. Read the hemistich with the prefatory verses of *Vāsavadattā* and the inference is irresistible that the changes of the times were ruinous to Subandhu and his party.

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Simultaneously with Mr. H. P. Sastri, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*Ind. Ant.* 1912, pages 1 and 2) gave as his opinion that Vasubandhu represents the original reading. His conclusion will best be expressed in his own words. "All things considered, Govindagupta appears to be the *Candragupta tanaya* (son of Candragupta) alluded to in the verse quoted by Vāmana, and also the Bālāditya, son of Vikramāditya (Candragupta II) mentioned by Paramārtha." Govindagupta Bālāditya has to be placed, according to him between A.D. 411–414. He says, he may have been ousted by his brother Kumāragupta, or he might have died a natural death and without an heir.

The next scholar who took up the subject and dealt with it in a masterly fashion was M. Noel Peri whose conclusions were accepted completely by Mr. V. A. Smith, who has given a separate note on the subject in the last edition of his "*Early History of India.*" It would be best to quote his own words about the subject. "If M. Peri is right, as he appears to be in holding that Vasubandhu lived and died in the fourth century, the Gupta King who patronized him must have been the learned and accomplished Samudragupta, son and successor of Chandragupta I, who might have been actually known as Vikramāditya. It is also possible that the title even if not actually assumed by Chandragupta I may have been traditionally assigned to him, as being an ordinary recognized title to any Gupta King. There is no reason whatever to doubt that Samudragupta was actually in possession of both Ajodhya and Śrāvasti and in all probability his father was so likewise. Assuming the recorded traditions, connecting Vasubandhu with a Gupta King to be well founded it follows that Samudragupta in his youth must have borne the titles of both Chandraprakāśa or Chandraprabhāba and Bālāditya or Parāditya. There is no difficulty about believing that to be a fact."

"I therefore conclude, that Samudragupta received Vasubandhu a Buddhist author and patriarch at court either as a minister or as an intimate counsellor with the sanction and approval of his father Chandragupta and further that Samudragupta, although officially a Brahmanic Hindu, studied Buddhism in his youth with interest and partiality."

There seems to be many serious difficulties in accepting this conclusion. The initial objection about whether the reading of the passage from Vāmana had Subandhu or Vasubandhu is not an-

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swered. Manuscript evidence seems to lead to the preference of the reading Subandhu, which does not fit in with the theory propounded above. Again in trying to establish his theory M. N. Peri has recourse to too many conjectures. There is nothing whatever either in literature or epigraphy to show that Samudragupta had the titles or other names of Candraprakāśa or Candraprabhāva and Bālāditya or Parāditya. Of these we know that the term Bālāditya was the title of Narasiṃhagupta and we do not know any other prince who assumed that title. It is not attempted here to prove that no other king could have had that title. But it is only shown that there is nothing to prove that Samudragupta was otherwise known as Bālāditya. Again as to Candraprakāśa or its variant Candraprabhāva it does not appear to be either the name or the title of any king. It seems merely to be descriptive of the hero whose full name ought to have occurred in the latter portion of the verse which is not available.

The next difficulty is about Vikramāditya. The two sources of the information about Vasubandhu vary in their account of the capital of this Vikramāditya. One says it was Śrāvasti and the other Ayodhyā. This discrepancy might not be very material. But according to a large section of scholars, Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty is too early a sovereign to have had that title, and according to them the original sovereign to assume that title was Candragupta II, son of Samudragupta. But there are others who think that there might have been an earlier Vikramāditya, who should have founded the era after his name, or lent his name to an already existing era of Malava. Even among these, none seem to favour the view that Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty was a Vikramāditya.

Again the verse has been thought to have been taken from a historical work dealing with the Guptas, christened "*Guptavaṃśamahākāvya*" which should have been dedicated to Samudragupta, who is mentioned in it as Candraprakāśa, and that it should have referred to many historical events and Mr. Pathak expresses the hope that the work might yet be discovered somewhere in Kashmir, where Vasubandhu spent a considerable portion of his life. But it was Mr. R. A. Narasimhacharya who first thought that the verse might have been taken from the introductory scene of a drama dedicated to the son of Candragupta, perhaps Kumāragupta, by Subandhu

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Subandhu mourns the death of Vikramāditya in the famous tenth verse of the *Vāsavadattā* and the other verses also are taken to refer to the contemporary events. This theory might have proved unassailable, had the knowledge of the scholars been confined merely to the above-stated data.

Since the above discussions there have been some very notable discoveries in the field of Sanskrit literature, which promise to throw additional light on the subject and clear the existing mystery. One of the works discovered by the Madras Manuscript Library, the *Avantisundarīkathā* which is attributed to the famous poet and rhetorician Daṇḍin of the eighth century has got a number of verses at the beginning wherein the previous authors are referred to and extolled. One of them deals about Subandhu and it runs :—

सुबन्धुः किल निष्क्रान्तो बिन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात्
तस्यैव हृदयं बध्वा वत्सराजकथा .. .. .. ॥

The verse is incomplete and breaks in the end which can be easily filled up. Freely translated, it would mean, "Subandhu came out of the bondage (imprisonment) of Bindusāra, and he captured his heart by (composing) the story of Vatsarāja." From this we understand that Subandhu was a contemporary of Bindusāra and the latter seems to have imprisoned and released him. Subandhu appears also to have written a story of Vāsavadattā. So far we know only of one Bindusāra in the whole range of Indian history. He was the son of Candragupta Maurya, the first Maurya emperor and the uprooter of the Nanda sovereignty. According to the theory now accepted by Sanskritists, the age of the Mauryas, or that of Candragupta and Bindusāra was not the age when *Kāvyas* could have been written. This view, although generally accepted, was opposed by a few scholars, among whom the most famous and the earliest was Goldstücker. These maintained that there ought to have existed many works in what has been called Classical Sanskrit in this age and even before this. A grammar like that of Pāṇini and the commentaries on it like those of Vararūci and Patañjali could not have been written without the existence of *Kāvyas*. Patañjali makes a distinct mention of a *Kāvya* by Vararūci (*Vārarūcam Kāvyam*) and in another place derives a word like *Vāsavadattika*, meaning by it, one who studies a *Kāvya* dealing with the story of Vāsavadattā. Pāṇini, the great grammarian,

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himself is said to have been the author of a poem called *Pātāḷavijaya* from which several verses have been quoted in all standard anthologies. Orthodox tradition does not know of thee xistence of two Pāṇinis. It is likely that Subandhu wrote a work on Vāsavadattā and the *Vāsavadattikas* of the time of Patañjali might have been very familiar with the work.

But hitherto, the only work known to scholars, as the work of Subandhu was the prose romance *Vāsavadattā*. The introductory verses of this work mention the death of Vikramāditya, who has been thought to be the same as Candragupta II. So *Vāsavadattā* should have been written after the death of Candragupta II, and the reference in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali could not have been to it if Patañjali really had been a contemporary of the Śuṅga sovereign Puṣpamitra and if he mentions Menander's conquests as contemporary events. Arguing on this line some scholars thought that Patañjali might have lived later than the Guptas. Even Dr. Peterson, who seems to have had an intuition in dealing with the dates of Sanskrit poets and argued against the view of the late origin of Patañjali, thought that there was sufficient reason to change his view and one of his reasons was Patañjali's mention of *Vāsavadattā*.

All this confusion was due to the fact that scholars thought that there was only one Subandhu and that his only work was the romance *Vāsavadattā*, whose date could be fixed from other data. But we have got some more information about Subandhu which previous scholars had not access to. The commentary of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* by Abhinavaguptapāda, which has been discovered by the Madras Library has got a passage wherein Subandhu and his work are mentioned. The passage runs thus and deals about *Nāṭyāyita*.

तत्रास्य बहुतरव्यापिनो बहुगर्भस्वप्नायितत्वस्य नाट्यायितस्योदाहरणं महाकविसुबन्धुनिबद्धोवासवदत्तानाट्यधाराख्यः समस्त एव प्रयोगः। तत्र हि बिन्दुसारप्रयोज्यवस्तके उदयनचरिते सामाजिकीकृतावप्युदयनो वासवदत्ता च .. .. एष चार्थः .. .. एकस्तुप्रदेश उदाह्रियते। तत्र ह्युदयने सामाजिकीकृते सूत्रधारप्रयोगः .. .. तत्र बिन्दुसारः सामाजिकीभूतः। .. .. इत्यादिपरिमितवादिनो गर्भस्य नाट्यायितस्योदाहरणं XXIV

Again in another place there occurs the following passage :—

अनयात्मार्यथा चन्द्रगुप्तबिन्दुसारादयोपि संगच्छन्त इति ॥ XVIII

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The two passages above quoted have reference to Subandhu. About the first, the author of the commentary Abhinavagupta says that in the work of the great poet Subandhu called *Vāsavadattā-nāṭyadhārā* there is given an example of *Nāṭyāyita* which is further described. The passage most unfortunately is fragmentary and breaks in more than one place. It speaks of how Udayana and Vāsavadattā were made spectators of a scene where Bindusāra was to represent the character of Udayana. Again it speaks of the *Sūtradhāra's* (stage manager) action when Udayana was made a *Sāmājika* (spectator). Again we are told that Bindusāra was made a *Sāmājika*. This, according to the commentary affords a good example of a *Nāṭyāyita*.

The whole passage is so very strange and contains information which we do not get anywhere else in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. We do not have any parallel to this *Nāṭyāyita* nor have we another example of a *Nāṭyadhārā*. Leaving aside conjecturing about what we cannot know with the limited resources now at our disposal, let us turn to examine how this passage affects our main theme, the date of the poet Subandhu. He becomes a contemporary of the Mauryan emperors Candragupta and Bindusāra. He was the author of a work called *Vasavādattā-Nāṭyadhārā*. His patrons Candragupta and Bindusāra also appear to have taken part in the representation of the drama. This throws a flood of light into a region of the history of Sanskrit literature which has remained quite dark up to the present. The epoch which it formed part of, seems to have been not a dull one, and the scholar is led to infer that there ought to have existed quite a large number of examples. Most unfortunately we do not possess any other examples.

The second extract from the work given above speaks of the two emperors Candragupta and Bindusāra.

The study of Indian literature and epigraphy so far has not revealed any achievements of this Bindusāra. But the records of the Greek ambassadors that visited the courts of ancient Indian kings and the ancient Indian works translated and preserved in the Tibetan language have some information about this Bindusāra. They represent him as a great conqueror and historians think that the Mauryan Empire should have been extended to South India during his time. In the Greek references his name is given as Amitragotas,

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which seems to be a corruption of Amitraghātin, a title that appears to have been assumed by Bindusāra. The word means the destroyer of enemies and seems to refer to his widespread conquests. The present extracts and the whole of the previous discussion show Bindusāra in a new light as a great patron of letters. The extract from Vāmana shows that Subandhu was a minister of Bindusāra and suggests that he was a very clever minister (*kṛtadhī*). He, ought to have been a fitting successor to Cāṇakya, i.e. Kauṭilya the famous minister of Bindusāra's father Candragupta, and the real founder of the Maurya empire. Kauṭilya was the author of the great ancient work on Polity, the *Arthaśāstra.* Like him his successor Subandhu, the minister of Bindusāra was the author of the dramatic work *Vāsavādattā Nāṭyadhārā.* He should have also become famous as a minister, as is evidenced by the epithet *kṛtadhī* referring to him, and Vāmana's note on the same.

Again the famous poet Bāṇa, the author of *Kādambarī* who lived in the court of the emperor of Kanouj, Śrī Harṣa, refers to a number of previous authors in the beginning of his *Harṣacarita.* Among these there is a reference to a work called *Vāsavadattā.* This is in the eleventh verse and follows the reference to the *Mahābhārata* and precedes the references to the poets Bhaṭṭāra-Haricandra, Śātavāhana, Pravarasena, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and the author of the *Bṛhatkathā* (Guṇāḍhya). The verse runs thus:—

कवीनामगमळर्पं नूनं वासवदत्तया ।
शक्तेव पाण्डुपुत्राणां गतया कर्णगोचरम् ॥

The gist of the verse is "The pride of poets vanished before *Vāsavadattā*, as the pride of the Pāṇḍavas when the weapon 'Śakti' got into the possession of Karṇa." Scholars thought that this verse referred to the existing *Vāsavadattā* and its author. But the position of the verse in the series, coming as it does immediately after the verse referring to Vyāsa and before the verses referring to Sātavāhana, Pravarasena, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Guṇāḍhya preclude such a conclusion. Again *Vāsavadattā* has not got as a work such merit as to deserve so high a praise. Scholars ought to remember that it was the study of the *Vāsavadattā* of this later Subandhu, with his taste for the pleasures of sensual life, and the zest with which he describes the mere physical side of love, which shows him up to us and seems to prove that he has not passed the stage of a

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refined voluptuary. Subandhu has used expressions which must adversely affect the reputation of any writer for taste and refinement. It should be remembered that it was this work of Subandhu that brought down the ire of the editor F. E. Hall which has expressed itself in the following strong attack against Sanskrit culture itself. "In short, it is nothing beyond the voucher of the severest verity to rank him (Subandhu) with his fellow Asiatics, be it in their highest taste, as no better, at the very best than a specious savage." Dr. Peterson has amply replied to this attack in his works and there is no need for us to reply to the attack so late in the day. It is only brought here to show that the reference of Bāṇa could never have been to the existing *Vāsavadattā*.

Of the several attempts to extract history from the verse quoted in Vāmana's *Alaṅkārasūtra*, one attempted to make use of the introductory verses of the *Vāsavadattā*, which tended to prove the occurrence of a political revolution in the Gupta Empire, after the death of Candragupta II Vikramāditya. In the light of the previous discussion and the new passages that have been brought in, it is plain that there is no reference in the verses to any events of the Gupta period. On the strength of the supposed references in the verses and the similarity between the expressions *Candraprakāśa*, *Himakarodyota*, and *Śaśiruk* in the beginning of *Vāsavadattā* the whole theory of Subandhu's taking part in the revolution and his being detrimentally affected by it was built up. This theory has now to be given up and the verses contain no reference to the enemies of Candraprakāśa, who were tyrannising over the whole country and particularly over Subandhu's party, but are merely the verses containing the *Kukavi-nindā* (censure of bad poets). Now if the hemistich of Vāmana has no reference to the Buddhist scholar Vasubandhu, his date ought to be determined on independent grounds. The discrepancy between the two accounts of Paramārtha and Hiuen Tsang about the place where Vikramāditya, the patron of Vasubandhu ruled, Ayōdhyā or Śrāvasti, might not be serious as both the places belonged to the empire. But the question as to who the Vikramāditya was, who patronised Vasubandhu, and who his son Bālāditya who summoned Vasubanbhu to his court after he became emperor are not so easily solved. If M. Peri is right in holding that Vasubandhu lived and died in the fourth century, the conclusion seems plausible that Candragupta I should have had the title of Vik-

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ramāditya, which is not impossible since the theory that Candragupta II was the first sovereign to assume that title is at least not proved. But we do not know if Samudragupta had the title Bālāditya or Parāditya and until we get independent proof that he had either of the titles the question regarding the date of Vasubandhu and the identity of his patron are bound to be unsettled.

Mr. M. R. Kavi of the Madras Library who discovered the commentary of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, tells me that he remembers to have read in the work the complete verse of which Vāmana's hemistich is a part. The latter half of the verse seems to have the word Bindusāra. When the scholar saw the verse first, he did not know about the controversy that was hanging about the passage and did not note it down. It has not been possible since to pick up the verse from the voluminous manuscript. It is hoped that it might be found out soon.

The age of Subandhu should have been an age of very great literary and artistic activity. There should have been written at this period many works in the *Kāvya* and *Nāṭaka* styles as well as in the *Sūtra* style. But for the existence of many dramas, a work like the *Naṭasūtras*, referred to by Patañjali, dealing about dramaturgy could not have been written. The dramas of the period should have differed much from those of the later ages as is evidenced by the *Nāṭyadhārā* and *Nāṭyāyita* of Subandhu. The age in which Subandhu lived was the age in which the ancient Greeks were just coming in contact with India. The Indian drama of the age seems to have already been in a much developed stage, for which there is no parallel even in the literary history of India at any later period. In the light of this, all theories of India's borrowing her drama from Greece have to be given up and search has to be conducted in India itself for specimens of early dramas, earlier than the age of Alexander's invasion. The hope of new and epoch-making discoveries in this field appears to be very legitimate and the discoveries are sure to open before the scholars, a new epoch in the history of Sanskrit literature about which scholars at present have no information.

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THE LONG LOST SANSKRIT VIDYĀSUNDARA.

By SAILENDRANATH MITRA, M.A.

The love-story of Vidyā and Sundara has hitherto been known to us exclusively from the works of Bengalee poets. Amongst these may be mentioned (see D. C. Sen's *History of Bengali Literature*, p. 653 ff.) Govinda Dāsa (1595 A.D.) of Deogram in Chittagong, Kṛṣṇa Rāma (1686 A.D.) of village Nimtā near Belghariā Station on the East Bengal Railway, Kṣemānanda, the date of whose composition, though not definitely known, must be very old, judging from the handwriting of the incomplete manuscript that has come to hand; Madhusūdana Kavīndra, the date of whose short narrative poem is also unknown; Rāmaprasāda Sen Kavirañjan of village Kumārhātā in Hālisahar, whose work belongs to the second half of the 18th century; and Bhāratacandra Rai Guṇākara of Peroñ Basantapur in the district of Hughli, who wrote his poem as an episode to his larger work, the *Annadāmaṅgala*, composed in 1752 A.D. Dr. Dineschandra Sen is inclined to suppose that the poet who was the first to write the *Vidyāsundara* in Bengali was Kaṅka, a contemporary of Caitanya (see *History of Bengali Literature*, p. 678). These were all the copies of the Bengali *Vidyāsundara* that had come to our knowledge until about 1916 when a manuscript written in Newari characters was recovered from Nepal and published in 1917 by the Sāhitya Pariṣat of Bengal. The title of the work is *Vidyāvilāpa*. The language is Old Bengali [1]; the date of its composition is, as its colophon indicates, Nepalese Samvat 840 Bhādra Śudi 13, corresponding to 1720 A.D.; the author Kāśīnātha calls it a '*Nāṭaka*,' although it has hardly any claim to be called so; and the dialogue is made up of short poems composed for the purpose of being sung, almost all the songs mentioning the name of Rājā Bhūpatīndra.[2] This work is, as we shall see later on, of

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[1] See the preface to *Nepāle Bāṅgālā Nāṭak*, edited in Bengali characters by Mr. Nanigopal Bandyopādhyāya and published by the Sāhitya Pariṣat of Bengal, 1917.

[2] Bhūpatīndra and his son Raṇajit Malla were the last Newar Kings of Nepal which the Gurkhas conquered in 1768 A.D.

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special importance as supplying a missing link in the tradition of the *Vidyāsundara* literature as a whole.

There have been many angry controversies over the historic truth of the story of *Vidyāsundara* as related by Bhāratacandra in so far as it contains an episode of the family history of the Varddhamāna Rāja. It is very much to be doubted whether there really was a Rājā of Burdwan of the name of Vīrasiṃha, as has been mentioned by Bhāratacandra and Rāmaprasāda The currency and popularity of their story has been so extensive in Bengal, having been universally known and represented in *yātrās* and theatres that nobody has cared to investigate the question of the real place of its origin in spite of the tradition, recorded by the late revered Pandit Rāmagati Nyāyaratna in his well-known work on Bengali language and literature, which says that there exists an account of *Vidyāsundara* composed by Vararuci and that the scene of the story is laid in Ujjayanī. But as nobody had actually come across such a work, the tradition was dismissed with a disdain that it was a vile attempt on the part of the champions of Sanskrit to belittle the glory of the Bengali literature, insinuating as it did, without any justification however, that the labours of Bhāratacandra and Rāmaprasāda are no better than records of plagiarism from Sanskrit. Nor did they even care to enquire whether there was in Bengal any other work before Rāmaprasāda and Bhāratacandra, giving the same story. With the knowledge, however, of the existence of the works of Govindadāsa and the aforesaid predecessors of Rāmaprasāda and Bhāratacandra, this settled and complacent idea of the origin of *Vidyāsundara* had dwindled to a certain extent, though never in favour of the traditional belief. Curiously enough, a piece of poetical composition in Sanskrit called '*Vidyāsundaram* (edited and published by the late Pandit Jībānanda Vidyāsāgara, 1888) was soon come across, which, however, was put aside as a composition of doubtful character and perhaps not genuine, supplying as it did only a very small portion of the whole story of *Vidyāsundara*, without any preliminary account as to who Vidyā and Sundara were and where they lived and how they came together and how they fared and so forth.

Accident has, however, brought to light a Sanskrit manuscript called '*Vidyāsundara-upākhyānam*' (which came to my hands in 1920) written in a strange admixture of Bengali and Devanāgari alphabets.

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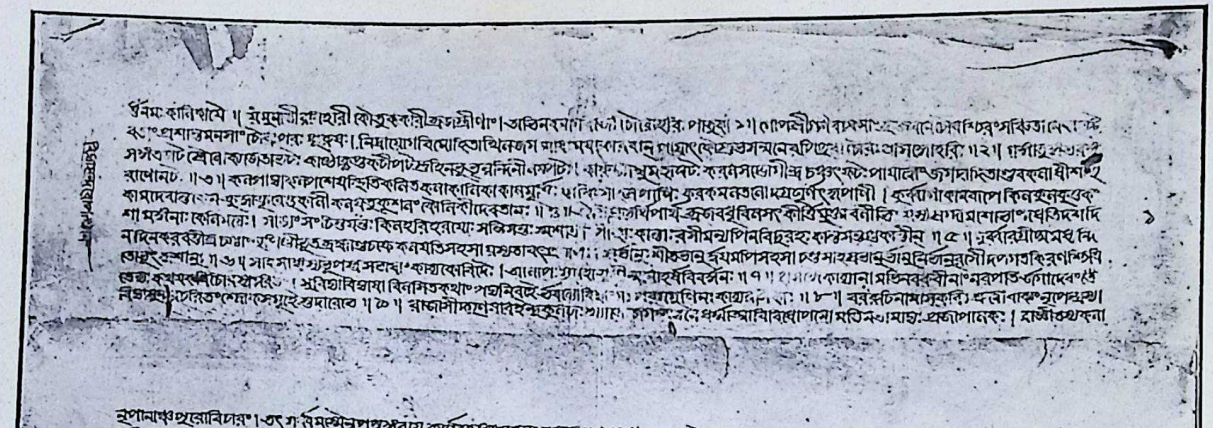

The Long-lost Sanskrit Vidyasundara. (*Page* 217).

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The author of the work is mentioned as Vararuci, of the court of Vikramāditya, as is to be found from the colophon which reads: "ইতি সমস্তমহীমণ্ডলাধিপমহারাজবিক্রমাদিত্যনিদেশলব্ধশ্রীমন্মহাপণ্ডিতবররুচিবিরচিতং বিদ্যাসুন্দরপ্রসঙ্গকাব্যং সমাপ্তং ॥"

The story is introduced under the following circumstances: There was a delightful converse of scholars going on in the court of King Sāhasāṅka,[1] and in course of a conversation on the works of new poets, the king asked them to relate in verse the story of the poet Caura and Vidyā of perfect learning; whereupon the poet Vararuci commenced the story of *Vidyāsundara*. The total number of verses is 546 approximately, and there are numerous varieties of metre. There are about 53 verses, each with a double meaning, put into the mouth of Sundara in eulogy of the goddess Kālī and these verses occur as a part of the narrative, while in Bhāratacandra's work it is merely mentioned that when Sundara invoked the goddess Kālī for his deliverance, he uttered 50 *ślokas*. Bhāratacandra has versified in Bengali these 50 verses, putting them together in a separate book entitled *Corapañcāśat*. To a casual reader this work, as he has arranged it, would hardly come home as originally forming part of his story of *Vidyāsundara*. Whether it was a detached composition of the poet Caura,[2] or whether it was Vararuci himself who composed and put them in the mouth of Sundara in his narrative, this much seems evident that the double meaning in each of the verses—one referring to Vidyā and another to Kālī—undoubtedly presupposes some story in which Vidyā was a character. That Bhāratacandra knew this is clear from his own translation of the *Corapañcāśat*; that he was influenced by the *Pañcāśikā* is further borne out by the fact that he has really composed, though without pun, a group of 50 verses in eulogy of Kālikā and thought it necessary to put them in the mouth of Sundara in the same situation in his story. Another remarkable feature of the Sanskrit manuscript is that a group of 50 similar verses, each commencing with the word "অদ্যাপি"—just

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[1] The name is interesting. We know of a *Sāhasāṅkacarita* by Maheśwara (1111A D.) and a *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* written by Padmagupta probably about 1010 A.D. in honour of the Paramāra king Sindhurāja (995–1010). See Duff's Chronology.

[2] It is common knowledge that Corakavi is no other than Bihlaṇa, who corrupted the daughter of the king of Mahilapattana and wrote the *Pañcāśat* See *Bihlaṇakāvya* (Kāvyasaṃgraha, Pt. 13, Bombay Edition).

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like Sundara's verses—is put into the mouth of Vidyā when she invokes Kālikā to spare the life of her lover Sundara, who was on the point of being executed. But we have no tradition, such as would name the author of this group as in the case of Caura's verses. The presumption is that Vararuci must have composed, if not Caura's verses, at least Vidyā's verses, on a line with Caura's. The description does not savour of such a rabid sensuousness as that of Bhāratacandra, and the composition in this respect can be called rather sober. As regards the date of the manuscript, paleographic and linguistic enquiries will, it is hoped, disclose hereafter many interesting evidences. The mention of the poet Jayadeva in verse 21, whether it is an interpolation or not places the composition of the work about the beginning of the 12th century A.D., if Jayadeva be the same poet that flourished in the court of King Lakṣmaṇa Sena of Bengal. It remains to be seen if the copy is an *archetype* or a rescript. In the same verse there is mention of poet Kālidāsa along with a "সংক্করশিব," and it will be interesting to see who this Kālidāsa was and what influence he had on Vararuci's work. The question whether the whole work is genuine or who is Vararuci or how far its date can be taken back, had better be left for a fuller treatment hereafter, and I would be content, considering the time allowed to me, with mentioning just one or two points that would answer for the antiquity of the work.

In the first instance, it will be interesting to note that there is in the Pāli literature a story called the *Mahā-Ummagga-jātaka* (Fausböll, Vol. VI, No. 546) where we read of a tunnel which, though at first constructed for purposes other than facility of a love-intrigue at last served a purpose similar to the tunnel of Vararuci or of Bhāratacandra's story. Next, the love-story of Vāsavadattā as accessible to us from the *Kathāsaritsāgara* seems to appeal to us in a special manner in that the home of the heroine is mentioned to be in Ujjayanī, which Vararuci has also chosen for his heroine. Again, in Kāśīnātha's work known as the *Vidyāvilāpa*, the names of the characters and places keep closer to those of Vararuci's story than to those of Bhāratacandra's, as will be evident from the following table :—

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Vararuci's *Vidyāsundara.*	Kāśīnātha's *Vidyāvilāpa.*	Bhāratacandra's *Vidyāsundara.*
1. *Guṇasāra*, king of *Ratnāvatī.*	*Guṇasāgara*, king of *Ratnāpuri.*	*Gunasindhu*, king of *Kāñcipura.*
2. *Kalāvatī*, wife of Guṇasāra.	*Kalāvatī*, wife of Guṇasāgara.	Nil.
3. *Vīrakeśarī*, king of *Ujjayanī.*	*Vīrasiṃha*, king of *Ujayinī.*	*Vīrasiṃha*, king of *Varddhamāna.*
4. *Śīlāvatī*, wife of Vīrakeśarī.	*Śīlāvatī*, wife of Vīrasiṃha.	Nil.
5. *Mādhava*, the Bhaṭṭa.	*Mādhava*, the Bhāṭ.	*Gaṅgā*, the Bhāṭ.
6. *Sucaritā*, the gardener's wife.	*Sugandhi*, the gardener's wife	*Hīrā*, the gardener's wife.

Whatever resemblances there may be amongst the three versions, Bhāratacandra's location of the story in Varddhamana coupled with the enchanting style with which he has consummated his task, had tempted us to take him at his word, that is to say, to regard the story as having originated in Bengal. But when the *Vidyāvilāpa* of Kāśīnātha was brought to light, I was surprised to find mention of 'Ujayinī' in place of Bhāratacandra's Varddhamāna. I am still further astonished to find that a work, viz. Vararuci's *Vidyī sundara*, the plot of which is the same as Bhāratacandra's, no matter whether it is earlier or later, coincides with the *Vidyāvilāpa* in so far as the location is concerned. Now, if, for the sake of the opponent's arguments, we take the newly discovered Sanskrit *Vidyāsundara* as a later composition than Bhāratacandra's and fabricated to appear earlier by being fathered on the good old Vararuci, we are, nevertheless, at a loss to understand how Bhāratacandra's well-accepted tradition could give place to one with which, strangely enough, most of the love-stories prior to his—whether in Sanskrit, or in Bengali—coincide, to say the least, in respect of location. The kernel, however, of historical truth seems to be that all these stories had a common substratum and there were accumulations at different periods and different places till at last the superstructure had grown in Bhāratacandra's work, which—alas—in spite of its many charms, has lent itself as a model for vulgar, or more appropriately, "smutty" growths in latter-day literature. It seems reasonable to think that

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the trend of the older Indian tradition, as represented in Vararuci's work, was broken off in Bengal to a certain extent, though not completely, and diverted to Nepal, where it was preserved, partially though, in Kāśīnātha's *Vidyāvilāpa*, so that Bhāratacandra when he wrote, had no accurate or trustworthy source to rely wholly upon. This may perhaps account for the exclusion of the *Corapañcāśat* from his *Vidyāsundara*. It will be an interesting occupation to be engaged in investigating how far the *Vidyāsundara* literature was synthesized in Vararuci's work. Provisionally, the landmarks in the development of the *Vidyāsundara* literature may be set down as follows:—

(*a*) Some early popular love stories.

(*b*) The story of the tunnel, as typified by the Pāli *Ummaggajātaka*, or any Indian work containing some such story.

(*c*) Stories like that of Udayana and Vāsavadattā, as derived from the *Bṛhatkathā* or the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

(*d*) A larger synthesis, as in Vararuci's poem.

(*e*) A digression towards ballad or melo-drama as typified by the *Vidyāvilāpa* of Kāśīnātha.

(*f*) Wholesale absorption in Bengali literature, as indicated in the works of Bengalee poets, from Govindadāsa to Bhāratacandra.

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THE STORY OF THE ṚṢI AṆĪ-MĀṆḌAVYA IN ITS SANSKRIT AND BUDDHISTIC SOURCES.[1]

By N. B. Utgikar, M.A.

Points of contact and along with them points of divergence between stories or parts thereof common to the Epic and the Paurāṇika literature on the one hand and the Buddhist literature (and to a smaller extent, the Jain literature too) on the other, have often been pointed out and investigated with great thoroughness. Pre-eminent among such recent investigations may be mentioned Lüders' (1) researches into the Ṛṣyaśṛṅga legend (*NGGW*) (1897); (2) those into the Kṛṣṇa legend (*ZDMG* 58 (1904), pp. 687ff.), and (3) those with regard to the Dhaumyanīti (Grantha Recension des *Mahābhārata* (*NGGW* 1901). To this class also belongs E. Hardy's article, "*Eine Buddhistische Bearbeitung der Kṛṣṇasage*," *ZDMG* 53 (1899), pp. 25ff.). R. O. Franke's *Jātaka-Mahābhārata Parallelen* (*WZKM* 20 (1906), pp. 317ff.) is a very important contribution on this subject, and generally the subject has been dealt with in an exhaustive manner by Winternitz in the first two volumes of his *History of Indian Literature*.

The existence of such parallels imparts an additional interest to the stories and also to the sources concerned, and with regard to an intensive study of the Epics and the Paurāṇika literature, it can be stated without any exaggeration that their student must keep his eyes wide open to see whether any of the innumerable stories found embedded in this part of the Sanskrit literature do possess their extra-Sanskritic analogue, be it in the Buddhist or in the Jain literature.

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[1] The following abbreviations are used in the paper :—

A. M. = Aṇī-Māṇḍavya.
Mbh. = Mahābhārata.
Adh. = Adhyāya.
M.P. = Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.
D. = Dipāyana.
J. = Jātaka.
G. = Gāthā.
C.P. = Cariyā Piṭaka.
K.A.S. = Kauṭilya Artha Śāstra.
vv. = Verses.

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The object of the present paper is to investigate into a small story, viz. that of the sage Aṇī-Māṇḍavya which has been thus preserved in more than one version, viz. in the *Mahābhārata*, in some of the *Purāṇas* and in the Buddhist *Kaṇhadīpāyanajātaka* and is also alluded to in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. A detailed study of this *Jātaka* would indeed be of great interest for the student of the Mbh. from another point of view; since the sage whose name this *Jātaka* bears is no one else than Kṛṣṇa Dvīpāyana, the reputed author of the great Epic. This task, howsoever interesting and instructive, may not detain us here at present, and it is considered in so far only as it may have some bearing on the vicissitudes of the story we have in view, viz. that of the sage Aṇī-Māṇḍavya.

The story in the Mbh. occurs (in its main features) at I. 107–8 (116 and 117 in the Kumbhakonum edition). The setting in which the story is placed will be considered later, the story itself being as under :—

There was a certain Brahmin by name Māṇḍavya, devoted to truth and asceticism. He stood at the door of his hermitage practising austerities with a vow of silence (v. 3). After a long while *dasyus* carrying stolen property came there, pursued by guards. Before they (the latter) could arrive the thieves hid the stolen property and themselves in the sage's hermitage. The guard arrived and asked of the sage which way the thieves had gone (v. 8). The sage made no reply (9). Wherefore they searched his hermitage and found the thieves and the stolen wealth (10). They suspect the sage, seize him and the thieves and carry them all to the king (11). The king orders the sage and the thieves to be hanged and the sage is impaled on a stake (*śūle protaḥ*) but even after a long while, and though without food, he does not die (14) but keeps himself alive and brings around to where he was impaled the *Ṛṣis* by the force of his penance (15). The *Ṛṣis* are extremely dejected and having assumed the forms of birds fly round him and disclosing themselves as best as they could, ask him as to what sin it was because of which he was having that terrible misery on the stake. Aṇī-Māṇḍavya replies in the first v. of the next (108) *adhyāya*—that he has no one else to blame (*doṣataḥ kam gamiṣyāmi* (v. l. *doṣasyāntam ga-*) and that none has offended him (*na hi me 'nyo 'parādhyati*). Curiously enough these are the only words put into the mouth of A. M. in reply to the laborious query of the *Ṛṣis*.

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When the servants of the king see him thus situated for a long while they report the fact to the king. He takes counsel with his ministers (approaches and) appeases the sage on the stake (3). He orders the sage to be taken down and takes out the stake but is unable to extract the whole of it and he leaves the end of the stake in his body (6). The sage moved about with the end of the stake fixed inside (his body) and by the great endurance involved therein conquered heaven unattainable to other men (7) and because of this he is known as A. M. in the world. A. M. now goes to the abode of Dharma (Yama) and censures him, "What sin was committed by me unknowingly in expiation of which such misery was ordained to me ?" (10). Yama replied that A.M. had fixed a blade of grass (*iṣikā*) in the wings of flies and his present misery was in retaliation for this offence (11). An offence howsoever small meets with a great punishment (12). Being asked as to when that sin was committed by him, A. M. is told that it was in his boyhood (13). A. M. then ordains that whatever a boy might do till he reaches twelve years from his birth will not be a sin (14). And inasmuch as Yama has made him and a Brahmin too, suffer a punishment out of proportion to his offence, Yama would be born as a human being in the Śūdra caste (15*a*). And finally, he (re?-) promulgates that no action committed by a human being till he is fourteen years of age shall be regarded as sin which it would be thereafter (as against the twelve years limit set up above) (17). The last two vv. (18 and 19) sum up the story in Vaiśampāyana's words by saying that it was because of this curse that Yama was born as a Śūdra in the person of Vidura.

The setting in which this story of A. M. is placed in the Epic deserves some notice. The story occurs in the *Sambhavaparva* section of the *Ādiparvan*. This *Sambhavaparva* describes the birth and other antecedents of the Epic characters, and as such that of Vidura, who is described as being Yamadharma undergoing as mortal Vidura an expiation of his offence against the sage A. M. This story therefore is rightly regarded as being merely an *upākhyāna*, a subsidiary or secondary episode, one bearing not directly on the Epic story but only in a remote and subordinate manner.

The above is a full statement of what the Mbh. has to say regarding this sage. His name and deeds are referred to at some other places in the Epic. But at one place only, viz. (Mbh. XIII,

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18. 46 referred to below) there is any material variation or addition in the incidents. On the other hand it is not quite certain whether this Aṇī-Māṇḍavya is the same sage as Māṇḍavya who is also mentioned in other parts of the Mbh. Sometimes it is A. M. who is intended where simply Māṇḍavya is mentioned ; e.g. at Mbh. XV, 28. 12, 14 though it is simply Māṇḍavya that is spoken of, still there can be no doubt that it is our A. M. who is intended (since his cursing Yama, etc , is referred to) ; or at Mbh. XIII, 18. 46ff. the Māṇḍavya who tells his story of his offering a prayer to, and obtaining the favour of Śiva when he was impaled on a stake as a thief which he was not is unmistakably our A. M. In this case however we find that a new element (i.e. one not to be traced in the place (I, 107f) where the full story is given in the Mbh.) is being added in the Mbh. itself to the original story, viz. that of his seeking the favour of Śiva as the sage is impaled on the stake. But when at Mbh. V, 186. 28 Ambā is spoken of as having practised penance at the hermitage among others of the sage Māṇḍavya it is difficult to decide whether our A. M. is intended. The same doubt attends the Māṇḍavya mentioned at XII, 47. 11 among the *Ṛṣis* who surrounded Bhīṣma on his death-bed of arrows. Lastly, it also remains doubtful whether the Māṇḍavya mentioned at Mbh. (XII, 276) as holding discourse with, and learning wisdom from *Videharāja*, when the latter says that well-known verse regarding the burning of Mithilā is or is not the Aṇī-Māṇḍavya of our investigation. The tantalising lack of distinctiveness which characterises the Māṇḍavya of this passage of the Mbh. is much to be deplored because the maxims of sententious philosophy imparted to him by the king of Videha find many parallels in the Buddhist literature. For the Buddhist parallels to many of the vv. of this Adh. see specially Franke l.c., pp. 353 and 368 ; see also Winternitz *Geschichte* Vol. I, p. 357 and Vol. II, p. 119 ; compare also C. V. Rajwade's paper on "*The Burning of Mithilā*," *Proceedings of First Ori. Conf.*, Vol. I, p. xxx.

We may now turn to the version of our A. M. story in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. (M. P. Bibli. Ind. Edn. Adh. 16). With regard to this *Purāṇa* it is interesting to hear of the testimony of the latest historian of the Sanskrit literature (Winternitz, *History of Ind. Liter.* Vol. I, p. 467). "The M. P. is one of the most important, interesting, and probably also one of the oldest works of the whole Purāṇa literature." Otherwise however the usual

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qualifications in the case of a *Purāṇa* necessarily prevail here; and the first part of this *Purāṇa* in which occurs the story of Māṇḍavya is held to be later than the latter part of the same work. Here it is a son (Sumati) who is instructing his father (Bhārgava) as to how to live this worldly life, and then he describes a life of *Yoga* which formerly Dattātreya had taught to Anarka (1-13). There was a Brahmin by name Kauśika living in Pratiṣṭhāna. By misdeeds in former births he was afflicted with leprosy. But such as he was, his wife tended to his wants and generally served him as one serves one's deity. She underwent every sort of dirty drudgery on his behalf. But the husband was hard to please and ever and anon found fault with and blamed his wife, cruel as he was (17). Being unable to move about, he one day asked his wife to carry him to the house of a courtesan on whom he had set his heart, failing which, he would die, he said (23). The wife, devotedly faithful, obeyed her master, and carried her husband to the courtesan's house on her shoulders, at night when the sky was overcast with clouds (26). But on the way the feet of Kauśika touched in the darkness of the night the sage Māṇḍavya who was impaled on a stake, being suspected to be a thief which he really was not.

पथि शूले तथा प्रोतमचोरं चोरशङ्कया ।
माण्डव्यमतिदुःखार्त्तमन्धकारेऽथ स द्विजः ॥
पत्नीस्कन्धे समारूढश्चालयामास कौशिकः ॥

The sage M. already suffering great pains was annoyed (28) and cursed Kauśika that because of the offence, Kauśika would die before the sun rose (30). The remaining part of the Adh. may be very briefly summarised.—The wife of Kauśika however, by the strength of her merits as a true *pativratā* prevents the Sun from rising. The gods are terrified, because there were no sacrifices offered to them. Prajāpati explains why the Sun could not rise, and advises the gods to resort to the mediation of Anasūyā, wife of Atri, if they wanted that the Sun should rise. Anasūyā justifies the action of the wife of Kauśika but promises redress (52). She goes to Kauśika's wife and in the end, by invoking the favour of the Sun God (77), the husband is given youth, long life, and with it, complete freedom from the deadly disease and the Sun goes on his daily course and the gods get their due. Anasūyā gets a boon from the gods that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara would be born as her son (90).

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In this brief mention in the M.P. of the A. M. story we find a new element added, viz. that of A. M. cursing a person. The other elements of the A. M. story as we find it in the Mbh. are evidently latent in the version offered here. A. M. is not चोर but is चोरशङ्कया शूले प्रोतः and is consequently अतिदुःखार्त्त. This new element of A. M. cursing a person is also found in another *Purāṇa*, viz. the *Padma*, where the story occurs in Adh. 48 (Anadaśram Edn. Vol. III, p. 1142 ff).

Being asked what the prowess of a *pativratā* is, *Śrī Bhagavān* replies:—In the *Madhyadeśa* there is a beautiful city where lived a *pativratā*, by name Śaivyā. Her husband had leprosy. He once saw a courtesan and set his heart on her. The wife sets upon winning the favour of the courtesan who is in the end persuaded to receive for one day, the leper in her house. It is here that the story of A. M. is brought in. Thefts were frequent in that city and the king orders his servants that the thieves must be caught. The servants go, and seize in the forest adjoining the capital, the great sage Māṇḍavya staying there and practising austerities. M. is impaled. The leper while being carried by his wife to the courtesan's house presses his body against Māṇḍavya's whose concentration is disturbed. M. curses the man to be reduced to ashes before the Sun has advanced far. The *pativratā* prevents the Sun from rising. The usual dire consequences follow. And so the gods and Brahmā all approach the *pativratā* directly, i.e. without the intercession of Anasūyā who is made to go and speak to the lady in the M.P. version, and after some discussion the wife yields to the promises of Brahmā. The Sun rises, and the man is reduced to ashes, but from amidst the ashes a Brahmin youth arises (as was promised by Brahmā) and the *pativratā* and her restored husband go to the heaven with the gods.

The A. M. story is referred to in two other *Purāṇas*, the *Garuḍa* and the *Skanda Purāṇa* (compare the note s.v. Anī-Māṇḍavya in the index volume of the Kumbhakonum *Mahābhārata*). The latter work is not unfortunately available to me either in print or in MS. In the former it occurs in an Adh. (142) in connection with the enumeration of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, and the mention of the Rāma-incarnation and his wife Sītā is the occasion for bringing in the story of the *pativratā* of Kauśika in Pratiṣṭhāna. The text in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* is confused even in the two complete MSS. of the work available at the Bhandarkar Institute and consulted in the course of this investigation, viz. No. 113 of the collection of A.

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1881–82 and No. 144 of the collection of 1887–91. The story is told very briefly but with no material variation. Anusūyā pacifies the enraged *pativratā* and the sun is finally allowed to rise and the husband is brought to life (and is not carried to the heaven by the gods with great eclat as in the *Padma Purāṇa*).

We have now followed the different versions of the Aṇī-Māṇḍavya story as it has been preserved to us in two diverse strata of the Sanskrit literature: in the epical and in the Pauranic sources. Taking—I would emphasise the hypothetical nature of my statement—taking the Mbh. version in the *Ādiparvan* as the norm of the A. M. story, we find that the story has received in an admittedly non epic part of the Mbh. (a part too, which is admittedly a late addition), i.e. in the *Anuśāsanaparvan*—the A. M. story has begun to receive accretions—a touch of sectarian purpose. In *Parvan* XIII of the Mbh., the A. M. story as such recedes into the background and is mentioned only to emphasize the greatness of Śiva who has been implored by A. M. to relieve him of his agonies on the stake this last touch also being absent from our norm; and the sage endowed with specific characteristics in the original story begins to lose his individuality and to merge in the unidentified personality of a vague Māṇḍavya.

We may now turn to a very different but at the same time very important source of our story, viz. the Buddhist *Jātaka*. Here we find curiously enough one of the phenomena already noticed in the Mbh., viz. that there is an Aṇī-Māṇḍavya and also a Māṇḍavya mentioned in the *Jātakas*: both together in the *Kaṇhadīpāyana Jātaka* (No. 444 of Fausböll's Edition, Vol. IV, p. 27f.) and a Māṇḍavya with the variant Maṇḍappa in *Mātaṅga Jātaka* (No. 497, Vol. IV, p. 375f.). The mention of the *Jātakas* however, makes it necessary to refer to their composite nature, and to the varying value to be attached to the two distinct parts of which each *Jātaka* is made up, viz. the prose part of it and the verses, the *gāthās*. The prose part is comparatively a very late composition, and only the *gāthās*—the vv. are to be regarded as forming part of the Buddhistic canon (in the present case, the *Khuddakanikāya*); and therefore as belonging to a higher antiquity. (For this whole question of the composition of the *Jātakas* and the mutual relation and occasional discrepancy between the prose commentary and the *gāthā* verses and the retranslation of the former into Pali from the

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Sinhalese, see Winternitz, *History* Vol. II, p. 89f. especially p. 92ff. Compare also the same author's remarks in *Ostasiatische Zeitschsift* Vol. II, p. 259ff. cf. also Lüders, *ZDMG* 58. 1904, p. 689). For our present purposes the result therefore comes to this :—that though a story be found in the prose part of the *Jātaka*, viz. the *Jātakaṭṭha-Kathā*, still, unless and until it can be shewn that the traces of the story exist in or are postulated by the text of the *gāthās* the story cannot claim the same antiquity as is generally conceded to the Buddhist canon, but merits as much credence only as the commentary has, as a literary production dating from about the 5th century A.D. The story of A. M. as given in the prose part of the *Jātaka* is to the following effect—

In the kingdom of Vaṃsa there ruled at Kosambi a king by name Kosambika. In a certain town lived two Brahmins, Dīpāyana and Māṇḍavya. They turned ascetics and in their wanderings came to a householder Māṇḍavya, a former friend of Dīpāyana. The two ascetics live with him for some time and then proceed to Kāśī. Dīpāyana after a while returns to his lay friend M. and the ascetic M. is left in Kāśī. The agreement in the *Jātaka* story and the epic story begins hereafter. Now it happened that a thief after having committed theft was about to leave the town when the watchmen raised a cry, and the thief escaping through a sewer entered the cemetery and dropped the wealth at the ascetic M.'s doors, and ran off. The owners of the wealth follow and abusing M. as a robber by night and a sage by day carry him to the king. The king without enquiring into the case ordered him to be impaled on a stake (*Śūle Uttāsetháti*). He was first put on a stake of *Khadira* wood. The stake refuses to enter the ascetic's body. Then a *Nimba* stake is tried but to no purpose, and finally an iron one, which also fails. The sage then begins to introspect the cause of this strange phenomenon. Then the consciousness of his former birth dawns upon him (*ath assa jātissaraññām uppaiji*)—and then he found that in a past life he had pierced a fly upon a splinter of ebony when he was the son of a carpenter (*vaḍḍhakiputto hutvā*), and that that sin had found him out now. Recognizing that there was no escape from the punishment, he asked the king's men to prepare an ebony wood stake on which he was then spitted.

Dīpāyana became curious to see Māṇḍavya and came to where he was. On the way he heard what had befallen him. He asked him

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whether he could control his mind and having a reply in the affirmative, he said that the shadow of a pious man was delightful to him and so he sat by the side of the stake. Drops of blood fell from Māṇḍavya's body and the drops dried up as they fell on the golden hue of Dīpāyana's body, and turned black, and thence-forward Dīpāyana was called Kaṇha-dīpāyana. He continued to sit there, and the watchmen informed the king of these events. He visits the place and conversation ensues between the king and Dīpāyana. He orders the stake to be taken off M.'s body when he learns to his confusion that M. is guiltless. The stake cannot be removed and M. asks the king to have it cut off flush with the skin (*cammasamam chindapehīti*). This was done and the part of the stake that had pierced into the body remained there and so M. came to be called Anī-Māṇḍavya. The king pacifies the two ascetics, and A. M. stays with the king. Dīpāyana goes away to the householder Māṇḍavya and tells him the story of A. M.

Thus ends the part of the *Jātaka* prose that bears on the A. M. story. The remaining part of the *Kaṇhadīpāyana Jātaka* is taken up by the story of a miracle in which D. participates and which is performed on the son of his lay friend Māṇḍavya who is bitten by a snake. Fixing now our attention on the story of the sage A. M. as given in this *Jātaka*, to begin with we find that the story occurs in the prose commentary only, and that the ten *gāthas* of this *Jātaka* do not reflect any part of the A. M. story.

G. 1. Refers to the "Act of truth" performed by *Kaṇhadīpāyana* in healing Yaññadatta who is bitten by snake.

एतेन सच्चेन सुवाक्कं होतु।
हतं विसं जीवतु यञ्ञदत्तो॥

G 2. Refers to a similar deed done by the father and

G. 3. to that of the mother. It is after the combined effort of the three that the boy revives.

G. 4 and 5 contain M. and D.'s colloquy as to why the latter is walking the path of sanctity unwillingly.

G. 6 and 7 continue the same topic.

G. 8 contains a question put by Māṇḍavya to his wife as to why she continued against her wish to be his wife.

G. 9 contains her reply, and

G. 10 her request for forgiveness.

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It should be noted that it is the A. M. story that is not reflected in the *gāthās*; what they contain being the story of the sage Kaṇhadīpāyana and (another) Māṇḍavya. The English translation of the *Jātaka* under reference has already warned us that there are two Māṇḍavyas referred in this *Jātaka*; one, the ascetic companion of Dīpāyana and this M. later become the Aṇī-Māṇḍavya, the other, a householder, and a lay friend of Dīpāyana, to whom Dīpāyana relates the story of Aṇī-Māṇḍavya and with whom he holds the discourse and who is evidently referred to in the last verse of the *Jātaka*.

This A. M. story is referred to at another place in the Buddhist canon namely in the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, which also belongs to the *Khuddaka Nikāya* (III, XI in the Nekkahammaparamita Morris' Edn. P. T. S. page 99f). For the relation of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* to the *Jātakas* see Winternitz, *Geschichte* II, page 132. For a detailed study of the C.P. in relation to the *Jātakas* see specially Charpentier (*W.Z.K.M.* 24, page 351ff., p 395f.).

The vv. of the *Kaṇhadīpāyana Cariyā* in so far as the A. M. story is concerned are the following (it is the Buddha himself who speaks in all these *Cariyās*).

1. पुनापरम् यदा होमि कण्हदिपायनो इसि
   परो पञ्चासवस्सानि अनभिरतो चरिम् अहम्.
2. न कोचि एतं जानाति अनभिरतिभनं मम
   अहंपि कस्सचि नाचिरिखं अरतिं मे रतिमानसे.
3. सब्रह्मचारी मण्डव्यो सहायो मे महा इसि
   पुब्बकम्मसमायुत्तो सूलमारोपनं लभि.
4. तं अहं उपट्ठहित्वान आरोग्यं अनुपापयि
   आपुच्छित्वान आगच्छि यं मच्चं सकं अस्समम्.
   सहायो ब्रह्मणो मच्चम् . . . . . .

I have above made it clear that the A. M. story is not hinted at in the *gāthās* of the *Kaṇhadīpāyana Jātaka*, and that it may have been introduced only by the prose writer; also that it is not organically connected with the rest of the story. It may be urged that though absent from the *Jātaka gāthās* the story is given in the *gāthās* of the *Cariyā Piṭaka*. This is true; but the *Cariyā Piṭaka* is the last constituent part of the Buddhist canon, and comes after the *Jātakas* and probably dates from the fifth century A.D. only. In considering the genesis of the *Cariyā Piṭaka*, Winternitz (*History* Vol. II, p. 132f.) is disposed to regard it as very likely that "the stories

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as they are found in our Jātaka book were regarded in one school of pious monks as rather too worldly, who therefore set themselves to bring the stories in closer relations to the Buddhist dogma. They thus proceeded to select some *Jātakas*, which were arranged according to the *Pāramitās*, and, in accordance with this motive, recast." Charpentier, whose valuable contribution to the history of the *Cariyā Piṭaka* is alluded to above, is inclined to hold that the *Cariyā Piṭaka* dates after 430 A.D. when the *Jātaka* commentary was retranslated from the Sinhalese into Pali (*W.Z.K.M.*, 24, 1910 p. 351ff.; Winternitz, l. c., p. 133). It is therefore probable that the author of the *Kaṇhadīpāyana Cariyā* had before him the story of A. M. as is given in the prose of the *Kaṇhadīpāyana Jātaka*.

As completing this part of our investigation, it ought to be mentioned that a Māṇḍavya is mentioned in the *Mātaṅga Jātaka* (497). This Māṇḍavya, (v. l. Maṇḍappa), is, however, no ascetic and is oftentimes called Māṇḍavya Kumāro. This *Jātaka* has an interest for our subject in so far only as one of the miracles which we find mentioned in the Māṇḍavya story as preserved in the *Padma* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, viz. preventing the Sun from rising is also mentioned in this *Jātaka* ;—with this difference, however, that whereas in the *Purāṇas* it is the fiat of a *pativratā* which brings about the feat, in the *Jātaka* it is the Mātaṅga (who however is none else than the Buddha himself) who does it, in order to humble the pride of a Brahmin by name Jatimanta. For purposes of the A. M. story, however, this *Jātaka* is of no further interest. Now with regard to the story of the sage Aṇī-Māṇḍavya as given in the prose of the K. J. (444) I have in the first place to observe that I do not agree with the view of Järl Charpentier (*W.Z.K.M.*, 28 (1914) p. 238, footnote 2) that the *Jātaka* story is in "approximately complete agreement" with the Epic story. It would be seen from the résumé given above that the *Jātaka* story does indeed, possess a semblance to the Epic story, but only in a very general and broad sense. Many details are different. In the first place, we are struck by the fact that the *Jātaka* story—or more correctly we ought to say now the Buddhistic version of the A. M. story brings the ascetic A. M. into very close association with Kaṇhadīpāyana, a connection for which there is no authority in the story given in the *Ādiparvan* of the Epic or in the *Purāṇas*. In the Buddhist version, K. D. goes to meet his old friend, and is instrumental in having the stake taken off from A. M.'s

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body. In the Epic version, it is only the sages generally who gather round A. M. and are not mentioned as having anything to do with the removal of the stake. We shall not insist on the differences between the Sanskrit version and the Pali version which have their root in the fundamentally divergent point of view of the Buddhist and the Brahminical writers: such as for instance, A. M.'s *Jātis-saranā* in the former, and his going to the court of Yama in the latter; nor need we attach any great importance to the numerous details in the *Jātaka* story which impart to it at the first sight an air of *naivety*—of primitive love of simplicity such as the various kinds of stake that were tried one after the other, or the preamble about the country of K. D. and A. M. All this can be explained on the ground of the ardent desire of the Pali version to make the story as catching as possible. We may however refer to one aspect of the *Jātaka* story which is also striking in its divergence from the Sanskrit version, viz. the reason why the sage Dīpāyana came to be called Kaṇhadīpāyana. The *Jātaka* prose says that this was so because the drops of gore as they fell on the golden hue of D.'s body, dried and turned (to evidently perpetual) black, whence the sage came to be called Kaṇhadīpāyana. This explanation so far as I can see, is not countenanced by any statement of a similar purport in the Mbh. or in the Sanskrit versions; and this is not to be wondered at, because, the Mbh. story does not presuppose any close connection between K. D. and A. M. With regard to the reason why D. is called K. D., it is simply stated in the Mbh. that it is because of his *kṛṣṇatva*.

यो व्यस्य वेदांश्चतुरस्तपसा भगवानृषिः ।
लोके व्यासत्वमापेदे कार्ष्ण्यात्कृष्णत्वमेवच ॥

(I. 105. 15).

कृष्णत्व evidently means here blackness or darkness but the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha (and with him, the Sanskrit Lexicon *Śabda Kalpadruma* s. v. *Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana*) explain as meaning कृष्णत्वात्; ईश्वरादनन्यत्वात्.

Besides these two sources the Sanskritic or the Brahmanic, and the Buddhistic, there is also a third source, which contains a passing allusion to and so sheds some light on the A. M. story. This source is the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, which does not indeed give the whole of our story—but only a part at page 220 where the author says:—

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दृश्यते ह्यचोरोऽपि चोरमार्गे यदृच्छया ; सन्निपाने चोरवेषशस्त्रभाण्डसामान्येन गृह्यमाणो दृष्टः चोरभाण्डस्योपवासेन वा यथा हि माण्डव्यः कर्मक्लेशभयाद्चोरः चोरोऽस्मीति ब्रवाणः।

Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra—Shamasastri's 2nd Edn.

. Mr. Shamasastri thus translates the last sentence :—Māṇḍavya . . . . under the fear of torture, admitted himself to be a thief . . . .

The Māṇḍavya referred to here is evidently the A. M. It was Jacobi who first pointed out this reference in the *K.A.S.* to the A. M. story (in the *SBPAW*, Phil.-Hist. Classe 1911, p. 970); but he and after him, J. Charpentier (*W.Z.K.M.*, 28 (1914) p. 238) are inclined to hold that the incident of the A. M. story, as referred to in this work, viz. his saying that he was the thief, though innocent, because he feared the torture (of punishment) is in direct conflict with the Mbh. story, where the sage is represented as making no reply whatever to the watchman's enquiry about the way the thieves had gone. A further conclusion is drawn from this divergence (among certain other ones between the *Mahābhārata* and *Arthaśāstra* versions) that at the time of the *K.A.S.* "there did not still exist a redaction of the Mbh. ascribed to the Vyāsa Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, at least it had not as yet received a canonic authority in the Brahmanic circles" (Jacobi, *L.C.* p. 971 ; Charpentier, *L.C.* pp. 213, 238). With due deference to the view of so high an authority as Jacobi, it must be said that the reference by Kauṭilya to the story of A. M. cannot be made to support the weighty arguments based thereon : nor can it be argued that the reference itself shows a divergent version of the A. M. story. As we are not at present concerned with the date of the Mbh., this question need not be treated here at great length, but it may be pointed out that our ancient writers were scarcely at great pains to be exact in their quotations or to verify them or to indicate their sources. It is quite possible to imagine that with the story already existing as in our present version Kauṭilya might have used the story (we might even say adapted the story) to illustrate the points he had in mind, viz., that at times it is possible to come by a case where a person in order to avoid all bother of the police custody and the proverbial torture it involves, makes a false admission. It may also be that the way in which Kauṭilya refers to the story is a rationalistic way of interpreting an old story,—an old *Itihāsa* or *Ākhyāyana*. Given the story, the question would arise as to why the sage did not speak out that he had no hand whatsoever in the theft. Of this there is no

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answer in the Mbh., or the Buddhistic version. A man with an intensely practical and inductive turn of mind may say that the purpose was the ascetic's desire to avoid all torture, or to offer himself in place of the thieves. And it is to be noted that the original reply which is given by A. M. in the story of the Mbh. as we have it and which Jacobi regards as opposed to the *K.A.S.* statement, viz., A. M.'s words न किंचिद्वचनं राजन्नब्रवीत्साध्वसाधु वा in Mbh. (I. 107-9) and Cāṇakya's words अचोरश्चोरोऽस्मीति ब्रुवाणः (*K.A.S.*),—this reply is not made to the watchman's question whether A. M. had committed theft—but is made to the question as to what way the thieves have gone. It looks therefore more probable that Kauṭilya is to be regarded more as theorising on the A. M. story than quoting therefrom either verbatim or in substance. I am even inclined to hold that, if anything, Kauṭilya's reference points to an inferable familiarity with the Mbh. story. After getting no reply from the sage, which way the thieves had gone the king's servants search the hermitage of the sage. There they find according to the Epic story both the thieves and the stolen articles (चोरभाण्डम् of *K.A.S.* = चोरांस्तद्द्रव्यमेव च of the Epic). We must now imagine A. M.'s position. He realises that he is now undone. The stolen property and the thieves are discovered hidden in his hut and howmuchsoever he might now protest he was sure to be seized as a thief (or an accomplice). He therefore hands himself over to the king's men without offering any resistance, because even if he resisted he was sure to be seized—and so कर्मक्लेशभयात्, though he was not a thief (अचोरः) he admits चोरोऽस्मीति ब्रुवाणः

To summarise then our position at the end of these ramblings :—

A. *The Sanskrit Versions.*

(1) There is in the first place the whole story as is given in the Mbh. I. 106 and 107. It is an *upākhyāna*, a secondary narrative, being presumably one of such *upākhyānas* by the addition of which (as the Mbh. itself declares) the original *Bhārata* was turned into the present *Mahābhārata*.

(2) This story is in all its essentials repeated at other places in the Mbh.

(3) At one of such places, viz., Mbh. XIII. 48 a sectarian turn has been given to the story, and it is made to serve the purpose of emphasizing the greatness of Śiva whom A. M. had to propitiate. The

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story along with other sages including K. D. becomes of secondary importance only. Its lesson is primary.

(4) By the side of this A. M. there is another sage Māṇḍavya mentioned in the Mbh. and it is difficult to see whether the two are identical (e.g. at Mbh. XII. 282).

(5) The story occurs in four *Purāṇas*. As in the *Anuśāsana Parvan*, so in the *Purāṇas* the story is told for a didactic purpose, viz. to emphasise the greatness of *pativratās*. The treatment in style and narration which the story has received in the different versions is not equal. The clearest version is probably that in the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, which is regarded as being one of the oldest *Purāṇas*. The four versions do not show any traces of one being the copy of the other. In other words they are all independent literary productions on a common theme existing in such key-words or catch phrases as शूले प्रोतः and अचोरश्चोरशङ्कया ; while the *Purāṇa* versions preclude the possibility of being derived from one common literary source, it is also evident that they are neither indebted to the Mbh. for their origin, i.e. from a literary point of view it cannot be said that the *Purāṇa* writers borrowed lines or verses from the Mbh. version. Neither is the story of A. M. given in the *Purāṇas* for the story's sake but is referred to because A. M. happens to be rather directly associated in certian other events in which the *Purāṇas* are interested,—it so happening that when a dutiful wife was carrying one night her husband on her shoulders, the latter's feet touched A. M.'s body, who was enraged and cursed the man that he would die before the Sun rose.

B. *The Buddhist Version.*

Along with this two-fold Brāhmanic current of the story there is the third, the Buddhistic version.

(1) The A. M. story is given in the *prose* part of the *Kaṇhadīpāyana Jātaka*. But there are no traces of the A. M. story existing in the *gāthās* of the *Jātaka*.

(2) The *Jātaka* prose however is admittedly much later than the *gāthās* and may even belong to the fifth century A.D.

(3) The *Cariyāpiṭaka* verses narrate our story in *gāthās* and so it may presumably be urged that though the A. M. story be absent from the *Jātaka gāthās*, some acquaintance with it must be presupposed in the Buddhistic canon. This argument, however, loses

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its force since the *Cariyāpiṭaka* is held to be a work based on the *Jātakas* and only dating from after 430 A.D.

(4) A comparison of the *Jātaka* version with the epic has brought to light that the former differs from the latter in many essential points. For instance (*a*) the close association of the two sages K. D. and A. M. which the Pali version postulates, (*b*) and the explanation which is there given as to why D. is called Kṛṣṇa D. have no resemblance in the Sanskrit version.

(5) The only place however where such a connection can be inferred in our Sanskrit sources is Mbh. XIII. 18 where K. D. and A. M. are mentioned together, and one after the other, though not indeed as mutually being associated with each other in any way, as among the personages who sought and obtained the favour of the God Śiva.

The evidence available at present is very meagre; but the conjecture derives probability that the writer of the prose part of the *Jātaka* which places the two ascetics K. D. and A. M. in such close connection might very possibly have in his mind some indistinct and fragmentary reminiscences resting on the *Anuśāsanaparvan* (XIII) of the Epic. This conjecture derives greater possibility especially as the more ancient part of the *Jātaka* viz., its *gāthās* have nothing whatsoever to correspond to any of the outlines of the A. M. story, which our Pali writer might otherwise have been held to utilize and dilate upon in his prose narration (the case of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* which would seem to militate against this view being already shown to be devoid of any force). If this be so and I for one do not at present see an escape from this conclusion—there rises this further question, viz., why the Pali versions diverge from the version in the *Ādiparvan* of the Epic which is admittedly older than the *Anuśāsanaparvan.* This is not a very serious argument, because in popular narratives the tendency is ever to view the story as a whole, i.e. with all its different elements fused into one unit. The story goes on receiving accretions belonging to different periods of its currency and to the next narrator the story presents itself as one whole unit in which earlier chronological strata are merged into one.

C. *The Independent Version.*

The *Arthaśāstra* reference to the A. M. story is a welcome proof belonging as it does to a definitely ascertained date of high antiquity.

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The opinion of Jacobi and others that the story in the *K.A.S.* is given in a manner differing from the Mbh. version and that therefore the Mbh. in its present form did not then exist cannot be admitted and needs further proof and reconsideration before being accepted. A true appreciation of the passage would indeed show that the *Arthaśāstra* version is the same as the Mbh. version in I. 107.

So far then with regard to the different forms of the A. M. story and the various works where it is known to occur. The next and the last question for us to consider is whether we can go behind the story itself and say what its original form is and which of the existing versions approximates to this original form and whether any chronological relation between the various sources can be established on the basis of the facts discovered in the course of our investigation.

To begin with we have to bear in mind that the four *Paurāṇika* versions postulate the pre-existence of the story in some form before it was utilized in the *Purāṇas.* The point has already been emphasized that the *Purāṇas* use the story in a subordinate manner and with quite a different end in view, viz., to glorify the greatness of dutiful wives. Had the A. M. story been given in the *Purāṇas* by itself the question would have arisen whether they and not any other work (like the Mbh. for instance) contain the original form of the story. To the writers of the *Purāṇas* the story already exists, be it simply in oral tradition or in some literary form; what they do is that they take it up and making the necessary changes (as for instance A. M.'s cursing an offending leper) weave it over into their main purpose of inculcating a definite moral lesson for the benefit of their audience. Nobody would therefore under these circumstances credit the *Purāṇas* with giving the prototype of the story.

The fact that the *K.A.S.* refers to the *Aṇī-Māṇḍavya* story is in itself highly important, but we have no reason to suppose that it presents a version of the story differing from that in the Mbh. The two versions agree with each other: but we have at present no means to decide whether one is derived from the other and *vice versa.*

The question between the *Jātakas* and the Epic is generally more difficult to decide; but in the present case the facts seem to establish clearly that the *Jātaka* prose where only and not in the *gāthās* whereof the A. M. story is narrated, borrowed the story from

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the *Anuśāsanaparvan* of the Epic. It is here only and nowhere else so far as our present investigations go that one of the most striking points in the *Jātaka* narration is referred, viz., the close association of the Ṛṣi Aṇī-Māṇḍavya with the Ṛṣi Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana. What however, the Epic narration incidentally does, viz., mentioning A. M. and K. D. together as being two of many whom Śiva favoured (among whom are mentioned in the *Anuśāsanaparvan* Jaigiśavya, Parāśara, Galava) the *Jātaka* prose has made into a tale. The Epic and the Brahmanic tradition must claim greater authority in such respects. The Brahmanic tradition knows nothing of a close friendship between K. D. and A. M. except the casual connection in the *Anuśāsana* passage under reference. The Buddhistic version cannot claim therefore any weight against this unanimous testimony of the Brahmanic or Epic tradition and must be therefore regarded as based on some confused acquaintance with the *Anuśāsana* statements.

The story in the *Ādiparvan* remains therefore as the original form of the story from which the other versions might be reasonably supposed to have borrowed. This Epic version however comes only as an *upākhyāna*, an episode, very probably not existing in the original *Bhārata* Epic (using the word Epic in its true sense) but only added to this during the period when this was being evolved to be the great (*Mahā*) *Bhārata*, the repository of all ancient legends and stories.

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THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF KĀLIDĀSA'S WORKS.

By R. D. Karmarker, M.A., Ph.D.

It is with no small amount of diffidence that one would venture to find out the order in which Kālidāsa wrote his works as this question has necessarily to be decided on the strength of internal evidence only, there being nothing in the nature of external evidence to be one's guide in the matter. It is again well known that conclusions based upon internal evidence are more or less subjective and can never be expected to carry that amount of certainty which an external evidence can command, and one hardly feels oneself on stable ground in discussing such questions.

Kālidāsa is acknowledged by all scholars to be the author of the following works (with the possible exception of the *Ṛtusaṃhāra*, in which case there may be some scope for doubt): (1) *Ṛtusaṃhāra*, (2) *Kumārasambhava*, (3) *Meghadūta*, (4) *Raghuvaṃśa*, the four poems; (5) *Mālavikāgnimitra*, (6) *Vikramorvaśīya* and (7) *Śākuntala*, the three dramas. We shall first try to fix the order in which the four poems were written, then the order of the dramas will be considered and lastly the relative position of the poems and the dramas will be dealt with.

The *Ṛtusaṃhāra* is admittedly the weakest of Kālidāsa's works and is certainly his first production. It is, so to say, an essay in the matter of writing poetry on the part of the poet. As regards the other three poems, tradition apparently supplies the order as follows—*Kumāra*, *Megha* and *Raghu*. Kālidāsa, who was first quite illiterate, and was married to a princess, thought of propitiating the goddess Kālī, on the advice of his wife. He succeeded in winning the gift of learning from the goddess and on his return home, was asked by his wife अस्ति कश्चित् वागर्थः. Kālidāsa took each of the words in the sentence to begin a separate *kāvya*: thus *Asti* begins the *Kumāra*, *Kaścit* the *Megha*, and *Vāgartha* the *Raghu*. It need hardly be remarked that this story is a pure invention by some clever Pandit, though it gives a substantially correct order for the works referred to. The first portion of the *Kumāra* at any rate contains unmistakable traces of its being an early production.

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The first canto, for instance, contains many poetic conceits disclosing an amount of labour on the part of the poet. The *Meghadūta* is a dainty little poem, written it seems, as a diversion from the studied artificiality of the first cantos of the *Kumāra*, and possibly describes the poet's own feelings when separated from his wife for a short time. The *Meghadūta* refers again and again to Śiva and Pārvatī (e.g. verses 35, 36, 38, 52, 57, 58, 60, 62), and to Kumāra Skanda (45, 46, 47), clearly showing that he had the story of the Kumāra constantly in his mind. The *Meghadūta* also refers to Sītā (1, 105) and Raghupati (12, 78) and to Daśamukha (60, 78) and Pavanatanaya (105), the personages in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but only incidentally. We shall not be wrong, therefore, in concluding that the *Meghadūta* was written by Kālidāsa, while he was still engaged on his *Kumāra*. The *Raghuvaṃśa* comes clearly after the *Kumāra*, containing as it does a number of references to Kumāra Kārtikeya and also to Kāma, and the persistence with which these references are made clearly shows that the poet expects his readers to know of the Kumāra, as depicted by him in his *Kumārasambhava*, while the *Kumāra* hardly contains any appreciable reference to the story of or personages in the *Raghu*. Thus the *Raghu* contains the following references to Kārtikeya and Kāma.

II, 36, यो हेमकुम्भस्तननिःसृतानां स्कन्दस्य मातुः पयसां रसज्ञः ।
,, 37, अथैनमद्रेस्तनया शुशोच सेनान्यमालीढमिवासुराङ्गैः ।
,, 75, सुरसरिदिव तेजो वह्निनिष्ठ्यूतमैशम् ।
III, 16, ... कुमारजन्माद्भुतसंमिताक्षरम् ।
,, 23, उमादृषाङ्कौ शरजन्मना यथा ।
,, 55, ... हरेः कुमारोऽपि कुमारविक्रमः ॥
V, 36, ... कुमारकल्पं सुषुवे कुमारम् ।
VI, 2, रतेः गृहीतानुनयेन कामं प्रत्यर्पितस्वाङ्गमिवेश्वरेण ।
,, 4, भूयिष्ठमासीदुपमेयकान्तिर्मयूरपृष्ठाश्रयिणा गुहेन ।
VII, 1, ... स्कन्देन साक्षादिव देवसेनाम् ।
,, 15, रतिस्मरौ नूनमिवावभूतां .. ..
,, 61, प्रियंवदात्प्राप्तमसौ कुमारः .. .. ।
गान्धर्वमस्त्रं कुसुमास्त्रकान्तः प्रस्थापनं स्वप्ननिदृत्तलौल्यः ॥
IX, 24, 25, 26, are parallel to III, 24, 25, 26 of the *Kumāra*.
X, 83, ... हरस्त्वनुसंनिभः ।
XIV, 22, षडाननापीतपयोधरासु सेना चमूनामिव कृत्तिकासु ।

The references to Kāma and Rati may be dismissed as being too general, but the references to Kumāra can only be accounted for on

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the theory that Kālidāsa is referring to his previous work which gives in detail the story of Kumāra. It is argued by some that as the *Raghuvaṃśa* alone has a proper *maṅgala* verse at the beginning, it is the first production of the poet. M. Krishnamachariar, in his *Raghuvaṃśavimarśa* regards the first verse of the *Raghu* as an interpolation. Even if the verse is regarded as genuine, it is doubtful whether the *maṅgala* verse in the *Raghu*, can, with any propriety, be expected to serve the purpose of a *maṅgala* for the other poems also. To get rid of this difficulty, the ingenuity of the commentators, makes frantic efforts for finding out a *maṅgalārtha* in the first verses of the other poems. Thus the word *Devatāmā* in *Kumāra* I, 1, is declared to signify that the Himālaya is praised in the verse as a deity. The word *Kaścit* in *Megha* 1, refers to Prajāpati (*ka*) and the Brahman (*cit*). All this is ingenious but certainly far-fetched. In the first place, poems do not begin as a rule with a *maṅgala*. The *Kirātārjunīya* and the *Śiśupālavadha*, for instance, have no *maṅgala ślokas*. And secondly, the style and the finish of the *Raghu* is clearly against its being regarded as the maiden work of the poet. The expression मन्दः कवियशःप्रार्थी गमिष्याम्युपहास्यताम् in the introduction to the *Raghu*, clearly betrays the humility of a *great* poet. If the passage be taken to be literally true, it loses all charm. It must be taken to be a courteous way of introducing himself on the part of a great poet, just as the passage आपरितोषाद्विदुषां .... in *Śākuntala* I. 2, clearly presupposes that the poet is quite confident of the applause from the wise. The order of the poems therefore is as follows: *Ṛtusaṃhāra*, *Kumāra* (beginning), *Meghadūta*, *Kumārasambhava*, and *Raghuvaṃśa*.

When we come to the fixing of the order of the dramas, we are on more stable ground. The prologues of the three dramas are a conclusive evidence on this point. In the *Mālavikā* [1] it is clear that the poet is diffident of his success as a dramatist when he is to compete with such renowned dramatists as Bhāsa, Saumilla and

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[1] पारिपार्श्विक :— प्रथितयशसां भासकविपुत्रसौमिल्लकादीनां
प्रबन्धानतिक्रम्य वर्तमानकवेः कालिदासस्य
क्रियामिमां द्रष्टुं कथं परिषदो बहुमानः ।
सूत्रधार :— अये विवेकविश्रान्तमभिहितम् ।
पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वं न चापि काव्यं नवमित्यवद्यम् ।
सन्तः परीक्ष्यान्यतरद्भजन्ते मूढः परप्रत्ययनेयबुद्धिः ॥

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Kaviputra. He beseeches the audience not to condemn his work simply because it is new. This way of introducing himself clearly shows that the poet is making his appearance as a dramatist *for the first time.* In *Vikrama* the poet still refers to the old poets,[1] thus showing that he has not as yet got over his diffidence completely. In *Śākuntala* all reference to the old poets is dropped, and the poet simply refers to his name, thus showing that he had firmly established himself in public estimation. The order of the dramas is therefore clearly as follows: *Mālavikāgnimitra, Vikramorvaśīya* and *Śākuntala.*

A comparison of the construction of the plots of the three dramas also corroborates the conclusion reached above. The principal dramatic personages in the three plays are practically the same and the way in which they are made to play their part, clearly shows that in each succeeding play the poet removes the defects in his previous play. A comparative table is given below, showing the part played by the principal *dramatis personae* in the three plays. We shall very briefly explain how the defects from a dramatic point of view in the earlier play, are removed in the next play.

In *Mālavikā*, Agnimitra is an elderly person, having a son old enough to lead an army against the enemy. The sensual character of his love depicted in the play is clearly shown by the fact that two *pratināyikās*, Dhāriṇī and Irāvatī, the latter flushed with wine, are depicted on the stage and there is so to speak a triangular contest. One result of this is that the heroine is completely thrown into the shade. In *Vikramorvaśīya* there is only one *pratināyikā*, the queen, and thus Urvaśī, the heroine, is given more scope. The sensual love in the *Mālavikā* has also changed into intense tumultuous love, which makes the king go mad when separated from his beloved, and which makes Urvaśī also forget her duty as a mother and abandon her own child for fear of being separated from the king. In *Śākuntala*, the love depicted before the curse is of the same kind as in *Vikramorvaśīya.* It is selfish love wherein the daughter's obligations to the father are completely ignored. It is only after silent suffering on the part of the hero as well as the heroine, that the impetuous love is transformed into calm and subdued love that

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[1] सूत्रधारः— मारिष बहुशस्तु पूर्वेषां कवीनां दृष्टः प्रयोगबन्धः। सोऽहमद्य विक्रमोर्वशीयं नामापूर्वं नाटकं प्रयोक्ष्ये।

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		Hero.	*Vidūṣaka*	Son to the Hero.	Heroine.	*Pratināyikā*..	Companion and adviser to the Heroine.	Curse on the Heroine.	Ring or Gem.	*Kañcukin, Vaitālikas,* etc.
1	*Mālavikāgnimitra.*	*Agnimitra.* [Represented in all the five Acts.]	Represented in all Acts. Plays a very important part.	*Vasumitra.* Only referred to.	*Mālavikā.* Represented in all Acts, but plays a very unimportant part.	(1) *Dhāriṇī,* (2) *Irāvatī.* Play an important part.	Parivrājikā.	Śakuntalā and Urvaśī are actually cursed while Mālavikā may also be described as suffering from a curse for one year.	Introduced in all the three plays.	Are found in all the three plays. In *Mālavikā*, there is no one corresponding to Cyavana, and Mārīca in *Vikrama* and *Śākuntala* respectively.
2	*Vikramorvaśīya.*	*Purūravas.* [Represented in all the Acts.]	Represented in three Acts, viz. 2nd, 3rd and 5th.	*Āyus.* Plays an important part in the 5th Act.	*Urvaśī.* Is seen in all Acts, plays an important part.	*Auśīnarī.* Plays an important part.	Citralekhā.			
3	*Śākuntala.*	*Duṣyanta.* [Represented in all Acts but one, viz the 4th.]	Represented in two Acts, viz. 2nd and the 6th. Is not allowed to have even a look at the heroine.	*Bharata.* Plays an important part in the last Act.	*Śakuntalā.* Is seen in Acts 1, 3, 4,5,7, plays a very important part.	*Vasumatī.* Only referred to once in the 5th Act.	Priyamvadā and Anusūyā.			

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arises not from the tumult but from the depth of the soul. Love between husband and wife is incomplete if it is not accompanied by a love of progeny. In the last Act, the lovers attain to this ideal unselfish love and the gods themselves hasten up to bring about their reconciliation. In *Śākuntala*, there is no *pratināyikā* at all, Queen Vasumatī is simply referred to once. This enables the audience to concentrate their attention on Śakuntalā throughout the play.

The heroes in all the three plays have got sons. In *Mālavikā*, the son secures a great victory, but he is not directly represented on the stage. In *Vikrama*, it is the son who is responsible for the separation of the lovers. This unnatural procedure is done away with in *Śākuntala*, where the son makes possible the union of the parents.

In *Mālavikā*, which is in a lighter vein, the *vidūṣaka* plays a very important part, throwing the hero almost in the background. He is the main-spring in the play, is represented in each and every Act, evolving plan after plan to secure Mālavikā for the king. In *Vikramorvaśīya* which is a more serious play, the *vidūṣaka* is represented in only three out of the five Acts of the play, and is mainly responsible for the development of the plot in the second Act, by his unconscious mistakes. In *Śākuntala* the *vidūṣaka* is to be seen only in two Acts out of seven, and one can only sympathise with the *vidūṣaka* for being so unfortunate as not to have even a look at the heroine throughout the whole play!!

In all the three plays, the heroines suffer from some curse or other. Mālavikā is not actually cursed, but she has to serve as a maid in the harem for one year. This enables the king to see her and as a consequence he falls in love with her. In *Vikramorvaśīya*, the curse plays a more important part. The curse of Bharata first acts as a blessing in disguise, making it possible for Urvaśī to stay with the king. The curse however is responsible for the unmotherly action of Urvaśī in abandoning her son and is a veritable Damocles' sword hanging over her head. The transformation of Urvaśī into a creeper in the fourth Act is due to the *Niyama* (which also may be taken to be some sort of curse) of Kārtikeya. This *Niyama* is availed of by the poet, for the purpose of describing at length the state of the hero when separated from the heroine. In *Śākuntala*, the curse separates the lovers and is brought about by the fault of the heroine herself as in *Vikramorvaśīya*. Śakuntalā suffers much, but she has to reap the fruit of her own folly in marrying the king

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in a hasty and secret manner, forgetting her own obligations to Kaṇva. The curse, however, enables the lovers to purify their lives and changes their angle of vision in the matter of love. The suffering of Duṣyanta is not directly due to the curse, his suffering begins only when the curse ends.

In all the three plays, either a gem or a ring is introduced. In *Mālavikā*, the ring with the figure of a serpent carved upon it, enables the *vidūṣaka* to secure the release of the heroine from prison in the fourth Act. In *Vikramorvaśīya*, the Saṅgamanīya gem, properly so called, brings about the union of the lovers in the fourth Act, and the union of the son and the parents in the last Act. In *Śākuntala*, the ring plays a more subtle part. Its disappearance is responsible for the unhappy repudiation and the untold suffering of Śakuntalā and its recovery is the herald of suffering for the king. Thus the ring serves the purpose of opening the eyes of the lovers to view their actions in the proper perspective.

In *Vikramorvaśīya*, the love of progeny is described in suitable terms. In *Śākuntala*, love is viewed in all its aspects. In addition to the love of progeny, the poet refers to the love between father and daughter, and love between friends. *Śākuntala* is undoubtedly the work of the poet when he had grown older in years as well as experience of the world at large.

It now remains to be seen what the relative order of the dramas and the *kāvyas* is. We think that *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Meghadūta* go together. In the *Meghadūta*, the *Yakṣa* is under a curse for one year, Mālavikā also is suffering from some curse for the same period. In *Mālavikā*, the king is made to say स्थाने प्राणाः कामिनां दूत्यधीनाः। (IV. 14), thus probably referring to the *Meghadūta*. The idea of the *aśoka* blossoming up when kicked by a beautiful woman is common enough, but the idea that the *aśoka* has only one competitor,[1] viz. the lover himself, in being kicked by a woman, is peculiar to the *Mālavikā* and *Megha* only. The thunder of the cloud is described as resembling the sound of a drum in both (*Megha* 58, *Mālavikā* 1, 21). Such resemblances, we think, point to something more than the common authorship of these two works, viz. that

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[1] नवकिसलयरागेणाग्रपादेन बाला स्फुरितनखरुचा द्वौ हन्तुमर्हत्यनेन।
अकुसुमितमशोकं दोहदापेक्षया वा प्रणिहितशिरसं वा कान्तमार्द्रापराधम्॥ (IV. 12).
एकः (रक्ताशोकः) सख्यास्तव सह मया वामपादाभिलाषी। (V. 86).

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one contains the immediate reminiscence of the other. Similarly, the *Kumārasombhava* and the *Vikramorvaśīya* go together. In *Vikrama* (IV. 22), the king is represented as going with Urvaśī to the Gandhamādana forest on the Kailāsa. The poet does not describe the region or the enjoyment, but expects the reader to know all about it by referring to *Kumāra* (VIII) where the enjoyment of Śiva and Pārvatī in the same place is described at length. The reference to the Kumāravana and the description of the Saṅgamanīya gem as शैलसुताचरणरागयोनि in *Vikrama* IV and the peacock as a favourite of the prince, though these are not actually referred to in the *Kumāra*, betray the great influence of the story of Kārtikeya on the mind of the poet when he wrote the *Vikrama*. Again in the last Act when Āyus is crowned *yuvarāja*, Nārada is made to say—

आयुषो यौवराज्यश्रीः स्मारयत्यात्मजस्य ते ।
अभिषिक्तं महासेनं सेनापत्ये मरुत्वता ॥ (V. 23).

Now, this passage taken by itself seems to be quite abrupt and without any significance. But when we see in the verse a reference to the thirteenth *sarga* of the *Kumāra*, where the *abhiṣeka* is spoken of (XIII. 50), it seems more than probable that the passage in the *Vikrama* is deliberately put in by the poet to refer to his own *kumāra*. Here we might incidentally discuss the question whether the *Kumāra* really ends with the eighth *sarga* and the remaining *sargas* IX–XVII are spurious. The arguments in favour of regarding *sargas* IX–XVII as not genuine, may be summarised as follows : The commentary of Mallinātha and the two commentaries printed in the Trivandrum edition do not deal with the *sargas* in question. The name *Kumārasambhava* itself shows that the poem should deal with the birth of Kumāra only. Though Kumāra is not actually born at the end of the eighth *sarga*, still, as remarked by the commentator Nārāyaṇa (p. 4, Trivandrum edition, 1 and 2 *sargas*) अष्टमसर्गे संभोगवर्णनेन कुमारोत्पत्तेर्विघ्नभूतत्वेपोऽपि कृत इति सर्वमनवद्यम् । The same commentator again remarks that नात्र तारकासुरनिग्रहः साध्यः । तदिच्छामो विभो स्रष्टुं सेनान्यं तस्य शान्तये (II. 51) इति देवैः कुमारसृष्टिमात्रस्यैव ब्रह्माणं प्रति प्रार्थितत्वात् .. .. And lastly no work on *Alaṅkāra* quotes any verses from *sargas* IX–XVII, while verses from the other *sargas* are profusely quoted (see *L'Art Poetique de L'Inde*). Against these arguments, it may be stated, that no *Mahākāvya* is known to consist of such a small number of *sargas*. The *Raghu*, *Kirāta*, and *Śiśupāla*, for

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instance, have nineteen, eighteen and twenty *sargas* respectively. The eighth *sarga* does not even bring the story up to the birth of Kumāra and it is obvious that the story remains as incomplete as ever, inspite of the explanation of Nārāyaṇa given above. The gods wanted to see Tāraka destroyed and not merely to see a son born to Śaṅkara. Kālidāsa refers to some details in the story of Kumāra, in his other works—the details which are to be found only in the later *sargas*. For instance, the *tejas* of Śaṅkara being transferred to Agni (*Raghu* II. 75, *Megha* 45, *Kumāra* IX. 14), Skanda actually leading the army of the gods (*Raghu* VII. 2, *Kumāra* XIII. 50), the reference to the *Kṛttikās* (*Raghu* XIV. 22; *Kumāra* X & XI), etc. These references are a clear proof that the poet certainly knew the whole story of Kumāra, and there is obviously no reason why the poet should not have made full use of it in his poem. *Sargas* IX–XVII of the *Kumāra*, if looked at from the point of view of style, may be pronounced to be somewhat inferior to the previous *sargas* and this may have been one of the reasons why the rhetoricians fail to quote from them, but there is nothing which is un-Kālidāsian about them. There is a strong suspicion therefore that *Sargas* IX–XVII are the work of Kālidāsa himself. If it could be proved that some rhetorician or other is aware of them, we shall be quite certain of the fact.

It is easy to prove that *Raghu* and *Śākuntala* go together. Certain ideas are peculiar to only these two works. Thus उन्मनाः प्रथमजन्मचेष्टितान्यस्मरन्नपि बभूव राघवः। (*Raghu* XI. 22) and मनो हि जन्मान्तरसंगतिज्ञम् (*Śākuntala* V. 2), the king's asking his charioteer to halt and see the horses refreshed in *Raghu* I. 54, and *Śākuntala* I. The references to Śacī and Indra as an ideal pair and Jayanta as an ideal son; Indra's seat being shared by the king (*Raghu* XVI. 7, *Śāk.* VII), the king compared to Śaṅkara following the deer, etc.

The probable order of the works of Kālidāsa is therefore as follows: *Ṛtusaṃhāra*, *Kumāra* (beginning), *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Meghadūta*, *Kumārasambhava*, *Vikramorvaśīya*, *Raghuvaṃśa* and *Śākuntala*. It is possible that the poet was engaged on more than one work at one and the same time, but the above, we think, is a fairly correct representation of the order in which the various works were written by the poet.

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A NOTE ON THE POPULAR ELEMENT IN THE CLASSICAL SANSKRIT DRAMA.

By SIVAPRASAD KAVYATIRTHA SAHITYASASTRI, M.A., B.T.

It has been a matter of genuine satisfaction to note that in connection with at least one department of the later Sanskrit literature—viz. the drama—there have been handed down to us from remote antiquity works which have helped materially towards a critical study and a faithful reconstruction of the ideas and ideals, the *critique* and the *technique* of the subject in quite an unambiguous manner. Long before the time when works like the *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* were known to exist, the *Daśarūpaka* and the *Saṅgītaratnākara* were available to the modern orientalist, to enable him to have a sound, yet elaborate perspective of the principles and details that go to make a work of drama a thing of beauty, and a "joy for ever." Yet it must be confessed at the very outset that the labours and achievements of the researchers in the field have left more than one point unenlightened and obscure. Suffice it to say that the details in the genesis of the Sanskrit Court-drama from its very ultimate sources, the part played by the indigenous non-conventional dramatic instinct of the primitive people in shaping its direction and guiding its aims, the place and the scope it affords to the purely musical element and other akin problems have not yet been defined and solved in certain terms. It is to the solution of these that the modern scholar conversant as he is with the modern method and comparative study, should direct his attention and utilise his energy. A close analytic study of the various constituent elements in the Sanskrit drama on the lines of the many age-old works on dramaturgy, dramatic *critique* and dramatic representation is sure to prove interesting and promising and will elucidate many points and be of considerable help in guiding all 'synthetic' speculations that can at best succeed analysis, which, indeed, is the method commonly followed by the long race of Indian critics and Indian expositors on the subject. It is our aim here to discuss on very broad and general lines, the importance and significance of the part played by the popular element in the evolution and permanence of the Sanskrit drama.

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By drama here we mean nothing less and nothing more than what it has meant in the opinion of the Indian scholars when they have talked of the ten *rūpakas* and the eighteen *uparūpakas*. We find it meet and prudent to define its denotation, the more so, as, we with our present-day stereotyped ideas of romantic and modern European dramas and with our indifferent knowledge of the huge compass of the Sanskrit dramatic literature, are too apt to think of the purely aristocratic, *durbāri*, court-drama (the *nāṭaka*) as the only, note-worthy specimen of the dramatic literature of "Old Ind." A little learning is a dangerous thing and so it has been here unmistakably. The shortness of range has brought in its train an error in vision—due to the lack of a wider outlook. That is, in so many words, our inadequate knowledge about the Sanskrit drama in its full and comprehensive scope has failed miserably and owing to the absence of the proper perspective, has not stood us in good stead and yielded information regarding many important points concerning itself, even on its constructional and practical side.

While there is no denying the fact that the *nāṭaka* with its variants the *nāṭikā*, the *prakaraṇa* and the *śaṭṭaka* is the drama (*rūpaka*) *par excellence*, and has acquired a wider reputation and recognition (barring the cases of *vyāyoga*, *samavakāra*, *dima* and *īhāmṛga*, which relate more or less to matters supernatural, and in which the characters are more or less super-human), there is much to be said in favour of the *bhāṇa*, the *vīthī*, the *utsṛṣṭikāṅka*, and the *prahasana*, which help a rightful appreciation of the proper method of evolution of the classical Sanskrit drama, but which the 'seamy side' of present-day criticism has left out of consideration altogether. The ten *rūpakas* alone are referred to and discussed in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and in the *Daśarūpaka*. From the stand-point of literary execution and finish, i.e. judged primarily as works aesthetico-idealistic, these claim and claim rightly, no doubt, a respectful attention from the student of the Indian drama. The works under the first category have gone so far as to obliterate and make obsolete the works of the other type, which are primarily of a primitive and realistic character, and specimens of which must undoubtedly have been suffered to die away a natural death owing to the survival of only the artistically fittest. Impressionistic and analytic criticism has rendered many of the former variety immortal—but evolutionistic and constructive criticism should cry halt and take stock of

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the latter. Again, if life is concerned as much with the serious, as with the semi-serious and jovial, if pure and sheer comedy is as much a source of joy and inspiration as contemplative and sober tragedy, and if dramatic criticism, whether of the east or the west, has as much to do with the fable (*vastu*) and music (*geya*) as with the character, diction and thought (*rasa*), we see no reason why there should continue so cursory and irregular a study of the purely popular dramas, which throw a veil over imaginary and artificially painted life of the court-dramas and show life in its pristine simplicity and fervour. Of course, as works literary, they will surely disappoint us—those that we have are but relics; and who can say that there have not been lost works of intrinsic literary value even—a loss caused by unmerited neglect and contumely? The Punch and Judy shows of mediaeval and ancient India continued to have been popular, even in the face of the sturdy opposition they met from the court-drama and the success they scored could only be gauged now from the mention and prevalence of the *uparūpakas*, five of which at least, as we shall show later, were purely popular types of plays, and from the rise of the *geya* dramatic poems, a class by themselves, which are found treated in works on rhetoric as quaint and queer specimens of unvarnished literary expression.

A chronological and evolutional account of the important phases in the development of the Sanskrit dramatic literature will indicate the pertinence of the important claims we have held out here in favour of the popular element as a constituent factor. It was, indeed, the veriest triumph of human thought and its expressional powers when the dramatic impulse, so natural to man, found a lasting vent. The throes and pangs of the dramatic instinct in giving birth to drama proper are noticeable in and through the dramatic recitations and the rhapsodic dramas, mentioned but faintly in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature of the Vedic period, as in the *Suparṇādhyāya*, equally as much in and through the pantomimes and the *tableaux vivants* of the primitive tribes. The *naṭasūtras* and the promulgators (*ācāryas*) thereof, that are referred to in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇiṇi point apparently to the same plausible conclusion—that these codes of instructions meant for the *naṭas* were devised for the rude and crude primitive actors, as well as for their initiated and cultured brethren. That the former had acquired

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proficiency in the infant art of representation and that they wielded a considerable influence as a profession, even before the art of oral delivery and consequent stage representation came into vogue as a fashionable pastime, is surely borne out by the occasional references to dances, "seeing" actors (*paśyanto naṭanartakān*) and *sūtas* in the great Epic, the *Mahābhārata*. That there was actual recitation or acting, at least in the vivid representations of the *ākhyānas* may seem to be a foregone conclusion: but the constant association of music and dancing in the act, as is evidenced by phrases and expressions like *naṭanartaka-gāyanāḥ* (iii. 15. 4) and *naṭanartaka-lāsyādhyāḥ* (xv. 14. 17) points to the predominance of the primitive forms of representation prevalent among the commoner folk in villages and open court-yards of towns. The list of the inaugurators of the rough-hewn dramatic art (*nāṭyapravartakadhārā*) which occurs in many late works as the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nāṭya-cūḍāmaṇi*, contains many names, not the least of whom are Kohala, Dhūrtila, and Nandin, a triad, who on account of their connection with the song and dance proper may, on no insufficient grounds, be classed amongst the pioneers in the field of popular 'drama.' This also substantiates the main point of our contention that the Sanskrit drama in the making—as well as in successive periods—owed a good deal to the bias in action and expression, bestowed unto it by the unsophisticated early attempts at dramatisation. Bharata, the acknowledged head of the other and the more aristocratic wing of the profession, merely offers up his homage to the popular element when he places *nṛtta* (suggestive dance) in the enviable *role* to be gathered from the following apologetic verses, knowing full well that in the account of the forms of representation he gives in his code, there can be but little scope for such a thing :—

अत्रोच्यते न खल्वर्थं कश्चिन्नृत्तमपेक्षते ।
किन्तु शोभां जनयतामिति नृत्तं प्रवर्त्तितम् ॥
प्रायेण सर्व्वलोकस्य नृत्तमिष्टं स्वभावतः ।
मङ्गल्यमिति कृत्वा च नृत्तमेतत् प्रकीर्त्तितम् ॥
विवाहप्रसवावाहप्रमोदाभ्युदयादिषु ।
विनोदकरणञ्चेति नृत्तमेतत् प्रवर्त्तितम् ॥

(*Nāṭyaśāstra*. N.S. edn. IV. 246–248.)

The time-worn two-fold division of *nāṭya* into *mārga* and *deśi* lends support to the same view. The primitive, actual, realistic

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and common form of representation prevalent on different tracts of the country went under the latter name, while the imaginary, idealistic, standard and arbitrary form of representation chose to call itself *mārga nāṭya*. We read of them thus in *Saṅgītaratnākara* :—

यो मार्गितो विरिञ्चादैः प्रयुक्तो भरतादिभिः ।
देवस्य पुरतः शम्भोः स नीतोऽभ्युदयक्रमः ॥
तद्देशजननामादि (?) चाहृतं यत्र रञ्जनम् ।
गानञ्च वादनं नृत्तं तद्देशीत्यभिधीयते ॥

The following verse of Catura Dāmodara in the *Saṅgītadarpaṇa* brings the point nearer home :—

तत्तद्देशस्वया रीत्या यत् स्याल्लोकानुरञ्जनम् ।
देशे देशे तु सङ्गीतं यत्तद्देशीति गीयते ॥

The sage Bharata, while lighting upon the ingenious device of claiming for the *Jarjara* festival the right of genesis of the Indian drama—it appears to us—has harped upon the same theme, in an allegorical, though none the less, attractive way. The festival round the *Jarjara* pole, like that round the Maypole of rural England, was not improbably meant to celebrate the advent of the rainy season,—and be it said by way of disgression, that as it fitted in well with the old Vedic ideas of *Indra-Vṛtra* myth, might have likely served as a pivot to hang the theory of the genesis of the Old Indian drama on (cf. Dr. Keith's Vegetation-spirit theory in this connection). This *Jarjara* was quite possibly an improvement upon the tree-trunk of the primitive populace, who out of faith and fortitude, born of superstition and sorcery, worshipped the tree for warding off evils and the invocation of good, like unto the Atharvan priests who addressed their hymns to similar things on a similar errand. Thus also was the innovation of the dramatic paraphernalia an improvement on the *tableaux-vivants* method of representation of the older people, if only what we read in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is meant to give us an idea of the change ushered in. We can here only refer to the land-marks of the episode as narrated in the first chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* to bear out our inferences therefrom.

मघेन्द्रप्रमुखैर्देवैरुक्तः किल पितामहः ।
क्रीडनीयकमिच्छामो दृश्यं श्रव्यञ्च यद्भवेत् ॥

(N.S. edn. I. 11.)

This innovation (innovation in action as well as exhibition) could not be expected to be tolerated by the primitive people without any resentment. Let us tell the tale in the words of the original.

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एवं प्रयोगे प्रारब्धे दैत्यदानवनाशने ।
अभवन् क्षुभिताः सर्व्वे दैत्या ये तत्र सङ्गताः ॥
विरूपाक्षपुरोगांश्च विघ्नानुत्साद्य तेऽब्रुवन् ।
नेत्यमिच्छामहे नाट्यमेतदागम्यतामिति ॥
ततस्तैरसुरैः सार्धं विघ्नमायामुपाश्रिताः ।
वाचश्चेष्टां स्मृतिञ्चैव स्तम्भयति स्म क्षत्यताम् ॥

(*Nāṭyaśāstra.* M. Groset's edn. I. 63–65.)

However, this whole is meant by the sage to serve another purpose in the sequel, viz. the rightful worship of the *Jarjara* and the introduction of the *nāndi*, as also the erection of the stage. The whole narrative is quite transparent and is but another apt example of what is called arrested personification, instances of which are so very common in the Vedic hymns, and serves to show bare the influence of the popular representations. The references to *hallīsa* and *rāsa* forms of dance and music and other representations in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali point to the same influences at work in unfolding the huge potentialities of the budding dramatic instinct of the ancient Indian, which has got a setting and backing by this time and has, by leaps and bounds, raised itself to the position of literature.

In the survey of this rapidly growing dramatic literature, which was tinged with the popular element, there are indications which go to show that the struggle between the interests of both sections,—which eventually resulted in their reconciliation—was a keen one and it required a good deal of tact to steer the spirit of literary undertaking clear of all difficulties and to retard the growth of purely popular dramas at least for the time being. We read in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* :—

देवानां वचनं श्रुत्वा ब्रह्मा विघ्नानुवाच ह ।
कथं भवन्तो नाट्यस्य विनाशार्थमुपस्थिताः ॥
ब्रह्मणो वचनं श्रुत्वा विरूपाक्षोऽब्रवीद्वचः ।
दैत्यैर्विघ्नगणैः सार्द्धं सामपूर्व्वमिदं ततः ॥
योऽयं भगवता सृष्टो नाट्यवेदः सुरेच्छया ।
प्रत्यादेशोऽयमस्माकं सुरार्थं भवता कृतः ॥
तन्नैतदेवं कर्त्तव्यं त्वया लोकपितामह ।
यथा देवास्तथा दैत्यास्त्वत्तः सर्व्वे विनिर्गताः ॥
विरूपाक्षवचः श्रुत्वा ब्रह्मा वचनमब्रवीत् ।
अलं वो मन्युना दैत्या विषादस्त्यज्यतामयम् ॥

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भवतां देवतानाञ्च शुभाशुभविकल्पकः ।
कर्म्मभावान्वयापेक्षी नाट्यवेदो मया कृतः ॥
नैकान्ततोऽत्र भवतां देवानाञ्चापि भावनम् ।
त्रैलोक्यस्यास्य सर्व्वस्य नाट्यं भावानुकीर्त्तनम् ॥

(Groset's edn. I. 100–106.)

Then, with the growth of the spirit of political hegemony, which in its turn paved the way for the later imperialism, the drama began to take its cue from the court and became finished, chastened and cosmopolitan ;—in short, a power in the land. There was thus introduced an intermixture of mirth and sobriety, of fair love and grim war, of practical piety and innocent folly—a play of light and shade that served to heighten the tone of such a species of literary venture from the ethical and no less from aesthetical stand-point.

क्वचिद्धर्म्मः क्वचित् क्रीड़ा क्वचिदर्थः क्वचिच्छमः ।
क्वचिद्धास्यं क्वचिद्युद्धं क्वचित् कामः क्वचिद्वधः ॥
धर्म्मो धर्म्मप्रवृत्तानां कामाः कामार्थसेविनाम् ।
निग्रहो दुर्व्विनीतानां मत्तानां दमनक्रिया ॥
क्लीवानां धार्ष्ट्यजननमुत्साहः शूरमानिनाम् ।
अवोधानां विवोधश्च वैदग्धं विदुषामपि ॥
ईश्वराणां विलासश्च स्थैर्य्यं दुःखार्द्दितस्य च ।
सर्व्वोपजीविनामर्थो धृतिरुद्विग्नचेतसाम् ॥
नानाभावोपसम्पन्नं नानावस्थान्तरात्मकम् ।
लोकवृत्तानुकरणं नाट्यमेतन्मया कृतम् ॥
उत्तमाधममध्यानां नराणां कर्म्मसंश्रयम् ।
हितोपदेशजननं धृतिक्रीड़ासुखादिकृत् ॥
दुःखार्त्तानां समर्थानां (?) शोकार्त्तानां तपस्विनाम् ।
विश्रान्तिजननं काले नाट्यमेतन्मया कृतम् ॥
धर्म्म्यं यशस्यमायुष्यं हितं बुद्धिविवर्द्धनम् ।
लोकोपदेशजननं नाट्यमेतद्भविष्यति ॥
न तच्छ्रुतं न तच्छिल्पं न सा विद्या न सा कला ।
नासौ योगो न तत्कर्म्म यन्नाट्येऽस्मिन्न दृश्यते ॥

(Groset's edn. I. 107–116.)

The simple impulses of the more primitive man were pacified and he devoted himself, heart and soul, to the successful realisation of this variety of composition which, contrary to his expectations, tried later to oust him and his stamp out. That the finished court-drama was, at the outset, a compromise between different divergent elements is clear from the suggestive analogy of its functions to

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those of the Pauranic Trinity (*vide Nāṭya-śāstra*, IV., XXXI ; I. 8–18 ; XX. 2–16), from its assimilation and absorption of the several Prakrit dialects, and last but not least, from its all-embracing sweep of the heterogenous elements of the society—a point testified to by the comparison and contrast of the purely ritualistic evolvents, the *vyāyoga*, the *samavakāra* and the *dima*, with the *nāṭaka*, the *nāṭikā* and the *prakaraṇa*. Even a trio can see that the evolutional nucleus of the former preceded that of the latter.

That the popular element had not lost its individuality in this process of blending is proved by the not unprominent position and surface cohesion of the lively, sprightly and humour-provoking aspect in the court-drama. The *viduṣaka*—for in that one name is conspicuous a type of all that the classes borrowed from the masses —is a unique figure in the host of characters presented by the court dramatist. With the bare *naivette* and often bold vulgarity that cannot avoid detection and cannot but point association from which they were imported, have been mingled characteristics borrowed from the higher strata of the society in the midst of which he has been transplanted. Bottom, thou art translated! The late Professor Pischel in his suggestive monograph, *Die Heimat des Puppenspiels* or, the Home of the Puppet Play, has thrown out a broad hint for tracing the connection of the jester in a play, though only as a by-issue. Dr. Louis H. Gray (*J.A.O.S.*) has discoursed on the subject and has tried to establish the very point of our contention. Indeed on no other hypothesis is it possible to explain the presence and prominence of this character in the Indian drama. The Elizabethan Romantic drama presents us with the similar character of the clown. Of course, we read of adverse criticisms levelled against this device of 'mixing up clowns and kings' by eminent Elizabethan critics like Sir Philip Sidney and, are told on the authority of some, that the great world-dramatist failed in this undertaking, 'the less Shakespeare were he.' We can, however, well imagine how a learned and puritanic poet like Bhababhūti would view this intermixture with an apathy and 'a rugged shrugging of the shoulders,' like his later rigid brethren in the West, oblivious of the fact that the banishment of mirth and jollity, of wit and witticism, can have but one natural effect, namely, curbing the power and scope of the drama and making it stiff, stale and often vapid, 'full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.'

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Types of pure and sheer comedy we meet with in the *Prahasana*, one of the ten *rūpakas*, which presents us with 'pungent laughter' and prominently in the following of the *uparūpakas*—the *nāṭya-rāsaka*, the *durmallikā* the *hamsikā* or the *kāvya*,—(a very peculiar name, showing the appositeness of Shakespeare's remark—What is there in a name?) the *prasthāna* and the *rāsaka*—for it is a matter of common knowledge that the *uparūpakas* contain matter 'in a lighter vein' and betray their connection with the primitive popular element even on a cursory perusal. The author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* gives the time-honoured descriptions of these types and has, in many cases, to rest satisfied with them alone, for those varieties of literature had become rare in his time. We cull below the characteristics of a few of them therefrom, only to exhibit the pertinence of our remarks :—

भवेत् प्रहसनं वृत्तं निन्द्यानां कविकल्पितम् ।
.....
नाट्यरासकमेकाङ्कं बहुताललयस्थिति ।
उदात्तनायकं तद्वत् पीठमर्द्दोपनायकम् ॥
हास्योऽङ्ग्यत्र सशृङ्गारो नारी वासकसज्जिका ।
.....
प्रस्थाने नायको दासो हीनः स्यादुपनायकः ।
दासी च नायिका वृत्तिः कैशिकी भारती तथा ॥
सुरापानसमायोगादुद्दिष्टार्थस्य संहृतिः ।
अङ्कौ द्वौ लयतालादिर्व्विलासो बहुलस्तथा ॥ .....
काव्यमारभटीहीनमेकाङ्कं हास्यसङ्कुलम् ।
खण्डमात्रा द्विपदिका भग्नतालैरलङ्कृतम् ॥ ....
रासकं पञ्चपात्रं .....
भाषाविभाषाभूयिष्ठं भारतीकैशिकीयुतम् ।
.....सवीथ्यङ्गं कलान्वितम् ।
.....ख्यातनायिकं मूर्खनायकम् । ....
दुर्म्मल्ली चतुरङ्का स्यात्.....
....नागरनरान्यूननायकभूषिता ॥
त्रिनालिः प्रथमोऽङ्कोऽस्यां विटक्रीड़ामयो भवेत् ।
पञ्चनालिर्द्वितीयोऽङ्को विदूषकविलासवान् ।
षन्नालिकस्तृतीयस्तु पीठमर्द्दविलासवान् ।
चतुर्थो दशनालिःस्यादङ्कः क्रीड़ितनायकः ॥

The humour of the primitive plays may seem dull and flat to the modern reader, who, perhaps, feels a good deal of interest in the

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gestures, postures and actions of Charlie Chaplin—but this much can, surely, be said of both that "the old primitive comedy is of the same great tradition—it springs from that genius for child-like wonder in presence of life, which makes all the great comedians our brothers, as loveable as sweet recollections of our own simpler out-worn selves." There was, certainly, a pleasure in those actions which the actors, schooled and trained in a code, however perfect, could not reproduce. The learned poets of a later age forgot how much of the success their predecessors achieved is due to the arts and artifices and how much to their natural adaptations of what they found around them in the shape of the performances their less cultured brethren attempted. As a western critic has remarked :— "Most of the court-dramas are dramatic poems and not plays."

In proportion as the influence of the reigning monarchs dwindled away, that of their courts on determining the standard the audience could expect from their court-poets decreased—and with this event in course of progress there bifurcated the for-a-time joint current of the popular and the aristocratic elements in the drama. From the eighth century onwards the court drama as a stage play has practically languished, as is evident from the following rather abject terms in which a poet—and a poet of the first order—could refer to the courtiers, with whom his works could not find favour :—

ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां
जानन्ति ते किमपि तान् प्रति नैष यत्नः ।

(*Mālatīmādhava-Prastāvanā.*)

What a contrast with the spirit of the age of the old Emperors when the leader of the house or the *auditorioum* was universally respected and was expected to take note of and appreciate duly, the elements of *nṛtta, nṛtya* and *tūrya* as much as those of the *deśī* and *mārga nāṭya*. This is what Rāghava-Bhaṭṭa in his *Artha-dyotanikā* quotes from Ādi-Bharata to explain the hold of the court over the poet and his dramatic labours :—

वाग्मी निर्म्मत्सरो नर्म्मनिर्म्माणनिपुणः सुधीः ।
समस्तज्ञानविज्ञानसम्पन्नः कीर्त्तिलोलुपः ॥
तूर्य्यत्रयविशेषज्ञः पारितोषिकदानवित् ।
सर्व्वोपकरणोपेतो देशीमार्गविभागवित् ॥
स्वाधीनपरिचारश्च भावुको रसनिर्भरः ।
धर्म्मिष्ठः पापभीरुश्च विद्वद्बन्धुः सभापतिः ॥

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The popular element, which was suffered to lie in the cold shade of neglect, found, in course of time, a vent through the several *uparūpakas* and resulted in a revival, though in a modified manner, of the *geya kāvyas* and with them of the spirit of freedom and simplicity in expression. Be it said here that the specimens of these latter that have come down to us are but time-serving recasts of good old things and are presumably very later works. In the absence of purely authenticated originals, they supply us, however, with materials wherefrom we are to frame our ideas of these popular dramas. Ācārya Hemacandra has found it necessary to mark their distinctive traits. Says he :—

अथ पाठ्यस्य गेयस्य च रूपकस्य को विशेषः ? अयमाख्यायते—पाठ्ये हि अङ्गं गीतञ्चेत्युभयमप्रतिष्ठितम् । गेये तु गीतमङ्गञ्च द्वयमपि स्वप्रतिष्ठितम् । तथाहि यस्य यादृशं लक्षयति स्वरूपादिकं निरूपितं तन्न विपर्य्यति मन्त्रादिवत् । गीताश्रयत्वेन गेयरूपकेषु क्वचिद्वाद्यादीनां प्रयोगः । .....

किञ्च पाठ्ये साक्षात्कारकल्पानुव्यवसायसम्पत्त्युपयोगिनः पात्रं प्रति भाषानियमस्य नियतस्य छन्दोऽलङ्कारादेश्चाभिधानं दृश्यते, गीयमानञ्च नाभिधीयते, गेये तु वस्तुभूतरूपरसादिमध्यपातिविषयविशेषयोजनया कृता प्रतीतिः साध्या । * * * एवं गीतेन रञ्जनं प्राधान्येन विधाय तदुपयोगिनञ्चाङ्गव्यापारं प्रदर्श्य नृत्येन पुनश्चित्तग्रहणं कुर्व्वती नटी आस्ते । ....(अलङ्कारचूड़ामणि—८ माध्याय)

The same writer, basing, as he says, his knowledge on the works of Brahmā, Kohala, Bharata, etc.,—to which he refers the reader for a fuller information,—gives a rather long list of the *geya* dramas and discusses their characteristics. The present *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra* is silent about this, as also about the eighteen *uparūpakas*—and we think there is nothing strange in this omission, for, whatever be the date of the present text, it belongs certainly to a much earlier period than that in which we could expect the rise and prevalence of these revised works. Hemacandra might have been referring aimlessly or his reference is to works, purely of the popular wing—themselves not in their original form but in new redactions—like those of Kohala. Another Jaina rhetorician, the junior Vāgbhaṭa in his *Kāvyānuśāsana* gives a full and helpful note on these works, much of which will bear repetition :—

छन्नानुरागपूर्व्वाभिरुक्तिभिर्यत्र भूपतेः ।
आचर्य्यते मनो विज्ञैः ध्रुवं सा डोम्बिका मता ॥
गजादीनां गतिं तुल्यां कृत्वा प्रवसनं तथा ।
अल्पाविद्धं सुमसृणं तत् प्रस्थानं प्रचक्षते ॥

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सख्याः समत्वं पत्युर्यदुद्भूतं वृत्तमुच्यते ।
मसृणश्च क्वचिद्भूतैश्चरितं शिङ्गकस्तु सः ॥
मण्डलेन तु यन्नृत्तं हल्लीसकमिति स्मृतम् ।
एकस्त्र तु नेता स्याद् गोपस्त्रीणां यथा हरिः ॥
गोष्ठे यत्र विहरतश्चेष्टितमिह कैटभद्विषः किञ्चित् ।
अरिष्टासुरप्रमथनप्रभृति तदिच्छन्ति गोष्ठीति ॥..इत्यादि ।

It appears also from the above quotation that the success of these representations depended largely on dances and music, instrumental and vocal, and not on mere oral delivery, the criterion of the successful representation of the aristocratic drama. *Abhinaya*, as Nandikeśvara has hinted in his *Abhinyadarpaṇa*, was considered as an expression of the theme of the actor or rather, of 'the rhythmic motion of the dancers.' This was practical drama and required a good deal of skill and practice. Considered from the view-point of the representations of these dramas, we can say, in the words of Dr. Coomarswamy that "it is the action, not the actor, which is essential to dramatic art. Under these conditions, of course, there is no room for any amateur upon the stage: in fact the amateur does not consist in Oriental Art." The modes of presentation—and they were three, *masṛṇa*, *uddhata* and *miśra*—were everything; the matter represented almost nothing in comparison. A suggestive form of rural spectacular dance (*daiśika nṛtya*) is thus described quoted in Mallinātha's *Meghadūta-Sañjīvanī* from a quaint work named *Nṛtya-sarvasva* :—

खड्गकन्दुकवस्त्रादिदण्डिकाचामरस्रजः ।
वीणाश्च धृत्वा यत् कुर्य्युर्नृत्यं तद्दैशिकं भवेत् ॥

While there is much in this that is rude and crude and ludicrous, there is all the while a good deal of art in this artlessness, and judged from the clarified vision of the modern critic with his 'sixth sense,' even if art has no aim but expression, we cannot help admiring them. Of course from the standpoint of the finer intelligence and the more placid self-realisation, such a theatre is as good as non-existent, but to the ordinary man, such things have a value, as they hold for him the mirror up to Nature and let him have to the full the opportunity of enjoying life, instead of bothering himself in bookish melancholy and puritanic perversity.

Side-lights from the account of the minute details of representations regarding gestures and postures—which, in their turn, have

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been discussed rather fully in works like the *Nāṭyaśāstra*,—meant for the literary drama devisers and actors—yield a similar conclusion. The marionettes and shadow-plays (*Chāyānāṭakas*) of which latter, there is at least one extant, not in the old enjoined form, but in a revised version, seem to have been popular not only with the common folk but with the gentry (*ārya-miśra*) as well. The continuity and contiguity of the two wings in the evolution of the drama are thus meant to be emphasised. So also from an analysis of the six '*aṅgas*' of the *nāṭya* literature, viz. *gīta*, *vādya*, *nṛtya*, *pāṭhya*, *nepathya*, *aṅgahāra*, considered in all fulness from the standpoint of the 'practice of the theatre,' as Dr. Sylvain Lévi calls it in his *Theatre de Indien* as well as from the four aspects of *abhinaya* dwelt on in details in all works on representation, we can see for ourselves the shaping and controlling hand of the primitive element in an unambiguous way.

Evidences of ancient contemporaneous literature tell the same tale. The reference to dolls and puppets, in the *Mahābhārata*, that to *nāṭakīkṛta Rāmāyaṇa* in the *Khila-Harivaṃśa*, the scattered, though by no means, scanty, references to rural drama found in the authoritative *Jātaka* literature, the very terms *sūtradhāra* and *sthāpaka* as names of the stage-manager and his chief associate and the not-always polished devices for representations of changing mood and changing environment (e.g. in Chaps. VIII, IX and XII, *Nāṭyaśāstra*) serve but to complete the hypothesis about the part played by the popular element in the gradual evolution of and success in the old Indian dramatic literature.

And over and above all, comes the clear and strong support lent to this theory by the statement of the *Naṭyaśāstra* itself. The emphatic denunciation of the popular players, which finds a passing expression in the early chapters of the work, gets toned down as we proceed;—the confession is made with a broad hint that *nāṭya* is meant as an amusement quite in harmony with the popular conception—as much as a part of high-class ritualism and ethical creed of the Vedic Indian.

योऽयं स्वभावो लोकस्य सुखदुःखसमन्वितः ।
सोऽङ्गाद्यभिनयोपेतो नाट्यमित्यभिधीयते ॥
वेदविद्येतिहासानामाख्यानपरिकल्पनम् ।
विनोदकरणं लोके नाट्यमेतद्भविष्यति ॥

(Groset's edn. I. 119–120.)

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The crowning episode in the narration, however, leaves not the least shade of doubt on the point. The story of the *Nāṭyaśāpa*, which has been an idea ingenious and instructive, and the withdrawal thereof, so vividly told in the last two chapters of the present *Nāṭyaśāstra*, relates unmistakably how the discreet mind of the cultured Indian was soon too ready to admit the imprudence of an exclusive attitude in matters literary and to effect a compromise between the popular and the conventional aspects—the *lokadharmī* attitude run riot and the *nāṭyadharmī* attitude carried to an idealistic extreme. All this is described in so clever and diplomatic a way that one is apt to lose sight of the frank confession of the folly of barring out all primitive notions from the drama. Thus we read :—

न वयं परिहासेन विरोधेन न चान्यथा ।
इच्छामो भगवन्नाव्यमुपदेशार्थमेव तु ॥
अस्माभिश्च तदा नोक्तं व्याच्छेदो न भवेदिति ।
इदानीं रूपशिक्षार्थं नाव्यं गुह्यं प्रकाशय ॥
लोकस्य चरितं नाव्यमित्यवोचस्त्वमीदृशम् ।
शेषाणां लोकगुह्यानां निश्चयं कर्त्तुमर्हसि ॥.....

(N.S. edn. XXVI. 4–9.)

The injunctions of cleanliness on the practice of the *sūtradhāra*, a part and parcel of the old popular drama and the justification of the *pūrvaraṅga* and the *nāndī*, in the matter of the descent of the drama from the regions above, form interesting and amusing reading. Says Bharata, voicing the views of his great master Brahmā :—

देवतासुरमानन्द्य यस्माल्लोकं च निन्दति ।
तस्मादयं प्रयोगस्तु नान्दीनामा भविष्यति ॥

(N.S. edn. XXXVI. 17.)

The episode, however, does not conceal the attitude of nonplussing and positive disgust which followed towards the people, when they in their turn in their early drama scandalised their cultured brethren—indeed the sage attributes this to be the root cause of the languishing of the popular wing in its ancient fashion. The *Nāṭyaśastra* reveals the keenness of this sting when it says:—

कस्यचित्त्वथ कालस्य शिल्पकं ग्राम्यधर्म्मकम् ।
ऋषीणां न्यङ्गकरणं कुर्व्वद्भिर्ग्रहसंश्रयम् ।
अश्रव्यं सुदुराचारं ग्राम्यधर्मप्रवर्त्तितम् ।
निष्ठुरं चाप्रशस्तञ्च काव्यं संसद्वियोजितम् ॥

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तच्छ्रुत्वा मुनयः सर्वे भीमरोषं प्रकम्पिताः ।
ऊचुस्तान्नरताक्रुद्धा निन्दयन्त इवाग्नयः ॥
मा तावद्भो द्विजा युक्तमिदमस्मद्विडम्बनम् ।
को नामायं परिभवः किंवा नास्मासु संमते (?) ॥
यस्माद्ज्ञानमदोन्मोत्ता न चेच्छाविनयान्विताः ।
तस्मादेतद्धि भवतां कुज्ञानं नाशमेष्यति ॥....

(XXXVI. 29–35.)

The story in the sequel told in the last chapter of the work brings the matter to a hopeful conclusion when the curse is withdrawn and the race of the sons of Bharata is rejuvenated, under the influence of the royal court of Nahuṣa and forms one fraternity bound by ties of common cause.

अयं हि नहुषो राजा याचते नः कृताञ्जलिः ।
गम्यतां सहितैर्भूमिं प्रयोक्तुं नाट्यमेव हि ॥
ब्राह्मणानां नृपानाञ्च भविष्यथ न कुत्सिताः ॥
तत्र गत्वा प्रयुज्यन्तां प्रयोगा वसुधातले ॥
न शक्यं चान्यथाकर्त्तुं वचनं पार्थिवस्य हि ।....

(XXXVII. 14–17.)

Bharata's work is meant to vindicate the triumph of the cultured element and in it consequently we miss the real life and power of the old drama. One sentence from Bharata hints exactly at this :—

आत्मोपदेशसिद्धं हि नाट्यं प्रोक्तं स्वयम्भुवा ।
शेषं प्रस्तारतस्तेण कोहलः [N.S. edn. reads कोलाहलः कथिष्यति] कथयिष्यति ॥

We could have been illumined by the work with an account of the revolt of the popular side which came later as a reaction against the aristocratising of the drama and of the birth of the later popular dramas, had the work been conceived later than the period in which it was compiled. The work, as we now get it, ends, and that quite rightly, with the story of the blending of the popular and aristocratic elements in the court-drama.

Sufficient has been said in the above *resume* to indicate broadly the helping hand the popular element has thus offered to the cause of the classical drama on its constructional, practical and synthetic side. It has made the Sanskrit drama what it is—not a lifeless and stiff mass of idealistic, Utopian, unactable, incoherent scenes and acts, but a solid whole true as much to 'home' as to the 'kindred

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point' of heaven—an inclination to which it inherited from the bias of the ritualistic and aristocratic tinge it had with the sacred literature of the land. But we would do well also to remember that a piece of literature, to be enjoyable and abiding, must touch and enkindle the feelings. Judged from that view-point, we, may acquiesce in the truism uttered by Spingarn in his *Creative Criticism*: 'A great play cannot be properly acted at all. A masterpiece is rarely as well represented as it is written; mediocrity always fares better with the actor', and end our remarks with that rather bold and emphatic generalisation of his:—'For aesthetic criticism the theatre simply does not exist.'

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Archaeology.

President:

RAO BAHADUR H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

By Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.

Gentlemen—

I must heartily thank you for the great honour you have done me in electing me in place of Dr. Spooner as the Sectional President of Archaeology on this memorable occasion of the second session of the Oriental Conference. I must confess, however, that I feel quite diffident if I shall be able enough to reciprocate your kind choice by rising equal to the occasion and doing full justice to the high responsible office you have thus conferred on me. Better persons surely you had, for your selection and brilliant scholars too. But I take it that you have been quite indulgent and partial to me perhaps in consideration of my long service of thirty years in the Epigraphical Department and my retiring old age.

After hearing yesterday from Sir Asutosh Mookerjee our venerable President of the Reception Committee, I find practically very little say on the subject of Archaeology, and yet still in spite of repetition I beg to place before you a few points which I have hurriedly noted down owing to little time that has been allowed me for reviewing the vast amount of work that has been already done in this field. Archaeology including its sister branches Epigraphy and Numismatics, has yielded in the past sufficient harvest under the extensive research of eminent Orientalists like Prinsep, Sir William Jones, Cunningham, Fergusson, Bühler, Burgess, Kielhorn, Fleet and others and yet in no way has it exhausted and become less promising. Unlike what it used to be in olden days, the subject is growing more and more popular and is attracting to its service a larger number of young men devoted and capable and well equipped with the necessary energy and enthusiasm. On this occasion while speaking to you of young and brilliant students I note with extreme regret the heavy loss which Archaeology has sustained in the death of Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Superintendent of Archaeology in Travancore and the author of that monumental work *Hindu Iconography* and Messrs. V. Natesa Aiyar and Panday of the Archaeological Department. Mr. Gopinatha Rao, had he been spared to us till now, would have produced still another gigantic

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work and perhaps a more interesting one too, on Indian Architecture, with hundreds of his original drawings and photographs. The huge collection of material, his elaborate notes and explanatory gloss are awaiting their final disposal in my office. To-day in this hall are gathered a number of young scholars of the type of Mr. Gopinatha Rao, who in no way yield to him in the matter of intelligence, zeal and energy ; and there is every reason therefore to feel quite confident that the future of Archaeology would as it advances be brighter and more promising. Besides, with a Sir John Marshall to guide our work and a Sir Asutosh Mookerjee to appreciate and applaud, scholars of research in this, as in every other branch of scientific enquiry, need feel no doubt about the successful results of their honest labour which in my humble opinion is and ought to be no other than the revival of our ancient national culture that finds full expression already in our early Vedic literature.

The epoch-making excavations at Sarnath, Taxila, Sanchi and Patna are well known to students of Archaeology. Striking historical discoveries such as these, have been so far, the share only of the fortunate North. The South has lagged far behind and the causes for this are not far to seek ; for, while the great Chinese pilgrim travellers Fa Hian, Hieun Tsang and It Sing left detailed accounts of the Buddhist monuments of the north, they said very little of the distant south and its antiquities of which there should have been many ; and consequently these are now a sealed book to scholars. Even the Bhattiprolu and the Ghantasala mounds which have yielded to us the earliest relics of Buddha so far discovered. could not be traced in the *Si-Yu-Ki*. Much less could we expect these travellers to have told us anything about the still more ancient and interesting monuments of the south—the natural caverns of the Madura and Tinnevelly districts—which bear on them writings in legible *Brāhmi* characters. What these are and to what period they belong are questions which are occupying the attention of scholars for the last fifteen years and it is expected that at no distant date they will yield an explanation under the search-light of intensive study of scholars of Archaeology like Mr. Jayaswal and others, and prove to be a distinct step of advance made in that groping after for evidence of an early Dravidian civilization which is believed to be prior to the Aryan immigrations to the south. Hitherto this evidence has been one of negative inference and among the many contri-

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butions to-day for the section of Archaeology we have one on the "*Dravidian and Aryan Elements in Indian Art*"[1] by no less an authority than Sir John Marshall which I hope will clear up most of our difficulties in this direction and enable us to grasp the situation better.

Other subjects of engrossing interest in Archaeology are Architecture and Painting and I have told you already how a vast material that could be culled on the former, from Indian literature still remains unexplored and uninvestigated. A good number of papers in this Section are on Architecture and Painting, and you can easily gauge from this what amount of interest is being taken by scholars in these branches of study. I may here be permitted to state parenthetically that in the opinion of some Archaeologists whose views deserve to be held with respect, there is a vague idea that Architecture more than Epigraphy plays a prominent part in fixing the age of an ancient monument and that accordingly the former requires closer study and scrutiny—and I wish to add, patronage—than the latter. How far this may be true in the case of Northern monuments I am not able to say; for I have not had occasion still to see them. But in the Southern monuments, there are many where architecture with its special characteristics is totally absent and we have to depend entirely on epigraphs alone for arriving at the age of the monuments, within reasonably close limits. This approximation, in my opinion, will be closer and more assured with the help of inscriptions than with the actual details of sculpture or the types of architecture we find on them. In the latter it cannot be gainsaid there is always the fear of imitation which as Sir George Birdwood remarks is done by the Indian Artists in the most successful manner—while in the former also there are similar pitfalls such as those of forgery, antedating of astronomical details, duplication, etc. But what I wish to point out to you now, is the invidious difference which these scholars make in the only two available historical data by over-valuing the one and under-valuing the other. This course is evidently to be condemned on its face and if persisted in, would surely bring into neglect and eventual ruin many a historical monument of Southern India whose importance is often due entirely to its ancient epigraphs and not to its architectural eminence. Going

[1] The article was not received in time to be read at the Conference.

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back to our subject, I find that in the papers submitted to-day for the Archaeology Section equal attention has been paid by scholars to the study of chronology, palaeography, iconography and numismatics and some of these I dare say are of extraordinary interest. On the whole I eagerly hope to see a successful session to-day which must be the forerunner of many more of its kind; and Archaeology must add its quota to the coming Renaissance of Ancient Indian Art and Culture.

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A VOUSSOIR FROM PATALIPUTRA.

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., *Bar.-at-Law.*

In December, 1920, I took Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri to the Dargah near Kumhrar to show him some pieces of sculptures which, we were told, were walled up in a well. The Dargah is a sacred endowment of Muhammadans under the succession of Sajjada Nashin whose mausoleums cover the place. It is believed at Patna that sacred Muhammadan places occupy mostly old Hindu sites of worship or veneration. The Dargah which stands almost opposite Kumhrar is certainly an ancient site. This is proved by pieces of sculptures walled here and there and fragments of ancient stone found there. An additional evidence is the remains of a *Stupa*—at present a mud mound—close by. The Sajjada-i-Nashin holds also a *Brāhmi* seal of copper which was discovered by me quite accidentally. I had taken Mr. Ramaprosad Chanda and Mr. Hirananda Sastri last month to the place. While talking to my old acquaintance and client the father of the present Sajjada-i-Nashin, I noticed a *tābiz* (talisman) round his neck. It was an impression in ink of a seal framed in silver case. The *Brāhmi* letters caught my eyes and at once I applied for a similar *tābiz* for my own use. Mr. Chanda and Mr. Sastri smelt archaeology in my veneration and proceeded with a closer examination of the *tābiz*. They came to the conclusion that my fleeting observation was right and they also became applicants for impressions of the sacred seal which they too intended to keep with their children to ward off the evil eye!

Near the residence of the incumbent there is a modern well. Near this well several pieces of stone, evidently old, are lying. Near the well this large voussoir was also lying and Muhammadan gentlemen used to wash their hands and feet on it preparatory to entering the mosque close by. The polished portion of the stone attracted my notice. I suspected in it the handicraft and material of the Aśokan caves at Barabar. Immediately I put the question to the Muhammadan friends whether it bore any writing. They said that there were a few marks like letters. I had the stone raised and cleared with the result that two *Brāhmi* letters at the

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inner face revealed at once *Ko* and *Kau*. The latter was a new form, but both Mahamahopadhyaya and Mr. Majumdar agreed with me that it must be *Kau*. The third letter was not thoroughly cleared and could not be read that day. When we got into the car I told Mahamahopadhyaya that the find was of enormous value—it proved the existence of arches in Maurya times. Next morning I went again with Mr. Bishun Swarup, Superintending Engineer, Patna Circle. He examined the piece and came to the conclusion that it could be nothing else but a voussoir. Then and there I negotiated with the owners to hand over the stone to me on terms. They agreed. In the afternoon Mr. Nates Aiyer and I went over to the place again and had the letter-incisions filled with water. We read the third letter as *Ce* (probably *Co*). The form presented a little difficulty in identification because it is not Aśokan. It turned out a tailed *C* of the *Drāviḍa* variety. The tailed *C* occurring in a monument at Patna takes us to a period before Aśoka, a period before the *Drāviḍa* variety from the main stock of the *Brāhmi* (to quote the language of Bühler, *In A*, 33, app. p. 8). The monument therefore will go back to the period of the Nandas or thereabouts.

After the acquisition of the stone it lay in the portico of my house at Patna and is now on loan exhibited in the Archaeological gallery of the Indian Museum. I shall not here deal with the dimensions of the stone for you can see it at the Museum for yourself. My friend Mr. Bishun Swarup has written a note giving technical details. A photograph of the stone was taken by the Superintendent of Archaeology (then Mr. N. Aiyer). In this photograph the letters come out very well—in white as I had the incisions filled in with chalk. A drawing of the stone is prepared by Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda which I place before you. I also place before you a fragment of the stone itself.

You will see that the stone has the radiating form. It has chases and offsets which in the absence of mortar produced a strong linking between this and the adjoining pieces on its sides. By this method, as Sir John Marshall remarked when he saw the photograph, the piece itself was supported and in turn supported its neighbours. For exact joining the pieces were marked and numbered at the Barabar Hills, with letters. This piece marked with *Ko-Kau* was the tenth. The series next to it had numbering in *C* as the lower portion letter

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Ce or *Co* indicates, the ledges show that one series at least in front of our piece. Both faces of the stone are polished which indicate that the arch was an open triumphal arch or a vaulted passage. The curvature calculated by Mr. Bishun Swarup proves that the arch was not very deep. But it was very massive, as the size of the stone proves. When I say "arch" I mean here the true arch of radiating voussoirs as opposed to an arch made of overlapping or corbelled sculpture True arch is supposed to have been introduced in India by Muhammadans who learnt it from the Romans. But this piece of solid evidence proves the existence of the arch in India before the great Roman buildings were constructed. I may mention here that I have the opinion of several engineers testifying that the piece is a voussoir, i.e. an arch stone. Mr. Bremner, the Chief Engineer of Behar and Orissa, inventor of the reinforced ceiling, Mr. Bishun Swarup who stands next to him in seniority and status in Bihar and Orissa, and Mr. Bery, an Engineer of Cooper's Hill, are all unanimous in their opinion. No dissent has been expressed by any of the technical gentlemen who have examined the piece.

Now let us cast our eyes on the existing buildings of a fresh period and forget for a moment what Fergusson and his followers have said and opined and dogmatised. Brick temples in the district of Cawnpore which go back to the Gupta period have two examples in their main door of true arches. They have been photographed by the Archaeological Department and the photographs were kindly pointed out to me by Dr. Spooner at Simla. Then Sir J. Marshall tells me that there are also arches of Hindu period at Amber. Recently Dr. Spooner excavated buildings having true arches in bricks at Nalanda which in his opinion go back to the 6th and the 7th centuries of the Christian Era. I have brought photographs of these (thanks to Mr. Hirananda Sastri). There is the arch in the Bodh Gaya temple, but Fergusson discounts it by the hypothesis that the Burmese must have built it when they repaired the temple in the beginning of the 14th century. But the Burmese arches themselves were built by Indian masons two centuries earlier. Keeping ourselves to the Indian examples, it is undoubted that true arch was known and occasionally used by the Hindus in pre-Muhammadan times, from the Gupta to Pala period. But the inherent weakness of the true arch which always "tends it to thrust branches outwards" and goes far to ensure the intimate distinction of every

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building where it is employed and the engineering inconvenience to provide abutment on either side to counteract thrust made our forefathers look upon the true arch with dislike. They employed in their domes and vaults and gates the horizontal arching instead of radiating voussoirs. "The arch never sleeps" is only the adage of the Hindu Mistri (mortar mason). Their fear and their view have been proved to be true by time. The overlapping arch and gateways and domes exist to-day and unless disturbed by violence, might remain so for ever, while true arch in those very positions, e.g. the gates of Vijayanagara would have long disappeared with the destruction of the adjuncts. The Hindu bridges of Orissa built on horizontal arching exist while Muhammadan structures subsequent to them have disappeared. The slightly curved roofing of the Barabar caves of Aśoka also point out the existence of true arch ceilings in his time. On no other principle that variety of the cave-ceiling is explainable.

True arch has been known to neighbouring countries of India for centuries before Christ. Assyria and Persia had it. The originality of India consists in rejecting it and in inventing a system which alone has proved to be the strongest yet invented, I mean the system of doming and arching by continuous bracketting.

NOTE ON A VOUSSOIR FROM PATALIPUTRA.

By A. K. Maitra, B.L., C.I.E.

During a flying visit to Patna in June last, Mr. Jayaswal showed me a massive block of stone lying in his house; and after an inspection of the same, I expressed an opinion regarding its architectural character. The stone having since been brought to the Calcutta Museum I got further opportunities of examining it, and the result corroborated my first opinion.

It is a stone with six surfaces, two of which (one on the top and another in the bottom) are polished with the peculiar cement called *Vajra lepa*. The two curved surfaces are sections of two concentric circles. The lower section has three letters, apparently indicating mason's marks, and their forms are not inconsistent with the age in which the cement in question was in use. The grooves cut on some of the unpolished surfaces indicate architectural design. Sides AB and CD, if produced, would pass through the centre of the two concentric circles, the smaller of which appears on calculation to

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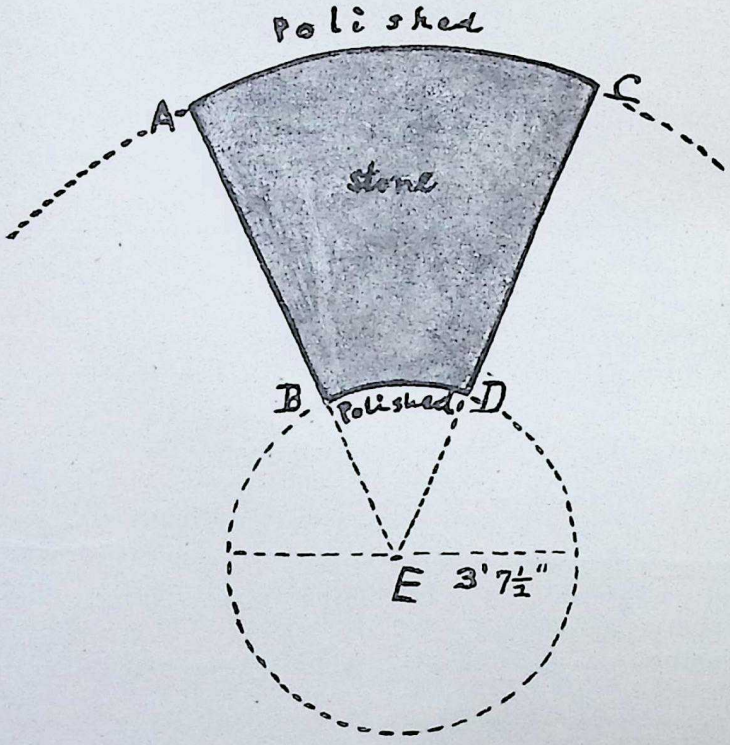
have been one of 3′-7½″ diameter. The two sides AB and CD being in this way found to be radial lines, the architectural character which would agree with known specimens, indicates that the block is a portion of a composite voussoir. The grooves would not be necessary, if the piece was intended to be used in horizontal course. The aperture, if so used for constructing a well-curb, would gradually decrease with the depth, and eventually close up. The conclusion,



Patna-Stone
Without Scale

therefore, points to the voussoir-character of the stone, intended to be used in a perpendicular course. This indicates that it formed one of the voussoirs of an arch. The want of a tenon projection on any side, and the equal length of the lines BE, DE would rather go to show that the block in question formed part of a composition which was intended to form the middle voussoir, that is, the key-stone of an arch, which was curvilinear in nature, as distinguished

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from the corbelled or horizontal type. The thickness of the stone, and its general massive character would not, in my opinion, be necessary for a span of 3′-7½″, indicated by the smaller circle. This leads me to hazard an opinion that the specimen belonged to a trifoil arch, the dimensions of which cannot, however, be exactly determined with the available data before us. I am sorry my indisposition does not permit me to attend the Conference to-day to explain this in person.

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INDIAN COLUMNS.

By P. K. Acharya, M.A., Ph.D., D.Lit.

The column in a building is stated by authorities like Professor Gwilt (in the *Encyclopedia of Architecture* 2538) to be the regulator of the whole composition. The proper understanding and application of it constitute the foundation of all excellence in the art. Fergusson rightly declares that "If any one wished to select one feature of Indian Architecture, which would illustrate its rise and progress, as well as its perfection and weakness, there are probably no objects more suited for this purpose than these *stambhas* or free-standing pillars."[1]

In the art of building the conception of pillar seems to be older than the dwelling itself. The Vedic literature is full of references to free pillars as well as the columns proper which are employed as essential support to a building. The synonyms of pillar like *stambha*, *skambha*, *sthūṇa*, and *upa-mit*, etc., have been discovered in the *Ṛgveda* and the later literature.[2]

The *Mānasāra*[3] has supplied us with almost all the synonyms of pillars met with in our literature—*jaṅghā*, *caraṇa*, *pāda*, *aṅghrika*, *bhāraka*, *dhāraṇa*, *stambha*, *skambha*, *sthūṇa*, *sthāṇu*, *stali*, *araṇi*. Of these twelve names, the first four imply foot and the next two mean support. So these six are clearly employed in buildings as support. Four others apparently employed both as support and as free-standing pillars; and the remaining two seem to imply only free-standing pillars.

These free-pillars are common to all the Hindu, the Buddhist, and the Jaina styles of Indian architecture. The Buddhists employed them to bear inscriptions on their shafts, with emblems or animals on their capitals. The Jainas built *Dīpa-stambhas* or lamp-bearing

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[1] *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 277.

[2] *Vedic Index*, II. 488, 483.

Ṛgveda, I. 59. 1; V. 45. 2; 62. 7; VIII. 17. 4; X. 18. 13; I. 34. 2; I. 59. 1; IV. 5. 1. 13. 5.

Atharvaveda, III. 12, 6; XIV. 1, 63.

Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā, XXX. 9; XXXI. 1.

Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, III. 1, 1, 11; 5, 1, 1; XXIV. 1, 3, 7; 3, 1, 22, etc.

[3] XV. 4–6.

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pillars. The Vaiṣṇavas raised the *Garuḍa-stambhas* or pillars bearing statues of *Garuḍa* bird or *Hanumān*. And the Śaivas built the *Dhvaja-stambhas* or the flag-staffs. In the archaeological records references to other kinds of free pillars are also found, such as, *Māna-stambha* or elegant tall pillar with small pavilion at the top[1]; *Raṇa-stambha* or column of victory[2]; *Kīrti-stambha* or triumphal pillar[3]: *Liṅga-stambha*[4] and *Yupa*,[5] etc.

"Whatever their distinction" declares Fergusson, "they were always the most original, and frequently the most elegant productions of Indian Art."[6]

But the column proper employed as support to a building is, however, the object of special study in the *Vāstu-śāstras*. Like the five Greco-Roman orders, called, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Tuscan, and Composite, columns in ancient India also were divided into five classes or orders. In the *Mānasāra*[7] they are called *Brahma-kānta*, *Viṣṇu-kānta*, *Rudra-kānta*, *Śiva-kānta*, and *Skanda-kānta*. These divisions are based on the general shapes. With respect to dimensions and ornaments, they are called *Citra-karṇa*, *Padma-kānta*, *Citra-skambha*, *Pālikā-stambha*, and *Kumbha-stambha*.[8] References to *Brahma-kānta*, etc., are also found in the epigraphic records.[9]

Of the nineteen *Purāṇas*[10] consulted, the details are very clear

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1 *Ep. Carnatica* Vol. VIII, part 1, No. 55, p. 192 (Roman text), 102 (translation).

Ep. Indica, Vol. VIII, 123; IV, 178, 171; V, 171.

Indian Ant., Vol. V, plate facing p. 39.

Fergusson, *ibid.*, 270, 276, Photographs Nos. 149, 155.

2 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, No. 33, p. 143f.

3 Burgess, *Ahmedabad Architecture*, Arch. Survey, New Imp. Series, Vol. XXXIII, 94.

Ep. Indica, Vol. XIII, 127.

4 *Ep. Carnat.* Vol. XII, 102 (Roman Text), 64 (translation).

5 *Corpus Inscrip. Ind.* III, 252, 253.

Ep. Carnat. Vol. X, No. 17, p. 233 (translation).

Mysore Arch. Reports, 1915-16, p. 21, plate 1.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

7 XV. 20-23, 31, 39, 40, 73, 204.

8 *Koṭṭha-stambha* and *Kuḍya-stambha* are two names used in the latter division to imply the pilaster and not independent column proper.

9 For instance *Ep. Ind.* V, 151; XII, 212, 216; *Corpus Inscrip. Ind.* III, 252, 253.

10 (1) *Agni*, (2) *Garuḍa*, (3) *Matsya*, (4) *Bhaviṣya*, (5) *Viṣṇu*, (6) *Padma*,

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only in the *Matsya-purāṇa.*[1] In this *Purāṇa* as well as in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*[2] the five orders are called *Rucaka, Vajra, Dvi-vajra, Praliṇaka* and *Vṛtta.*

Of the twenty-eight *Āgamas,*[3] the *Kāmikāgama*[4] and the *Suprabhedāgama*[5] contain the essential details. The names of the five orders according to the latter *Āgama*[5] are *Śrī-kara, Candra-kānta, Saumukhya, Priya-darśana,* and *Śubhaṅkarī.* The last one is expressly stated to be the Indian Composite order being compound of *Saumukhya* and *Priya-darśana.* exactly like the Greco-Roman Composite order which is compound of Corinthian and Ionic.

Between the European and the Indian columns their is, however, a point of difference. Of the Greco-Roman orders, the five names have been left unchanged, while in India the names of the five orders have varied in various treatises referred to above. It is true, all the same, that the criteria of divisions are essentially the same in the *Mānasāra,* the *Āgamas,* the *Purāṇas* and the *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā.*

We have also seen above that the *Mānasāra* contains two sets of names of the five order, one set referring like the *Āgamas,* the *Purāṇas,* and the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā,* to the general shapes of the columns or more precisely the shafts, while the other refers mostly to the capitals. The works other than the *Vāstu-śāstras* as represented by the *Mānasāra* have not kept this distinction clear, obviously because the treatment of architectural subjects in non-architectural treatises must necessarily be superficial. What we can reasonably infer from this fact, as regards the mutual relation of these treatises will be

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(7) *Bhāgavata,* (8) *Brahma,* (9) *Śiva,* (10) *Nārada,* (11) *Mārkaṇḍeya,* (12) *Varāha,* (13) *Skanda* or *Kumāra,* (14) *Vāmana,* (15) *Vāyu,* (16) *Liṅga,* (17) *Kūrma,* (18) *Brahmāṇḍa,* and (19) *Brahma-vaivarta.*

[1] Chap. 255, 1–6.

[2] Chap. LIII, 27–30; also *J.R.A.S.* (New Series) Vol. VI, 285, Notes 1, 2.

[3] (1) *Kāmikāgama,* (2) *Suprabhedāgama,* (3) *Yogijāgama,* (4) *Cintyāgama,* (5) *Karaṇāgama,* (6) *Ajitāgama,* (7) *Diptāgama,* (8) *Sūkṣmāgama,* (9) *Sahasrāgama,* (10) *Aṃśumanāgama,* (11) *Vijayāgama,* (12) *Niśvāsāgama,* (13) *Svaṃbhuvāgama,* (14) *Asitāgama,* (15) *Vīrāgama,* (16) *Rauravāgama,* (17) *Makuṭāgama,* (18) *Bimalāgama,* (19) *Candra-jñānāgama,* (20) *Bimbāgama,* (21) *Prod-gītāgama,* (22) *Lalitāgama,* (23) *Siddhāgama* also called *Vaikhānasāgama,* (24) *Sāntānāgama,* (25) *Sarvoktāgama,* (26) *Parameśvarāgama,* (27) *Kiraṇāgama,* (28) *Vātulāgama.*

[4] Paṭala XXXV, 24–26, 161. LV. 203, etc.

[5] Paṭala XXXI. 65–67.

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further elucidated by the consideration of the component parts of the column.

The question of the variation of the five names of orders can perhaps be explained away. The names of the Greco-Roman orders according to Vitruvius and Gwilt [1] are geographical. Doric is derived from the species of columns first found in the cities of Doria. That species of which the Ionians or the inhabitants of Ion were the inventors has received the appelation of Ionic. Callimachus constructed columns after the model of the tomb in the country about Corinth; hence this species is called Corinthian. The Tuscan order has reference to the country of Tuscany formerly called Etruria in Italy. Composite as stated above is compound of Ionic and Corinthian.

In India, on the other hand, the names of the orders were based on the shapes of columns. And as the Indians are comparatively spiritualistic and sentimental, rather than historians, in temperament and imagination, they chose mythological and poetical names according to the spirit of the times when these various works were composed. Thus in the *Mānasāra* we see the orders bear the names of mythological deities, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Śiva, and Skanda; as well as the poetical names like *Citra-karṇa* (variegated ears), *Citra-skambha* (variegated shaft), *Padma-kānta* (lotus shaped), *Kumbha-stambha* (jug shaped), and *Pālikā-stambha* (*Pālikā* shaped). In the *Āgama*, the names are more poetical—*Śrīkara* (beautifying), *Candra-kānta* (graceful like the moon), *Saumukhya* (of most charming face), *Priya-darśana* (of pleasant sight), *Śubhaṅkarī* (doing good). In the *Purāṇas* and the *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* the names combine beauty and utility;—*Rucaka* (pleasing), *Vṛtta* (round and dignified), *Vajra* (beautiful and solid like the club), *Dvi-vajra* (doubly so), and *Pralīṇaka*.

These names have not yet been associated with particular kinds of existing columns. The reason is not far to seek. The names have gone further changes in the vernaculars in which the modern masons talk. And until the results of philological studies of so many vernaculars are available, the actual identification of the columns bearing these names must remain in the dark.

With regard to the names and functions of the component parts

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[1] Vitruvius Book IV. 1; *Encyclopedia of Architecture*, Article 178.

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of the column the variation is a little less marked. But these subservient parts, called mouldings and common to all orders, vary in numbers. Thus in the *Mānasāra*,[1] which of almost all the treatises deals separately and exhaustively with the pedestal, the base, and the entablature, mention is made in connection with the pillar of five mouldings, apparently of the shaft. They are called *Bodhikā*, *Muṣṭibandha*, *Phalakā*, *Tāṭikā*, and *Ghaṭa*. The *Suprabhedāgama*[2] describes two sets of seven mouldings, one set referring to the column of the main building and the other to that of the pavilion. They are called respectively *Daṇḍa*, *Maṇḍi*, *Kaṇṭha*, *Kumbha*, *Phalakā*, *Vīra-kaṇṭha* and *Potikā*; and *Bodhikā*, *Uttara*, *Vājana*, *Mūrdhikā*, *Tulā*, *Jayanti* and *Tala*. These increasing number of mouldings has reached the significant number of eight in the *Matsya-purāṇa*,[3] the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*,[4] and the *Kiraṇa tantra*,[5] and bears the very same eight names *Vahana*, *Ghaṭa*, *Padma*, *Uttaroṣṭha*, *Bāhulya*, (*B*)*hāra*, *Tulā*, and *Upa-tulā*.

Whether accidental or otherwise, the component mouldings of the Greco-Roman orders are also eight in numbers,[6] and like the five orders themselves their names have been invariable ever since their introduction, though most of them have been given more than one name. They are called (1) the ovala, echinus, or quarter round; (2) the talon, ogée, or reversed cyma; (3) the cyma, cyma recta, or cymatium; (4) the torus; (5) the scotia or trochilos; (6) the cavetto, mouth, or hollow; (7) the astragal; and (8) the fillet, listel, or annulet.

The names of these mouldings like those of the order themselves have undergone great changes in the vernaculars of the Indian masons. And as has already been pointed out, until the results of philological study of these vernaculars are available, these names of mouldings can hardly be satisfactorily associated with the mouldings of the existing columns. But some of the eight mouldings of the Indian order can be identified, with a reasonable

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1 XLVII. 16–18.

2 Paṭala XXXI. 56–60; 107–108.

3 Chap. LIII. 255, 1–6f.

4 Chap. LIII. 29–30.

5 *J.R.A.S.* (N.S.) VI. 285, Notes 1, 2.

6 Gwilt, *Encyclopedia of Architecture*, Art. 2532, figures 867–874. *Glossary of the Arch. terms.* Plate XXXIV.

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certainty, with the corresponding mouldings of the Greco-Roman order.

Padma implies lotus (petal) and cyma also suggests the same thing. *Uttaroṣṭha*, literally the lower lip and the cavetto, mouth, or hollow are apparently the same. *Hāra* meaning chain seems to imply the same object as the torus, bead or astragal. *Ghaṭa* means a pot; it may correspond to the ogée, talon, or reversed cyma. *Vahana* is that which supports any thing and abacus also serves the same purpose; so they may correspond to each other. *Tulā* and *Upa-tulā* otherwise called *Vājana* and *Uttara* seem to correspond to the fillet, listel, or annulet.

I am, however, not concerned here with the actual identification of the orders or of the mouldings. The main point at issue is the number of the orders and of the mouldings. We have seen that the number of orders in the *Mānasāra*, the *Āgamas*, the *Purāṇas*, and the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* as well as in Vitruvius is five. The number of mouldings vary in the Indian treatises, the *Mānasāra* referring to five, the *Supra-bhedāgama* to seven and the *Matsya-purāṇa*, the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, and the *Kiraṇa-taṇtra*, each referring, exactly like Vitruvius, to eight mouldings. But if the mouldings[1] described separately in connection with the pedestal, base, and entablature be taken into consideration, the *Mānasāra* will surpass all the Indian and the European treatises on the subject. In the *Mānasāra* as many as forty-seven (uncompound) mouldings are discovered—(1) *Abja*, *Ambuja*, *Padma*, or *Saroruha*; (2) *Antara*, *Anturita*, *Antarāla*. or *Antarika*; (3) *Aṅghri*, (4) *Aṃśu*, (5) *Argala*, (6) *Ādhāra*, (7) *Āliṅga*, (8) *Āsana*, (9) *Bhadra*, (10) *Bodhikā*, (11) *Dolā*, (12) *Dhārā* (*kumbha*), (13) *Galā*, *Grīva*, *Kaṇṭha*, or *Kandhara*, (14) *Ghaṭa*, (15) *Gopāna*, (16) *Hāra*, (17) *Janman*, (18) *Kapota*, (19) *Kampa* or *Kampana*, (20) *Karṇa*, (21) *Kumbha*, (22) *Kumuda*, (23) *Kendra*, (24) *Kṣepaṇa*, (25) *Muṣṭi-bandha*, (26) *Mūla*, (27) *Mṛṇāla* or *Mṛṇālikā*, (28) *Nāṭaka*, (29) *Nāsi*, (30) *Nimna*, (31) *Paṭṭa* or *Paṭṭikā*, (32) *Prati* or *Pratika*, (33) *Prati-vakra*, (34) *Prativājana*, (35) *Pratibandha*, (36) *Pratima*, (37) *Pāduka*, (38) *Prastara*, (39) *Phalakā*, (40) *Ratna*, (41) *Tāṭika*, (42) *Tuṅga*, (43) *Uttara*, (44) *Upāna*, (45) *Vapra* or *Vapraka*, (46) *Valabha* or *Valabhi*, and (47) *Vājana*.[2]

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[1] *Dictionary of Architectural Terms* by the writer under *Adhiṣṭhāna Upa-piṭha*, *Prastara*.

[2] Many of the mouldings have got a large number of synonyms, e.g.

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There is a large number of compound mouldings, also, such as *Kampa-karṇa*, *Kampa-padma*, *Padma-kampa*, *Ratna-kampa*, *Ratnapaṭṭa*, *Vajra-paṭṭa*, *Ratna-vapra*, etc.

The proportionate measurement of the columns is another important point of comparison. The first sort is six diameters high, the second seven diameters, the third eight diameters, the fourth nine diameters and the fifth ten diameters high. "Concerning the proportions of columns," says Rām Rāz (Essay, 38), "the second sort of columns in the Hindu architecture may be compared with the Tuscan, the third with the Doric, the fourth with the Ionic, and the fifth with the Corinthian or Composite pillar." He, further, adds "There are other columns in the Indian architecture, not only one diameter lower than the Tuscan, but one to two diameters higher than the Composite. Same is also the case with the European columns." "The orders and their several characters and qualities," says Gwilt (2538), "do not merely appear in the five species of columns into which they have been subdivided, but are distributed throughout the edifices to which they are applied."

"Both the Indian and Grecian columns are diminished gradually in their diameter from the base to the summit of the shaft, a practice which has never been observed in the Egyptian; on the contrary a diametrically opposite rule has been observed in their shafts, which are made narrower at the bottom than at the top..... The proportion in which the diminution at the top of the columns of the two former is made seems to have been regulated by the same principle, though not by the same rule..... The higher the columns, the less they diminish, because the apparent diminution of the diameter in columns of the same proportion, is always greater according to their height, and this principle is supposed to have

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(*i*) *Kapota, prastara, mañca, pracchādana, gopāna, vitāna, valabhi, and mattavārana.*

(*ii*) *Prati, prastara, prati-vājana, anvanta, avasāna, vidhāna and vidhānaka.*

(*iii*) *Prati-rūpa, dalākāra, vījana, vājana, vetra, kṣepaṇa, uttara, paṭṭa, paṭṭika, kampa, trika, maṇḍa, and antarita.*

(*iv*) *Tulā-daṇda, jayanti, and phalakā.*

(*v*) *Kapota, vakra-hasta, lupā, gopānaka, and candra.*

(*vi*) *Saṃgraha, muṣṭi-bandha, maddala, uddhṛta-hasta, valabhi and dhāraṇa.*

(*vii*) *Nāṭaka, anta, mṛnālika, citrāṅga, and kulikāṅghrika.*

(*viii*) *Uttara, vājana, ādhāra, ādheya, śayana, uddhṛta, mūrdhaka, mahātauli and svavaṃśaka.*

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been discovered with greater scientific skill, and is adduced as one of the proofs of the highly refined taste of Greeks; but we observe that precepts derived from the same principle have been taught and practised in India from time immemorial."

Between Vitruvius and the *Mānasāra*, similarities in other matters are more striking than in the present instance of the orders and the mouldings.

If the learned members of the Conference, kindly point out or even suggest the way to the connecting link between the two authorities, some thing more precisely and definitely can be declared regarding our Indian standard work on architecture and cognate arts, and the architectural portions of the *Purāṇas* and the *Agāmas*.

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IDENTIFICATION OF AVALOKITEŚVARA IMAGES.

By Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, M.A.

The systematic and methodical research in the field of Buddhist Iconography which is perhaps the most fascinating branch of Indian Archaeology, dates from 1897, the year in which Professor Foucher, the illustrious French savant, first visited India. Since then, numerous works have been published on Buddhist Iconography and Art by several scholars,—and it is, therefore, with great diffidence that I venture to place before this august assembly of eminent scholars, my humble efforts to throw some light on the Iconography of Avalokiteśvara, the All-Compassionate Bodhisattva.

Avalokiteśvara looms large in the varied and extensive Pantheon of the Northern Buddhists as a Bodhisattva emanated from the Divine Buddha, Amitābha, and his *Buddhaśakti*, Pāṇḍarā both lording over this *Kalpa*. Avalokiteśvara is their active energy and the creative principle, and his predominance is exemplified by *Sādhanamālā*, so much so, that no less than thirty-one *Sādhanas* are devoted to the worship of his different forms. The reason is not far to seek: for, in the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*, in which an account of his character, religious teachings and his miracles is given, we find that he refused to enter Buddhahood, though fully entitled to it, until all creatures of the Universe were in possession of the *Bodhi* knowledge. He was about to enter at once into the *śūnya* and *nirvāṇa*, when suddenly he looked round only to see his fellow creatures struggling in vain to free themselves from the fetters of the three great evils. He was filled with compassion, came back, and was determined to work and foster spiritual knowledge among his fellow creatures and refrained from obtaining his salvation so long as a single soul remained in the fetters of Māra, the Evil One and his hosts. It is difficult to find a parallel of this great self-sacrifice in the history of any religion. It is not a matter of surprise therefore that great predominance has been given to him in the *Sādhanamālā*, or that the appellation *Saṃgharatna*, that is, 'the Jewel of the Buddhist Church,' has been appended to the name of this Great Divinity, the Great Compassionate.

There are altogether thirty-one *Sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā*,

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devoted to the worship of Avalokiteśvara. In twenty-three of them he is described as white, in six red, in one yellow and in one black; in nineteen he is two-armed, in five four-armed, in five six-armed, in one twelve-armed and in one eighteen-armed; in twenty-seven he is one-faced, in three three-faced, and in only one five-faced; in thirteen he appears in a group and in eighteen single. Four *Sādhanas* each are attributed to Ṣaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara, Khasarpaṇa, Siṃhanāda and Lokanātha, three to Hālāhala, two each to Vajradharma, Padmanarteśvara, Harihariharivāhanodbhava, Trailokyavaśaṅkara or Odiyāna Lokeśvara and Lokeśvara (out of which one is to Rakta-Lokeśvara) and one each to Māyājālakramāryāvalokiteśvara and Nīlakaṇṭha.

Among these thirteen variations eleven only have been described, supported by quotations from the original Sanskrit texts, by Professor Foucher, who utilized the Cambridge MSS. of the *Sādhanamālā* and *Sādhanasamuccaya*. The two variations that he has not been able to touch, are, Vajradharma and Ṣaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara. Even in those he has described, he has not taken any notice of the variety of *sādhanas* of each.

Though no sculptures or paintings of Vajradharma have been discovered yet a description would not be out of place here. In the *Sādhanamālā* we have:—

तं सितं रक्तवर्णं तु पद्मरागसमद्युतिं ।
पञ्चबुद्धमुकुटधरं हर्षेणोत्फुल्ललोचनं ॥
वामतो स्पर्द्धया नालं धृत्वा षोड़शपत्रकं ।
पद्मम्बिकाश्रयन्तच्च हृदि दक्षिणपाणिना ॥
मयूरोपरि मध्यस्थे निषण्णं चन्द्रमण्डले ।
सत्वपर्य्यङ्कमाभुज्य सशृङ्गाररसोत्सवं ॥
चैत्यान्तःस्थमहाकर्म्म कूटागारविहारिणं ।
भावयेत् वज्रधर्म्माख्यं नित्यं बोधिमवाप्नूयात् ॥

So from the description we see that he should be moving in a *caitya*, in an amorous mood with eyes beaming with delight. His complexion is red like the ruby (*padmarāga*) gem and he sits on a human being placed on the orb of the moon which is again on the back of a peacock, and wears the effigies of the five Dhyānī Buddhas on the crown. With his two hands he holds the stalk of a lotus in the left, while the right is engaged in blowing the flower held against his breast.

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Fig. 1. Ṣaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara. (*Page* 287).

From a photograph. Reproduced by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali.

Fig. 2. Sugatisandarśana. (*Page* 288).

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Now we pass on to the image of Ṣaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara (Pl. I, Fig. 1) on a slab preserved in the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath. Before quoting the description given in the *Catalogue* it would be better if the image is first defined from the *Sādhanamālā*. There are four *sādhanas* attributed to Ṣaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara in the *Sādhanamālā*; two of these describe him as a figure in a group of three, one in a group of two and one singly. It seems that the Professor could not find in his Cambridge Manuscripts the *sādhanas* for Ṣaḍakṣarī-Lokeśvara in the group of three. It is, therefore, desirable that a description be appended here. It is sufficient to say :—" ....आत्मानं लोकेश्वररूपं सर्व्वालङ्कारभूषितं शुक्लवर्णं चतुर्भुजं वामतः पद्मधरं दक्षिणतोऽक्षसूत्रधरं अपराभ्यां हस्ताभ्यां हृदि सम्पुटाञ्जलिस्थितं ध्यायात्। दक्षिणे मणिधरं तत्तद्वर्णभुजान्वितं पद्मान्तरोपरिस्थं। वामे तथैव अपरपद्मस्थां षडक्षरीमहाविद्यां .. .. "।

So it is obvious that he should be decorated with all sorts of ornaments, white in complexion, having four hands, two of which are engaged in forming the *añjali* which is held against the breast, while the other would bear the lotus in the left and the rosary in the right. He should be accompanied by Maṇidhara in the right with the same complexion, same number of hands and the same attributes and similarly to his left, on another lotus, Ṣaḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā with the same number of hands and the same attributes.

Now when we compare the above description with the description as given in the *Sarnath Catalogue* it would be apparent that the principal figure on a lotus is Lokeśvara and the figure to the right is that of Maṇidhara and the figure to the left is that of Ṣaḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā. The extract is given below :—

> " Slab with group of three deities seated cross-legged side by side on conventional lotuses, all of which rise from the same root. The central figure is larger than the side ones, and the one at the proper left end is a female while the other two are males. In other respects they are identical, each having a plain circular halo and four arms. The lower hands are clasped before the breast, the other two hold a rosary (*akṣamālā*) and a full blown lotus flower respectively....Under the lotus thrones are four miniatures...."

This group of the three figures is labelled as " Unidentified Group " and Mr. Oertel identified the group as the *Tri-Ratna* or Three Jewels, Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha; but it would appear that the identification offered here has more chance of acceptance than Mr.

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Oertel's conjecture. The four miniatures under the seats depict none but the four keepers of the gates (*Dvārapālakas*) of the Ṣaḍak ṣarī-Maṇḍala, of which a description appears in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha.*

We have another figure of Avalokiteśvara in the Sarnath Museum with six arms (Plate I, Fig. 2) which does not correspond to any six armed Avalokiteśvara in the *Sādhanamālā*; but the sculpture distinctly smells of Avalokiteśvara and has been so identified. The god, standing, holds in his three left hands the *kamaṇḍalu*, the lotus and the *pāśa*, and the three right hands exhibit the *varada* and *abhaya* poses and holds the rosary. He has two attendants who are none but Tārā and Sudhanakumāra, and to his right appears the staff with three horns.

But fortunately we have been now enabled to identify this image more precisely. Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri while cataloguing the manuscripts in the Durbar Library, Nepal, discovered that a small manuscript, entitled *Abhiṣekavidhi* written in the reign of Rudradeva (Plate II, Fig. 3*a*) was appended to the Durbar copy of the *Sādhanamālā*. The obverse side of the first leaf (Plate II, Fig. 3*b*) of the manuscript contains two *sādhanas*, one for Sugatisandarśana and another for Pretasantarpita Lokeśvara, written in a comparatively modern hand. Sugatisandarśana is described in it as:—शुक्लवर्णं षड्भुजं वरदाभयाक्षमालाधरं दक्षिणे, वामे पद्मकुण्डीत्रिदण्डी च रत्नाभरणभूषितं, व्रतसूत्रधारिणं जटामुकुटं पद्मोपरि चन्द्रमण्डले स्थितं सौम्यरूपं भावयेत् ।—that is, peaceful in appearance, white in colour, wearing the *jaṭāmukuṭa* and the sacred thread and standing on a lotus. His six hands exhibit the *abhaya* and *varada* poses and hold the rosary in the three right hands, and the *kamaṇḍalu*, the lotus and the staff with three horns in the three left hands.

So we see that the Sarnath image deviates very little from the precepts laid down in the text quoted above; only the *abhaya* pose is not in the proper fashion and we find the *pāśa* instead of the *tridaṇḍī*, which however is present in the right of the god between him and Sudhanakumāra. The image, therefore, may be tentatively identified as that of Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara.

The image of Pretasantarpita Lokeśvara has not yet been discovered but I think a description would prove interesting:—जटामुकुटिनं षड्भुजं प्रथमभुजद्वयेन वरदौ, द्वितीयभुजद्वयेन रत्नपुस्तकौ, तृतीयभुजद्वयेन अक्षमालात्रिदण्डिकं सर्व्वालङ्कारभूषितं अक्षसूत्रधारिणं सौम्यमूर्त्तिं पद्मोपरि चन्द्रमण्डलस्थितं श्वेतं विभावयेत्—that is, the god should be six-armed, white in colour,

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Plate II.

From the original. Reproduced by the author.

Fig. 3. (*Page* 288).

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Fig. 4. Siṃhanāda. (*Page* 289).

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Fig. 5. Nīlakaṇṭha. (*Page* 289).

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decked in ornaments and peaceful in appearance. He should wear the *jaṭāmukuṭa* and stand on a lotus ; and of his six hands, the first pair should exhibit the boon poses, the second should carry the jewel and the book, and the third the rosary and the staff with three horns.

Since Prof. Foucher wrote his *Etude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, another perfect and very artistic specimen of Siṃhanāda (Plate II, Fig. 4) has been discovered at Mahoba, and Mr. K. N. Dikshit gives a description of it in the eighth part of the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.* The most remarkable thing about the sculpture is that here the image carries a rosary (generally found in the Tibetan specimens) in his right hand which is supposed to carry nothing according to the four *sādhanas* devoted to his worship. Also the absence of the bowl filled with a variety of flowers to his left, is remarkable. Mr. Dikshit is indeed surprised not to find all the Bodhisattva ornaments on the person of Siṃhanāda; but there is nothing to be surprised at in that, inasmuch as in a *sādhana* of Siṃhanāda appearing on Fol. 35 of the A.S.B. MS. and 25A of the Nepal MS., he is distinctly said to be *nirbhūṣaṇa*, that is, without any ornaments.

This paper would be incomplete if a passing reference is not made to another image (Plate III, Fig. 5) from Sarnath, the description whereof is quoted below from the *Sarnath Catalogue* :—

> "....The Bodhisattva wears ear-rings, a necklace of beads, armlets studded with jewels and bracelets. His hair is arranged in long curly ringlets and in his hands he holds a large bowl against breast. On his right and left shoulder there are a male and female figure standing facing to the front and holding bowls similar to that in the Bodhisattva's hands. On the latter's head we notice a headless figure of Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha ...."

I have taken great pains in comparing this description with all the descriptions in the *Sādhanamālā* of male deities with the effigy of Amitābha on the crown, yet I could not find any that exactly or partially corresponds to the description quoted above. The sculpture has however, tentatively been identified as that of Avalokiteśvara. May we not go a step further and identify it with Nīlakaṇṭha ? But there are discrepancies and they are of a serious nature. The god ought to have no ornaments (*nirābharaṇam*) but

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the sculpture has merely four ornaments, and not all the thirteen ornaments necessary for a Bodhisattva. The hands that ought to have displayed the *samādhimudrā*, are slightly altered and held against the breast; and the two serpents who ought to have accompanied the figure with folded hands are absent and instead we find two human beings, one male and another female with the alms-bowl held against their breasts. May we not assume that the two serpents, the two attendants of Nīlakaṇṭha have been transformed into two human-shaped *nāgas* carrying the alms-bowl and imitating the central figure in accordance with replicas—a favourite artistic device? This, as well as other minor variations might be due to the sculptor's ignorance of the teachings of the *Śāstras*.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that this large number of *sādhanas* can by no means exhaust all possible forms of Avalokiteśvara, even of India not to say of Tibet, China, Japan, Mongolia and other countries. Iconographists are indeed much vexed with the question of different variations of the same image, for these variations do rarely follow all the precepts laid down in the *Śāstras*. For instance, we have one sculpture (Plate IV, Fig. 6) at Dacca, shown to me by Mr. Nalini Kanta Bhaṭṭasali which I have identified with the four-faced and eight-armed Mahāpratisarā, and similarly, we have another brass image (Plate IV, Fig. 7) on a copper vase in the possession of Mr. Langley, Professor of Philosophy at the Dacca University which has been identified by me as Vajrayoginī. They vary a little from the descriptions furnished by the *Sādhanamālā* yet materially they are the same. The images mostly are at the mercy of the sculptors, devotees or the donors, as the case may be, and variations are due absolutely to the whims and ignorance of these men.[1]

---

[1] Since this paper was read before the Oriental Conference we were out on a tour of research in Nepal. There I discovered in Macchandar Vahāl, one of the numerous Vihāras at Kāṭhmāṇḍu, paintings of 108 varieties of Avalokiteśvara, bearing labels to indicate their respective names. I employed a native artist to prepare the sketches for me and I hope to publish an account of these in near future.

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From the original. Reproduced by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali.

Fig. 6. Mahāpratisarā. (*Page* 290).

From the original. Reproduced by Prof, Jenkins of the Dacca University.

Fig. 7. Vajrayoginī. (*Page* 290).

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SOME OLD MARATHA GOLD COINS: FANAMS OF RAMA RAJA.

By R. Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar, M.A.

A find of two hundred coins was reported in 1908 from the village of Kiltayanur, Tirukkoilur Taluk of the South Arcot District, Madras Presidency. They were then acquired for the Museum by the Government of Madras, sixty-five of them were distributed among different Provincial Museums and hundred and thirty-four sold to the general public and numismatists. These coins were then identified as *Kali fanams*.

Kali fanams or sometimes called *Kaliyugarajan fanams* were current in Kerala or North Malabar in the early centuries of the Christian era. Elliot in his history of South Indian coins says that there were two kinds of these, one issued by Kolatnad or Cirakkal Raja and later by the Zamorin of Calicut, who to distinguish this issue from the earlier ones called them *Pudiya fanams*. Both these coins though accepted and used as a medium of exchange in Kerala or North Malabar, were not recognized as legal tender even in the contiguous province of Travancore. So in the early centuries when the means of communication was so small and the country was divided into several principalities each under separate and independent administrations it is not probable that these coins came to the Eastern district and were current there. We may fairly conclude that *Kali fanams* were never accepted or used in places other than Kerala.

Mr. Vincent A. Smith in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Volume 1, has included this as the coinage of Travancore State, and has brought them under gold *fanams* of 18th and 19th centuries. On page 316 he has described as follows: Obverse—A kind of dagger and other marks—Reverse—Characters not read. This coin is figured as item 10 in plate XXX (page 324).

Later in 1918 there was yet another find of eighty similar coins from Kattambatti, a hamlet of the village of Kannalam in the Gingee Taluk of the same district. In design, shape, size, weight and the character of the metal used (inferior gold 13 carats fine) these are exactly like those of 1908 find. They are almost all of them

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round varying from ·2 and ·22 of an inch in diameter and cup-shaped. They are almost of a uniform weight from 5 to 5½ grains. Of these latter 80, 38 have on one side a figure formed by lines and dots with the sun and the moon on either side of it. On the reverse of 42 there is a legend in Devanagari Script, Rāma Rāu (रामराउ), Rāu is apparently intended for Rāo or Rajā.

Rāma Rāu as the title Rāo indicates is a Maratha name and the term (Rāo) is affixed to the names of persons eminent as soldiers, clerks, etc. The title is purely a Maratha term generally applied to ruling chiefs or kings. Paleographic evidence clearly shows that these coins were neither Pallava nor Cola ones, and we know that they were not of the Vijayanagar Empire, for these do not resemble any of the Vijayanagar coins that we know, in design, shape, weight, or quality of the metal. No viceroy of Vijayanagar appears to have issued coins in his own name. Moreover no viceroy with the name of Rāma Rājā appears to have ruled over these parts where these coins were found. The genealogy of Gingee Chiefs that is available from inscriptions No. 860 and 861 in appendix B of the *Annual Report* of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, for 1917, gives the names of several chiefs from Khemu to Rāmabhadra Nāidu who is said to have ruled in Saka 1593 (A.D. 1671). Twenty chiefs appears to have ruled between Khemu and Rāmabhadra Nāidu and even allowing twenty-five years for each chief, Khemu, the first chief, would bring us back to 1093 Saka or A.D. 1171. Further, paleographically the age of these coins has to be put later than the 16th century. It must therefore be concluded that these do not belong to the Vijayanagar period. The Mughals conquered these parts where these coins were found at the latter part of the 17th century only, but we know that the Dutch at Negapatam and the French at Pondicherry have issued coins of exactly the same description of the coins of 1908 and 1918 finds and they were current in the East Coast before the Mughals overthrew the Marathas and assumed sway. Having thus eliminated all the other dynasties that ruled over these parts, we have only the Maratha period left for fixing the origin of these coins.

Gingee which is very near the two places, from where we had two of these finds, was during this period a seat of Government and was considered a place fit enough for a viceroy to reside and rule, and

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there is no other place near about these villages in the district which was at any time the seat of Government. So these must have been issued from the mint at Gingee, and we have also on record that Rāma Rājā, son of the famous Sivaji, who captured the fortress of Gingee in 1677 had continued to rule here as king and that he had issued a *firman* to the Hon'ble the East India Company who in 1690 entered into negotiations with Rāma Rājā, the Maratha chief of Gingee for the purchase of a small Fort at Devanampatanam near Cuddalore, on the site of the existing Fort St. David, and which both the French and the Dutch had previously endeavoured to buy. The *firman*[1] runs thus, ".....that the sole Government and possession of the same shall be in the said English Company and their Governors, etc., so long as the sunn and moon endures, to be governed by their own lawes and customes both civill martial and criminall, and to coyn money either under our Royal stamp or such other as they shall judge convenient, both in silver or gold....." All this clearly shows that Rāma Rājā himself had a mint of his own and issued coins in his own name. The Rāma Rājā is the same as Rāma Rāu that is referred to by the legend. The fact that some of these coins do not have any legend may go to show either that Rāma Rājā himself had copied the design from coins that were current earlier or that he himself issued first without the legend and later on added the legend to impress his own power and importance. In any case there can be no doubt as to the fact that these are of Maratha issue and that they have no manner of resemblance or relation to *Kali fanams* as was erroneously supposed.

The Fortress of Gingee[2] was under the sway of the famous Sivaji and his son Rāma Rājā between 1677 and 1698. Aurangzeb, the Mughal Emperor, wanted to reduce the South of India and turned his arms against the Marathas in 1683. Then Rāma Rājā fled to Gingee and that place became a rallying point for the broken Maratha forces. This was held by Rāma Rājā till 1698 when it fell into the hands of Mughals. These coins were therefore issued by Rāma Rājā, son of Sivaji, during the period from 1683 to 1698. They can be called Rāma Rājā fanams.

The lines and dots may at first sight appear to represent a dagger but from a knowledge of coins generally we know that the dagger

[1] *Gazetteer of South Arcot District*—page 42.

[2] *South Arcot District Gazetteer*—page 350 and footnotes under.

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alone is not used. But it may sometimes be used with other emblems of royalty with the sun and moon to denote eternity. We know also that in ancient times these lines and dots were used conventionally to represent some figure or other. So I think that the lines and dots on the coins now being discussed may represent only the figure of the Rājā and this view receives ample confirmation from the Devanāgarī legend on the reverse side. We learn that coins[1] similar in design were minted by the French at Pondicherry and by the Dutch at Nagapatam with their respective bale marks on the reverse. The figure is similar to that found on coins struck at Pondicherry by the Dutch during their occupation of it from 1693 to 1698. It was thought by Colonel Pearse as Kali or Śuli of Tanjore. It is also stated that this design was found anterior to 1693 in the coins of Negapatam and the Dutch copied this design from them. He thinks that this design was extant as early as the second century of the Christian era during the period of the Guptas, but from the existing literature on the coins of the Guptas we find that no such design existed. Therefore this is a later design, but current in the Eastern districts at the beginning of the 17th century and the French, the Dutch and the Marathas might have copied it from that early design.

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1 Cte. Maurin Nahuys—*Numismatique Des Indes Neerlandaises*—Part II, page 14.

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Political History and Chronology.

President:

RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, M.A.

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THE WESTERN GAṄGAS OF TALKĀḌ.

By Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, M.A.

Among the dynasties that ruled in Southern India in early times, that of the Gaṅgas of Talkāḍ was one of the most interesting which held its own for nearly seven centuries from about the fourth to the eleventh. The Gaṅgas ruled over the greater part of the present Mysore country, their territory being known as Gaṅgavāḍi, a Ninety-six Thousand province. The existing Gaṅgaḍikāras, properly Gaṅgavāḍikāras, who form the largest section of the agricultural population of Mysore even now, represent their former subjects. Their earliest capital was Kuvaḷāla or Kolār, situated to the west of the Pālār river in the eastern part of Mysore. The capital was subsequently removed to Talkāḍ on the Kāveri, which continued as such until its capture by the Coḷas at the beginning of the eleventh century when the Gaṅga sovereignty came to an end. Though Talkāḍ was the permanent capital, the royal residence was removed to a more central position at Maṇṇe or Mānyapura to the north-west of Bangalore in the eighth century in the time of Śrīpuruṣa, during whose long reign the Gaṅga kingdom may be said to have reached the height of prosperity. The Gaṅgas are stated to be of the Jāhnaveya family and of the Kāṇvāyana-gotra, and are usually styled *Koṅguṇivarma-dharma-mahādhirāja* (or *mahārājādhirāja*). They had an elephant for their crest. The titles *Satyavākya* and *Nītimārga* are as a rule applied alternately to the later kings. The foundation of the Gaṅga kingdom is attributed to the agency of a Jaina teacher of the name of Siṃhanandi.

It is interesting to note that several of the Gaṅga kings were not only patrons of literary merit but were themselves authors of some important works in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa. Thus Mādhava II wrote a commentary on Dattaka's *sūtras* or aphorisms dealing with the branch of the *Kāmaśāstra* known as *Vaiśika*. Durvinīta was the author of three works in Sanskrit, namely, a grammatical work known as *Śabdāvatāra*, a Sanskrit version of the Paiśāci *Vaḍḍakathā* or *Bṛhatkathā* and a commentary on the fifteenth *sarga* of the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi who lived for some time at his court. In case this king is, as is very probable, identical with his namesake men-

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tioned in the *Kavirājamārga* of about 850 as an early Kannaḍa prose writer, his many-sided scholarship is really worthy of admiration. Śrīpuruṣa wrote a work on elephants, called *Gajaśāstra*. His son Śivamāra also composed a work on elephants, called *Gajāṣṭaka* which, it is said, was sung even by women when pounding grain. Eṛeyappa, who had the distinctive title Mahendrāntaka, was the patron of the Kannaḍa poet Guṇavarma I, the author of the *Śūdraka*, the *Harivaṃśa* and other works. Cāmuṇḍa-Rāya, the minister of Rācamalla, composed the *Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇa-mahāpurāṇa* in 978. Nāgavarma I, who was patronised by Rācamalla's younger brother Rakkasa-Gaṅga, was the author of the *Chandombudhi*, the earliest Kannaḍa work on prosody, and a Kannaḍa metrical version of Bāna's *Kādambarī*.

The purpose of this paper is to notice briefly an important set of Gaṅga copperplates recently discovered by me and to make a few observations on the pedigree and chronology of the Gaṅgas about which there has been a wide difference of opinion. The plates register a grant in A.D. 963 by the Gaṅga king Mārasiṃha to a Jaina scholar named Muñjārya who had the title Vādighaṅghaḷa-bhaṭṭa. They give a full account of the Gaṅga dynasty and contain the longest Gaṅga inscription that has yet been discovered.

The plates of Mārasiṃha are seven in number, each measuring 12″ by 6¾″. The first and last plates are engraved on the inner side only. The writing is in beautiful Haḷa-Kannaḍa characters. The plates are strung on a circular ring which is 5″ in diameter and ½″ thick, and has its ends secured in the base of a square seal measuring 3½″ by 3¾″. The seal which is beautifully executed, is divided transversely into two unequal compartments, the upper enclosing about three-fourths of the space and the lower about one-fourth. The upper compartment has in the middle a fine elephant in relief standing to the proper right, surmounted by a parasol flanked by *cauris*, with the sun and the crescent at the upper corners. Behind the elephant is a lampstand with what looks like a *cauri* above it; and in front a vase surmounted by a dagger, and a lampstand. The lower compartment bears in one horizontal line the legend *Śrī-Mārasiṅgha-Devam* in Haḷa-Kannaḍa characters. A portion of the right hand lower corner of the first plate is broken off, and as the result of this a few letters at the ends of lines 1–6 are missing, but these can to some extent be filled up from the corresponding portions of other grants of the dynasty. The plates were in the possession of Kempananjayya, son

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of Siddamallappa, a resident of Āldūr, Chāmarājanagar Taluk, Mysore district, and are said to have been unearthed by him about six years ago while ploughing his land in Kūḍlūr near Ḍaṇāyakanpura in Tirumukūḍlu Narsīpur Taluk of the same district.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit with the exception of the portion (lines 178–189) giving the income and boundaries of the village granted, which is in old Kannaḍa. The Sanskrit portion, mostly in prose, also contains a number of verses here and there besides the five imprecatory verses coming at the close Though partly similar in contents to the Keregoḍi-Rangāpura plates [1] of Rājamalla II, the Narsāpur plates [2] of the same king, the Gaṭṭavāḍi plates [3] of Eṟeyappa, and the Sūḍi plates [4] of Būtuga, the inscription is unique in several respects: (1) It is artistically executed as regards both writing and composition,—may be looked upon as a Sanskrit *Campu* work of considerable literary merit. (2) It is the longest Gaṅga grant yet discovered, consisting, as it does, of 200 pretty long lines of matter. (3) It is the only Gaṅga grant that I have seen with an ornamental *square* seal and with a label giving the name of the royal donor. (4) It appears to be the first copperplate inscription yet discovered of the Gaṅga king Mārasiṃha. (5) Being one of the latest records of the dynasty, it gives a complete genealogy and some items of information, especially about the later kings, not found in other published grants. Considering the quantity of matter contained in it, the inscription is remarkably free from orthographical and other errors. I think it is a genuine record of the period cited in it.

Before proceeding to remark on the new items of information furnished by the grant, it is desirable to exhibit the genealogy of the Gaṅgas as given in it, as it may be looked upon as almost complete, there having been only two or three steps more before the dynasty was subverted by the Coḷas.

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[1] *Mysore Archæological Report*, 1919, paras. 63–68.
[2] *E.C.*, X, Kolār, 90.
[3] *E.C.*, XII, *Supplement*, Nanjangūḍ, 269.
[4] *Epi. Ind.*, III, p. 158.

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Gaṅga Genealogy according to the plates of Mārasiṃha

Koṅguṇivarma-dharma-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka
1. Mādhava-mahādhirāja I.
Jaya-bhūṣaṇa.
2. Mādhava-mahādhirāja II.
3. Harivarma-mahādhirāja.
4. Viṣṇugopa-mahārājādhirāja.
5. Mādhava-mahādhirāja III.
Koṅguṇivarma-dharma-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara (or briefly K. D. P.)
6. Avinīta.
7. Durvinīta.
8. Muṣkara.
9. Śrīvikrama.

10. Bhūvikrama.
Śrīvallabha.

Koṅguṇivarma-mahārājādhirāja
11. Nava-Kāma.
Śivamāra I.
Śiṣṭa-priya.
A son.
K. D. P.
12. Śrīpuruṣa.
Bhīmakopa, Lokadhūrta, Rājakesarī.

13. K. D. P.
Śivamāra-Deva II.
Saigoṭṭa.

14. Vijayāditya.
Satyavākya K. D. P.
15. Rācamalla I.
Nītimārga K. D. P.
16. Eṟegaṅga-Deva (I).

17. Satyavākya K. D. P.
Rājamalla II.

18. Būtuga (I).
Guṇaduttaraṅga.
m. Amoghavarṣa's daughter Candrobalabbā.
Nītimārga K. D. P.
19 Eṟegaṅga-Deva (II).
Ēṟeyappa.
Komaraveḍeṅga.
m. Nijagali's daughter Jākāmbā.

20. Satyavākya K. D. P.
Narasiṃha-Deva.
Bīraveḍeṅga.

21. Nītimārga K. D. P.
Rājamalla III.
Kacceya-Gaṅga.

22. Satyavākya K D. P.
Būtuga (II).
Gaṅga-Gāṅgeya, Gaṅga-Nārāyaṇai
Jayaduttaraṅga, Nanniya-Gaṅga.
m. Baddega's daughter Revakanimmaḍ,

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Satyavākya K. D. P.
22. Būtuga (II).
Gaṅga-Gāṅgeya, Gaṅga-Nārāyaṇa,
Jayaduttaraṅga, Nanniya-Gaṅga.
m. Baddega's daughter Revakanimmaḍi.

Nītimārga K. D. P.	Satyavākya K. D.
23. Puṇuseya-Gaṅga.	24. Mārasiṃha-Deva.
Maruḷa.	Guttiya-Gaṅga, Gaṅga-cūḍāmaṇi,
Gaṅga-mārtaṇḍa, Gaṅga-Cakrāyudha,	Gaṅga-maṇḍalika, Caladuttaraṅga,
Kāmada, Kaliyuga-Bhīma, Kīrti-Manobhava	Maṇḍalika-Triṇetra.
m. Kṛṣṇa's daughter.	

This genealogy is mostly identical with that given in several of the published grants. The points however in which it differs from that given in some may be noted here. Unlike the present grant, the Sūḍi plates[1] of Būtuga state that 11 was the son of 10, that 12 was the son of 11 and that 21 and 22 were the sons of 20. The Vaḷḷimalai rock inscription[2] of Rājamalla I also makes 12 the son of 11. The mention of 12 as the son of 9 in the Narasiṃharājapura plates,[3] unlike the majority of the published grants, has to be looked upon as a mistake. Like the present grant, the stone inscription *EC*, VIII, *Nagar* 35, of 1077, mentions 20, 21 and 22 as brothers. It is worthy of note that from 15 onwards to the end, omitting 18, the titles Satyavākya and Nītimārga are regularly applied to alternate kings. According to this grant Eṛeyappa (19) was a Nītimārga, as also his second son Rājamalla (21).

As stated before, the plates of Mārasiṃha are partly similar in contents to the Keregoḍi-Raṅgāpura, the Narsāpur, the Gaṭṭavāḍi and the Sūḍi plates. Some of the new facts given in them may now be noticed together with any peculiarities not observed in other grants. The first king is called Mādhava. The same is the case in a nearly contemporaneous stone inscription at Lakṣmeśvar,[4] of 968, and in some later records in the Ṣimoga district, Nagar 35, of 1077, and Ṣimoga 4, of 1122, which however make Mādhava the younger brother of Daḍiga to whom a few steps in the pedigree are prefixed. It is also stated in the present record that Mādhava obtained greatness by following the Jaina doctrine, that he severed the stone pillar by favour of the Jaina teacher Siṃhanandi and that his head was adorned with a frontlet made of *Karṇikāra* flowers. Ṣimoga 4 likewise states that Siṃhanandi presented him with a sword and pro-

[1] *Epi. Ind.* III, 158.
[2] *Epi. Ind.* IV, 141.
[3] *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1921, para. 61.
[4] *Ind. Ant.* VII, 107.

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cured for him a kingdom, and that he placed on his head a coronet of *Karṇikāra* flowers. There are also other inscriptions and literary works which refer to Siṃhanandi as the founder of the Gaṅga kingdom. The Udayendiram grant of Hastimalla, of about 920, states that the Gaṅga lineage owed its greatness to Siṃhanandi. Nagar 35 and 36, of 1077, say that he made the Gaṅga kingdom and Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa 397 (New Edition), of 1178, tells us that he was the creator of the Gaṅga kingdom. Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa 67 (54), of 1129, refers to the same fact thus: "The sharp sword of meditation of the venerable *arhat*, which cuts asunder the row of stone pillars the hostile army of the *ghāti* sins, was vouchsafed by Siṃhanandimuni to his disciple (Koṅguṇivarma) also. Otherwise, how was the solid stone pillar, which barred the road to the entry of the goddess of sovereignty, capable of being cut asunder by him with his sword?" In an old commentary on the Jaina work *Gommaṭasāra*, it is stated that the Gaṅga family prospered by the blessing of this sage. The present grant seems to apply the title *Jayabhūṣaṇa* to Mādhava. It does not say that Viṣṇugopa was a devotee of Nārāyaṇa, nor does it say that Mādhava, his son. was a worshipper of Tryambaka. Besides *Bhīmakopa* two other titles, *Lokadhūrta* and *Rājakesarī*, are applied to Śrīpuruṣa. As in the Gaṭṭavāḍi plates, it is stated of Vijayāditya that he, like Bharata, refrained from enjoying the kingdom of his elder brother; of Rājamalla II that he distinguished himself in the battle of Sāmiya; and of Būtuga I that he defeated Mahendra at Biriyūr, Sūṟūr and Sāmiya and captured elephants after routing the Koṅgas who opposed him. With regard to the capture of elephants by Būtuga I, it is interesting to note the statement that the capture was effected according to the ancient method mentioned in *Pañcavāri* which is probably a work on elephants. Eṟeyappa had the title *Komaraveḍeṅga*, married Jākāmbā, the daughter of king Nijagali of the Cālukya family, and captured the impregnable fortresses of Sūṟūr, Nāḍugāṇi, Miḍige, Sūḷiśailendra, Tippeṟu and Penjaṟu. He had three sons: Satyavākya Narasiṃha-Deva with the title *Bīraveḍeṅga*, Nītimārga Rājamalla (III) and Satyavākya Būtuga II. Rājamalla defeated the Noḷamba king Aṇṇiga in the battle of Kottamaṅgala. As regards Būtuga II, it is stated that he went to king Baddega in the Ḍāhāḷa country and married his daughter at Tripuri; that on the death of Baddega he rescued the throne from Lalleya and gave it to king Kṛṣṇa; that he

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killed Kakka-Rāja, Lord of Acalapura, and defeated Dantivarma, *alias* Bijja of Banavāsi, Ajavarma, the Sāntara king, Dāmari, lord of Nuḷugugiri, and Nāgavarma : that he conquered king Rājāditya, drove out Emagaṇḍuga from his country, burnt the fortresses of Tanjāpuri and Nāḷkeḷo, and gave lordly elephants, horses and great wealth to Kṛṣṇa ; and that he confuted the arrogant disputants of the *Ekāntamata* (Buddhism). Many of these details about Būtuga are also given in the Sūḍi plates which, I venture to think, have been declared spurious on very weak grounds. In them though Acalapura is mentioned as Aḷacapura, probably by a slip of the engraver, Nāḷkeḷo of the present grant is correctly given as Nāḷkoṭe. The capture of Tanjāpuri is also mentioned in the Karhāḍ plates [1] of Kṛṣṇa III. Būtuga's consort Revakanimmaḍi had the title *Cāgaveḍaṅgi.* Maruḷa's first name was Puṇuseya-Gaṅga and his titles *Gaṅgamārtaṇḍa, Gaṅga-Cakrāyudha, Kāmada, Kaliyuga-Bhīma* and *Kīrti-Manobhava.* He married Kṛṣṇa's daughter and obtained from him an umbrella called Madanāvatāra which had never been obtained by any other king. In the Gaṭṭavāḍi plates and in Kannaḍa literature[2] the title *Kāmada*, is applied to Eṟeyappa, grandfather of Maruḷa. From the Hebbāḷ inscription [3] of Mārasiṃha we may infer that the name of Kṛṣṇa's daughter was Bijabbe. The fact of Maruḷa obtaining the umbrella Madanāvatāra from Kṛṣṇa is also mentioned in Nagar 35. With regard to Mārasiṃha it is stated that king Kṛṣṇa, when setting out on an expedition to the north to conquer Aśvapati, himself performed the ceremony of crowning him as the ruler of Gaṅgapāḍi.

It is interesting to note that the donee was an eminent scholar of varied learning, honoured by several kings. He was an eminent poet, knew the essence of the science of grammar, was well versed in the three schools of logic and in the Lokāyata, Sāṅkhya, Vedānta and Bauddha systems of philosophy, and acquired fame as Vādighaṅghaḷa in Jainism. He was the teacher of Būtuga, an instructor in politics in Vallabha-Rāja's capital, a councillor of Kṛṣṇa III and the *Śruta-Guru* or religious preceptor of Mārasiṃha. He was a Jaina, though his grandfather appears to have been an orthodox Brāhmaṇa. His father, though a Brāhmaṇa, was also a great warrior

[1] *Epi. Ind.* IV, p. 280.
[2] R. Narasimhacar, *Indroduction to Nāgavarma's Kāvyāvalokanam*, p. 43.
[3] *Epi. Ind.* IV, p. 350.

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causing joy to the king of the Varāṭa country by his valour. The donee was apparently the author of some grammatical work, as he is stated to have introduced a system of grammar free from doubt and controversy.

A few remarks may now be made about the Gaṅgas and their chronology in the light of some of the discoveries recently made. Oriental scholars are aware of the controversy between the late Dr. Fleet and Mr. Rice with regard to the genuineness of the numerous Gaṅga grants published in the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Epigraphia Carnatica*. Dr. Fleet pronounced the whole series spurious, some of them at any rate on very weak grounds, and other scholars have simply followed suit. He also stated that the genealogy given in the grants was fictitious. Fortunately for the Gaṅgas, the Penukoṇḍa plates came to light and Dr. Fleet admitted their genuineness and said, "My conclusions about it (the grant) are that we have here at last a genuine early Gaṅga record."[1] This grant confirms with a slight difference in one detail the first three steps of the pedigree given in the other grants. My discovery of the date 437 for the accession of the Pallava king Siṃhavarma, probably the second of that name,[2] has, along with the palaeographical evidence, led Dr. Fleet to assign the date 475 to the Penukoṇḍa plates. The Vaḷḷimalai rock inscription[3] of Rājamalla I confirms with the exception of one detail four steps from Śivamāra I as given in the other grants. The Maṇṇe plates[4] discovered by me give 817 as the date of accession of Rājamalla I. On palaeographical grounds also the Vaḷḷimalai inscription may be assigned to about the same period. A stone inscription[5] of Śrīvikrama, father of Śivamāra I, has also been discovered. I have also discovered several genuine Gaṅga grants and published them with facsimiles in my *Reports* from 1910 up to the present time. About two of them, namely, the Gummareḍḍipura plates[6] of Durvinīta and the Meḷekoṭe plates[7] of Mādhava, Dr. Fleet wrote to me thus in 1913: "It (the Gummareḍḍipura grant) may quite possibly establish the existence of a Gaṅga

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[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 472.

[2] *Mysore Archaeological Reports*, 1909 and 1910.

[3] *E.I.* IV, p. 141.

[4] *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1910.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 38.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1912.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1910.

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king named Durvinīta; and even if it should recite and establish all the early pedigree which I regard as fictitious, it would not thereby establish the authenticity of certain records, asserting that pedigree, which are palpably spurious. On the side of its being a genuine early record, there are, of course, the points which you have stated in your *Report*. But there are other points in it, and about it, on the other side too. The question is a complex one, requiring much thought. For palaeographic reasons, it was certainly not written before about A.D. 650; that is, at least a century later than the time to which you refer it. A similar remark applies to the Meḷekoṭe plates of Mādhava which you refer to about A.D. 400." It will thus be seen that he was almost inclined to admit the genuineness of these grants, though he differed from me about their period. This was, it must be remembered, before the discovery of the Penukoṇḍa plates. Since his lamented death, I have discovered these genuine Gaṅga grants—the Beṇḍigānhalli plates of Vijaya-Kṛṣṇavarma,[1] the Uttanūr plates of Durvinīta,[2] the Tagare plates of Polavīra,[3] the Keregoḍi-Raṅgāpura plates[4] of Rājamalla II, the Narasiṃharājapura plates of Śrīpuruṣa[5] and the Kūḍlūr plates of Mārasiṃha.[6] If Dr. Fleet had lived to see these grants also he would certainly have changed his opinion about the pedigree cited in the Gaṅga grants being fictitious. In fact, there were only a few intermediate steps from Mādhava (III) to Śrīvikrama that had to be admitted, those above and below these having already been confirmed by admittedly genuine records on copper and stone. The late Dr. Hoernle, in a letter dated 20th December, 1912, wrote thus about the Gummareḍḍipura record of Durvinīta: "I must say that the appearance of the characters as seen on your facsimile *does* suggest genuineness." Another scholar in England wrote thus about the Uttanūr plates of Durvinīta: "The plates of Durvinīta are, no doubt, most important. They continue the demonstration of the genuineness of the early Gaṅga inscriptions, being in full agreement with those previously known. I believe that the work of the Mysore Archaeological Department in connection with this dynasty will always be remembered to its credit." The Islāmpur plates of Vijayāditya[7] which are unobjectionable on palaeographic grounds, have been pronounced spurious by Professors Sten Konow and Pathak on

[1] *Mysore Archæological Report*, 1915. [2] *Ibid.*, 1916 and 1917. [3] *Ibid.*, 1918. [4] *Ibid.*, 1919. [5] *Ibid.*, 1920. [6] *Ibid.*, 1921. [7] *E.I.*, XII, p. 48.

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account of some errors of orthography. Several of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and other grants which are accepted as genuine are full of such errors.

It must not be understood from the concluding remarks of the previous paragraph that I consider every one of the published Gaṅga grants to be genuine. Far from it. To be admitted as genuine, they have to stand certain well-known essential tests, and if they miserably fail, then we are at liberty to stamp them as spurious. Such appear to be the grants of Harivarma such as the Tanjore plates,[1] of 248, the Tagaḍūr plates,[2] of 267, and the Āldūr plates referred to in paragraphs 38 and 39 of the *Mysore Archl. Report* for 1921. A great difficulty with the Gaṅga grants, especially the earlier ones, is that they are either wrongly dated, such as the grants of Harivarma, or not dated at all. The only exception is the Merkāra grant,[3] of 466, which, on palaeographic and other grounds, Dr. Fleet considered to be spurious. The specific dates assigned by Mr. Rice to Avinīta and Durvinīta are based on the date of the Merkāra grant and on his supposition that the word *Vijaya* in the Mallohalli grant[4] which really means 'victorious,' stands for the cyclic year of that name. These dates are therefore not tenable. As stated in the last *Mysore Archl. Report*, p. 48 the work *Avantisundarīkathā*, discovered by the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library, gives a clue to the period of Durvinīta. In the introductory chapter it says that Bhāravi stayed for some time at the court of Durvinīta and that he was a contemporary of Viṣṇuvardhana, evidently the first Eastern Cālukya king, and of Siṃhaviṣṇu, the Pallava king of Kānci. Briefly, the account given of Bhāravi runs thus: In the city of Kānci in the south of India ruled a king of the Pallavas named Siṃhaviṣṇu who was a great patron of learning. One day a stranger appeared before him and recited a Sanskrit verse in praise of the Narasiṃha incarnation of Viṣṇu. On hearing the lofty sentiments expressed in the verse the king enquired of the stranger who the author of the verse was. He replied thus: "In the north-west there is a town named Ānandapura, the crest-jewel of Ārya-deśa, from which a family of Brāhmaṇas of the *Kauśika-gotra* migrated and settled at Acalapura. Nārāyaṇasvāmī, a member of this family, had a son named Dāmodara, who became a

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[1] *I.A.*, VIII, p. 212.
[2] *E.C.*, III, Nanjangūḍ 122.
[3] *Coorg Inscriptions*, No. I.
[4] *E.C.*, IX, Doḍḍa-Baḷḷāpur 67 and 68.

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great scholar and was known as Bhāravi. He became a friend of king Viṣṇuvardhana. On one occasion he accompanied the king on a hunting expedition and while in the forest had to eat animal flesh. To expiate this sin he set out on a pilgrimage and finally settled in the court of Durvinīta. He is the author of this verse." On hearing this account the king desirous of seeing the poet, invited him to his court. The poet caused great joy to the king by reciting his poems. The king gave him a respectable dwelling to live in and supplied all his wants.

This extract establishes the contemporaneity of the Pallava king Siṃhaviṣṇu, the Gaṅga king Durvinīta and the Eastern Cālukya king Viṣṇuvardhana (I). This connection of Durvinīta with Bhāravi affords a clear explanation of the statement in most of the grants that Durvinīta was the author of a commentary on the 15th *sarga* of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*. The period of Durvinīta according to the newly discovered work, will thus be the first half of the 7th century. And this is exactly the period assigned to the Gummareḍḍipura plates of Durvinīta by Dr. Fleet (see last para. but one) on palaeographic grounds. Durvinīta had a long reign of more than forty years; his period may be taken to be 605 to 650. Taking this as the basis we have to adjust the periods of the earlier kings. There will be no difficulty in this if we take Avinīta to be the sister's son of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarma II. With regard to the later kings, my discovery of the date 788 in a stone inscription of Śrīpuruṣa [1] will serve as a landmark. According to some of his published grants, 788 would be the 62nd year of Śrīpuruṣa's reign. This need not be considered an impossible length for a reign, for Amoghavarṣa I had one as long. Further, it is almost certain that his father did not reign. In these circumstances the chronology suggested by Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil on page 107 of his *Ancient History of the Deccan* appears to be reasonable and may be provisionally adopted. His separation of the Gaṅgas into two dynasties, namely, the Paruvi and the Talkāḍ, is rather ingenious. Collateral branches of the Gaṅga dynasty are referred to in some records, e.g. the Chikbaḷḷāpur plates [2] mention a branch, a member of which named Jayateja was ruling in 810 and the Narasiṃharājapura plates of Śrīpuruṣa [3] mention a chief of the name of Nāgavarma who belonged to the Pasiṇḍi-

[1] *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1918, para. 76.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1914.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1921.

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Gaṅga family. But the Paruvi dynasty of the Gaṅgas does not seem to be alluded to as such in any published record. The suggestion is, however, useful as it removes some difficulties in the allocation of some of the earlier kings.

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THE USE OF CYCLES OF RECURRENCE IN CHRONOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION.

By Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai, M.A., LL.B., *Bar-at-Law*, I.S.O.

The most interesting and at the same time the most complicated problems in chronological investigation may arise when we wish to ascertain the exact position of the sun or moon or one or more of the planets on an ancient date or to verify an alleged ancient eclipse. The problem which confronts the chronologist in practice is usually the converse of this. That is, he may have come across an ancient record indicating that the sun or moon or one or more of the planets stood in a particular position or that there was a solar or a lunar eclipse, and he may wish to make use of these astronomical facts to discover, establish or verify an ancient date.

The following are instances of such problems :—

(1) Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* states that Rāma was born on the ninth *tithi* of the lunar month Caitra when five planets were in exaltation, and these planets are assumed to be the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn. The houses of exaltation of these five planets are *Meṣa* (or Aries), *Karkaṭaka* (or Cancer), *Mīna* (or Pisces) and *Tula* (or Libra). The chronologist may put himself the question, were these planets at any time in the positions named, on the ninth *tithi* of Caitra, and if so when ? Whether the casting of such a horoscope was possible at any date which might be assigned on general considerations to Rāma's birth, is a distinct question which the chronologist may have to answer by way of supplementing his answer to the first question.

(2) When Śaṅkara was born, four out of the same five planets i.e. all excepting Venus, are supposed to have been in exaltation. Nobody doubts but that the casting of a horoscope was possible when Śaṅkara was born but the other question corresponding to that raised by Rāma's horoscope, viz. for what date Śaṅkara's horoscope was true, must be answered by the chronologist.

(3) Various collocations of the planets are referred to in the *Mahābhārata* as having been noticed at the time of the great battle in the months of Kārttika-Mārgasīra ; (1) were these observations

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possible at any date which could be assigned to the *Mahābhārata* ? (2) Are these so-called observations consistent with one another ? (3) Was any particular alleged observation, e.g. that about Mars retrograding in *Maghā nakṣatra* in the month of Kārttika, astronomically impossible, and what bearing has this fact on the other observations supposed to have been made at the same time ? (4) Can a definite date be assigned to any of the collocations ?

These are a few of the many tantalizing issues raised by the astronomical references in the *Mahābhārata*.

(4) An ancient Chinese observation is said to refer to five planets, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter and Saturn, which were in the same constellation "*Shi*" (perhaps *Kṛttikā*) between 2500 B.C. and 2400 B.C. Was there such a conjunction ? Did it happen more than once during the period in question ? And if it happened only once, would that enable us to fix the date ? The Chinese civilization is, by all accounts, very ancient, and for aught we know, such an observation may well have been made and it would be interesting if the chronologist could discover, establish, or verify, the date.

(5) Coming to times more distinctly modern, an ancient Jewish tradition connected the birth of the Messaiah with a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn. Was there such a conjunction at any date which could with any probability be assigned to the birth of Christ, and would such a conjunction throw a light on the state of the heavens at the time of the birth of Christ, as narrated in St. Luke's Gospel ?

(6) The Jews in Cochin on the West Coast of the Madras Presidency are in possession of an ancient copperplate grant which is still shown to visitors at the Jewish synagogue in Cochin, and their belief is that the grant was made by a king of Cochin called Bhāskara Ravivarman in the 1st century A.D. The date of the copperplate is the 2nd year opposite the 36th year. This so-called opposition of years is itself a chronological problem. Fortunately within the last few years of the twentieth century A.D. other copperplate grants by a king or kings bearing the same name Bhāskara Ravivarman have come to light in a part of the country not far from Cochin and they refer to a position of Jupiter in Tulārāśi along with other astronomical details.[1] The chronologist may feel disposed to

[1] Travancore Archaeological Series Vol. II, No. 7.

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review the Cochin Jews' grant in the light of these positions of Jupiter, and then he may have to relegate it to the 11th or 12th century A.D.

(7) Lastly, in the very heart of Tamil Saṅgam literature, where one would least expect it, (if, according to the late Mr. Kanagasabhai Pillai in his *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* and the present Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in the *Ancient India*, that literature is stamped with clear reminiscences of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.), there is a complete horoscope (see *Paripādal*, Canto XI), giving the positions of Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn on a particular day which was also a day of Lunar Eclipse early in the morning. Without reference to theories about the time of appearance of the Sangam literature, the chronologist may attempt to locate his horoscope in time.

Solutions of problems (1) to (6) have been presented to the public by various writers, but so far as I am aware, no one has presented a *method* of solving them which anybody could study and thereafter apply to the solutions by different critics, so as to be able in turn to criticise or challenge them. In this century when even the Newtonian law of gravitation has been challenged, it has become incumbent on an author to provide what are euphemistically termed *pros* and *cons*, i.e. every facility for the dissection and public criticism of his scientific conclusions. In my forthcoming second edition of *Indian Chronology* I have fully stated my method of solving such problems, but all that can be attempted here is a *résumé* of my method.

There is one essential difference between ordinary or civil chronology and those extraordinary chronological investigations with which we are now concerned. The ordinary civil chronology of all nations, except the Hindus, occupies itself with the mean or average movements of the two heavenly bodies which among all peoples and at all times have served as the measures of time, the sun and the moon: in India alone, in the period since about 500 A.D. the actual positions, rather than the mean, of these heavenly bodies as well as of others have to be taken into account. In the exceptional chronological investigations we are now discussing the *actual* positions of the sun, moon and planets are in question, and it is for the determination of *actual* positions, without actual calculation, that we find cycles of recurrence. In India, owing to the peculiarity

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noted above, the actual positions of the heavenly bodies dealt with, whether sun, moon or the planets, are the normal topic of chronology and the only possibility of exhibiting the ways and means of Indian chronology, if we wish to keep in the background the details of astronomical calculations which repel even investigators, is by using cycles of recurrence. The long cycles of 432,000 and 4,320,000 years which are used in Indian astronomy will not suit our purpose and indeed they are meant for a different purpose altogether.

For *tithis* and *nakṣatras*, for which Indian chronology postulates minute accuracy as regards ending moments, we have to employ quite a number of cycles of recurrence :—

For the mean ending moment of *tithis* we use successively—

(*a*) 64 *tithis* = 63 days − ·001 day.
(*b*) 703 *tithis* = 692 days + ·0001 day.
(*c*) 9203 *tithis* = 9059 days + ·00002 day.

For the moon's *tithi* equation we use—

(*a*) 28 *tithis* = 1 anomalistic month − ·007 day.
(*b*) 3779 *tithis* = 135 anom. months − ·001 day.

For the mean ending moments of *nakṣatras*, we use—

(*a*) 84 *nakṣatras* = 85 days + ·0008 day.
(*b*) 1343 *nakṣatras* = 1359 days + ·0003 day.

For the moon's *nakṣatra* equation we use—

(*a*) 354 *nakṣatras* = 13 anomalistic months + ·008 day.
(*b*) 3431 *nakṣatras* = 126 anom. months + ·003 day.

After 550 years less 19 days, the mean and actual ending moments of *nakṣatras* and the *nakṣatra* equation of every successive *nakṣatra* will be the same ; the serial number of each *nakṣatra* being . . . 4, and week-day . . . 1. So far as can be perceived, there is no similar cycle connecting the mean ending moment of a *tithi* and the two equations which, in Indian astronomy, determine its actual ending moment. The cycles defined above enable us, however, to write down, or print, successively for any number of years, the mean ending moments and the two equations of successive *tithis* ; the labour saved in this way enables us to calculate the actual ending moments of successive *tithis* and *nakṣatras* for ten years in a single day, or for 1500 years in 150 days, whereas the ordinary Indian *pañcaṅga*-maker spends not less than a whole month in calculating the *tithis* of a

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single year and he spends on the whole three months for preparing a single year's *pañcaṅga.*

In regard to planets, the Indian system enables the chronologist to obtain the actual positions of planets practically for all time with sufficient accuracy for *his* purposes, by using appropriate cycles, but neither the fact that such cycles exist nor the possibility of using them for arriving at the actual positions of planets on any ancient date has, so far as I am aware, been ever brought to public notice, any more than the possibility of calculating, by means of appropriate cycles, the actual ending moments of *tithis* and *nakṣatras* for any date, past, present or future. It is for this reason that I crave the indulgence of the Conference for this paper. As in the case of *tithis*, the Indian system uses only two equations for determining the actual geocentric place of a planet, and this process gives results which seldom differ from the absolutely correct result by as much as two degrees. The two equations depend, the one on the mean longitude of the planet, and the other on the mean longitude of the sun at the moment in question. (The statement overlooks certain minor details of calculation but it is in the main correct). By using certain long period cycles for the different planets (363 years for Mars, 355 years for Mercury, 605 years for Jupiter, 235 years for Venus, 383 years for Saturn, and 1711 years (less two days) for *Rāhu* or the moon's ascending node), we are able to set down at once without calculation the date when the same planet was in the same position any number of years before the present time.

For determining the movements of the several planets during a single cycle we do not need to calculate the movements of Mars for 363 years, of Mercury for 355 years, of Jupiter for 605 years, of Venus for 235 years, of Saturn for 383 years and of *Rāhu* for 1711 years. Each one of these long cycles is connected with certain shorter cycles which have been known for a long time (Mars, 79 years; Mercury 46 years; Jupiter 83 years; Venus 8 years; Saturn 59 years, and *Rāhu* 18 years and 10 days) in such a way that out of each shorter cycle the corresponding longer cycle may be evolved by a simple arithemetical process. The exact way in which this is done may be best understood from the illustrations given in the second edition of "*Indian Chronology.*"

In addition to the cyclic tables above referred to, we want, for the investigation of horoscopes in which years are omitted, which is the

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case with all ancient Indian horoscopes, also a table giving in parallel columns for Mars, for Jupiter and Saturn, the increase of mean longitude for one year, for two years, for three years and so on, up to, say, 2000 years; and we also want, at any rate for Mars, an eye-table giving for each day of the Indian solar year, or for every ten days, the actual geocentric longitude corresponding to every successive degree of mean longitude.

Armed with these three tables, we may with confidence approach the solution of any of the planetary problems set out in paragraph *supra;* the actual solutions of all the problems, or a proof that a solution does not exist, will be found in the second edition of *Indian Chronology* and the appendices thereto.

We may conclude with a remark about eclipses. The well-known eclipse cycle, called the *Saros* of 18 years and 10 days has to be combined for our purposes with another cycle of 58 years less 41 days, after which the Sun returns to almost exactly the same position with reference to the Moon's ascending node. The combination can be carried on for 1711 years less 2 days, after which the whole series is repeated without alteration For lunar eclipses this cycle gives good results and for solar eclipses certain considerations as to visibility of solar eclipses which are explained in the second edition of my *Indian Chronology* have to be borne in mind.

On the general subject of the investigation of ancient dates in India, it is well to bear in mind the results of recent historical research in India as well as in Europe :—

(1) While Indian literature is undoubtedly ancient, every part of it is not equally ancient. Particularly in the Department of Indian Astrology, a number of patently modern compositions pass for the works of *Ṛṣis* dating from the dawn of *Kaliyuga* or earlier. They are simply forgeries in the sense that they profess to be very ancient, whereas they are not, and an astronomical analysis of their contents, which is possible whenever they contain horoscopes, will reveal their absolutely modern character. A circumstance of which astrologers do not seem to be aware, but which the public at any rate is interested in knowing, is that a genuine horoscope containing the positions of five or six planets in *rāśis* (i.e. in multiples of 30°, without specification of the particular degree), provided the time of year is indicated even in general terms, should enable an investigator working on the lines indicated in "*Indian Chronology*" (second

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edition), to verify its date in such a manner that the same horoscope would not be applicable to more than one date at most to two, during a period of several thousand years. I would go so far as to throw out a challenge that the entire contents of the collections of horoscopes, known by the name of *Grantha nāḍi* in Southern India and by other names elsewhere, can be proved mathematically to be concerned exclusively with the lives of persons born within the last hundred years. Why should the *Maharṣis* who wrote in the dawn of *Kaliyuga* have concerned themselves exclusively with persons born within the last hundred years, say between A.D. 1820 and A.D. 1920 ?

I have in my possession a Tamil pamphlet giving Rāma's horoscope in most minute detail, but without the year. I do not enter into the question whence these details were derived, but it does not seem to have occurred to the learned author of the pamphlet that a horoscope with so many details can be referred only to one year, month, day, hour, and minute in a million years, and nevertheless he has made no attempt to find out the year which would at least have been interesting as a speculation. "One horoscope—one date."

If we approach the question from the historian's point of view, we find (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 2, p. 797, Article *Astrology*) that "the theory of the ecliptic does not appear to have been perfected until after 539 B.C.....The researches of Bouché Leclercq [1] Cumont [2] and Boll [3] have enabled us to fix with a considerable degree of definiteness the middle of the 4th century B.C. as the period when Babylonian astrology began its triumphal march to the west, invading the domain of Greek and Roman culture and destined to exercise a strong hold on all nations and groups—more particularly in Egypt—that came within the sphere of Greek and Roman influence"....(Astronomy proper was just dawning in Babylonia at the downfall of the Babylonian empire, 539 B.C.)...."In the hands of the Greeks and of the later Egyptians astrology and astronomy

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[1] Bouché Leclercq, *L'Astrologie Grecque*, Paris, 1899.

[2] Franz Cumont, *Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum*, Brussels, 1898; 7 parts published up to 1909.

[3] Franz Boll, *Die Esforschung der antiker Astrologie*. Ch. Virolleaud, *L'astrologie chaldéenne*, Paris, 1905—to be completed in 8 parts, transliteration and translation of cuneiform texts.

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were carried far beyond the limits attained by the Babylonians" (The Babylonian astrology was confined to inspecting the heavens in order to foretell their influence on kings and public events).... "The endeavour to trace the horoscope of the *individual* from the position of the planets and stars at the time of birth (or as was attempted by other astrologers at the time of conception) represents the most significant contribution of the Greeks to astrology."

A perusal of the article from which the above passage is extracted will convince any one that the astrology which we find reflected in classical works (Livy, Tacitus, Plutarch, etc.) as well as in Shakespeare's references in *Hamlet* and *Julius Caesar* (reproduced partly from Plutarch and partly perhaps from the contemporary astrological writers of Queen Elizabeth's time, whose name was legion), is the astrology of empires, prognosticating revolutions among mankind, and not the fortunes of private individuals; that the latter kind of astrology, called judicial, was probably invented by the Greeks and Chaldeans in the two or three centuries preceding the Christian era, that from Greece it spread to Rome probably within the last 150 years B.C. and that in the first 150 years A.D. it was actively cultivated at Rome as testified to by Juvenal and other writers, and in the Roman Empire, chiefly at Alexandria, becoming associated about 150 A.D. with the illustrious name of Klaudios Ptolemy.

(2) An examination on the other hand, of dated early Indian astrological works by Varāhamihira and others (see Dr. Burgess' Notes in *J.R.A.S.* 1893, on *Hindu astronomy and the sources of our knowledge of it*) will convince us that Varāhamihira freely borrowed his astronomical constants, terms and phrases from the Greek writers; and that the true genesis of Indian astrology is from the Greek writers on astrology between A.D. 150 and A.D. 300, so that Varāhamihira is an intellectual descendant of Ptolemy while astrologers like Garga who had preceded Varāhamihira but of whom we know of only by name could not have been more ancient than the Chaldean and Greek astrologers who were the progenitors of judicial astrology. We are confronted also by the fact that the early Indian literature (Sanskrit or Dravidian) before A.D. 300 does not refer to the signs of the zodiac, to the movements of the planets or to planetary horoscopes, which are as it were the tripod of astrology. And we have the valuable indirect evidence furnished by Juvenal

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that at Rome in the 1st century A.D. when there was a general craze for astrology and divination, Indian professionals were imported into Rome, as *augurs*, not as *astrologers*.

(3) The allusions to astrology which are to be found in the ancient Indian works like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are as a rule merely astrological tit-bits introduced or rather interpolated into the text by subsequent copyists, editors or scholiasts. Other ancient Indian works simply ignore planetary astrology, though they refer to good and bad days as determined by the movements of the Sun and the Moon.

(4) Eclipses are no doubt alluded to in ancient Indian works, but an eclipse, unconnected with any other indication of date, is of as little use for chronological investigation as the references to lunar months and *tithis* in the Brāhmi inscriptions.

(5) As a rule, either a horoscope or an allusion to a week-day is necessary for verifying an Indian date and both horoscopes and week-days (as the writer has shown elsewhere) are in India posterior to 300 A.D.

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GLIMPSES OF MAURYAN INVASION IN CLASSICAL TAMIL LITERATURE.

By Dr. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., Ph.D.

In the mass of literature called Śaṅgam literature we get some allusions to the Mauryas and Mauryan invasions of South India which throw new light upon this particular period of history. Among the number of poets whose works are found collected in this volume of literature there are three authors who refer to the Maurya invasions specifically. One of them is the *Brāhmaṇa* poet Māmūlanār, the much respected *Brāhmaṇa* poet of the *Agastya-gotra*, belonging to the south country; the other is Paraṁ Koṟranār, and the third is Kaḷḷil-Āttiraiyanār. Māmūlanār has got two references in respect of this particular matter, and the other two, one each. The general character of these references is to a distant hill worn by rolling cars of the Mauryas beyond which a young lover is stated to have gone in quest of wealth. His love-lorn sweet-heart at home pining away in solitude for his return, is assured in various ways that even if he should have got past this hill he would keep his promise and return on the appointed day. That is the general purport of the passages in the first two authors.

Aham 251 contains the following detailed reference to the Mauryan invasion; "the Kosar of the artificially decorated cars carrying their pennons of victory and flying fast as a gust of wind, at one time destroyed their enemies on the field of battle at Podiyil protected by the hedge of old banyan trees, and made their warlike drums moan in consequence of the calamity. Even after that fatal defeat Mohūr did not submit. The newly installed Mauryas, whose army contained a very large number of elephants, marched down to attack them; and their beautifully decorated cars wore down hill sides making dark passages through which clear water flowed in torrents." This is again described by another poet Pālai-pāḍya-peruṁ-Kaḍungo in these terms: 'the Kosar of Nallūr who appeared at Podiyil possessed of old banyan trees, with braying drums and bleating conches, to take tribute.' In interpreting the first, the lead is given to us by the author in the moaning of the drum, a clear indication of a battle and a defeat. This naturally involves a place

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which is Podiyil. The word could however be broken in Tamil to be equivalent to *Podi* instead of *Podiyil.* Taking it thus, the expression would mean at the "assembly" under the banyan tree. This interpretation is taken to be established by a passage in the *Maduraikkānji* where the author institutes a comparison between the appearance of the ministers at the Pāṇḍyan Court, and the appearance of the Kośar in the court of Paḷaiyan of Mohūr. The points of the comparison are that the ministers are as inflinching in speaking out their minds as the Kośar, and they were four bodies like the four sections of the Kośar, the poet having separately spoken of the fifth of the five sections of ministers before. There is clearly nothing in the last passage that the reference is to the same incident described by Māmūlar There is nothing more than a simple comparison to the well-known "Kośar" of unchanging word and the reference to Paḷaiyan gives the date of the reference to the age of Paḷaiyan Māran, the enemy of Śeṇguṭṭuvan. Even taking Paḷaiyan as the family designation of the chiefs of Mohūr, there is nothing to lead us to treat this passage, as having anything to do with the incident described in *Aham* 251. Hence Podiyil has to be taken to refer to the hill of the name, and the incident referred to is not to an incident of contemporary occurrence.

Aham 281 of the same Māmūlar, says in effect that the lover has gone past the limit, marked by the hill worn by the bright rolling-wheels of the cars of Mauryas, who marched towards the south, pushing in front the valiant Vaḍukar, deft in shooting arrows to fly hissing through the air. The probabilities in this case are that the Mauryan invasion here referred to is the same as the one in the poem 251. This invasion by the Mauryas apparently made a strong impression upon the people of the south, and Māmūlar of the *Agastya-gotra* probably came of a family of settlers in the region where there was a lively recollection of the tradition. This means that a particular hill marked the limit of Tamil land, going beyond which one got into a foreign land and an unknown country, return from which in safety became problematical. The hill under reference marks therefore some well-known frontier hill, a considerable distance from the Tamil land across which the war chariots of the Mauryas had to be taken at great labour. A tribe of people, foreigners apparently, specifically called Kośar, advanced southwards so far as the Podiyil hill and defeated some enemy there when the chieftain of Mohūr

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declined to submit. In consequence the Mauryas marched upon the territory. In regard to this the points to be noted are that the Kośar, of whom four divisions are known in this body of Tamil literature, were somehow connected with the Mauryas.

There is only one Mohūr known in Tamil literature, of which a chief of the name Paḷaiyan played an important part against various enemies, most conspicuous among them being Śeṁ-Kuṭṭuvan-Śera. It is to subjugate this Mohūr which is a place seven miles north-east of the town of Madura with a fortified temple and some remnants of a comparatively old chieftaincy, that the Mauryas are said to have advanced after the failure of the Kośar. The other poem of this author refers to the southern invasion of the Mauryas. This time the Mauryas came, led forward by the Vaḍukar, or pushing them in front. In this connection, there is the same reference to the hill worn by the war chariots of the Mauryas. The second author merely refers to the Mauryas and the cutting down of the hill to make a roadway for the war chariots of the Mauryas. The third author refers similarly to the cutting down of the hill side to make way for the rolling cars. But the word *Moriyar* has a second reading *Oriyar* which the learned commentator on the work has adopted as the reading. On this point it must be noted that a dispassionate and a close examination of the passage shows clearly that the reading *Moriyar* would read very much better, and would be very much more in keeping with the general sense of the passage than the reading *Oriyar*. The passage refers in the first part to the poet's affirmation that he would never forget, while alive, his patron Ādan-Ungan. The reason for this determination of his is that the patron is as constant and unchanging in the protection of the earth as the sun itself. In describing the sun as fixed and steady the poet refers to the position of the sun in the middle of the earth sending forth his rays through hill-tops worn by the rolling cars of the Mauryas or Oriyar. There is no particular appropriateness in bringing in the fabled people Oriyar in their hill of residence Cakravāḷa. Having regard to the class of works concerned, the other passages under reference in connection almost with the same matter ought to be the best commentary on this doubtful passage.

The four texts that bear definitely upon the Mauryan invasion of the south are, Māmūlanār's *Aham* 251 coupled with Perum-Kaḍuṅgo's *Kuruṁtokai* 15, Māmūlanār's *Aham* 281 and *Maduraikkāñji* ll.

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507-510. These four passages together give us the following facts:—

A people called Kośar advanced south and, fought a battle near the Podiyil hill. The chieftain of Mohūr did not submit to them apparently because they were not able to inflict upon him a bad enough defeat. The Mauryas then undertook an invasion of the south, apparently for the purpose of making Mohūr submit. The invasion of the Mauryas in which they came south pushing the Vaḍukar in front stated in Māmūlanār's *Aham* 281, probably refers to this very same invasion and will not by itself be enough to justify the identification of Kośar with Vaḍukar. The reference in the *Maduraikkānji* to the four sections of the Kośar appearing in the assembly of Paḷaiyan of Mohūr refers in all likelihood to a different occasion, as Paḷaiyan was a chieftain contemporary with Māmūlar and belonged to the generation of Śeṅguṭṭuvan who defeated him and destroyed his chieftaincy. It is just possible that the chieftains of Mohūr bore the family name Paḷaiyan. It would hardly be justifiable to make the Mauryan invasion an event which took place in the age of the Paḷaiyan Māran who defeated a Cola, Kiḷḷi, in Madura [1] and whose fortress was destroyed by Śeṅguṭṭuvan Sera.[2]

It therefore leaves no room for doubt that there is an invasion, or invasions by the Mauryas under reference, and that in the course of this invasion they had to get across a difficult hill making a roadway for themselves. This hill was at some considerable distance, from the point of view of the Tamilian, and to a love-lorn damsel of the Tamil land going across the hill is as much as Shakespeare's "her husband is to Aleppo gone."

The author Māmūlanār refers in the first passage rather familiarly to the wealth of the Nandas. The same author in another passage [3] refers to this wealth of the Nandas as having accumulated in Pāṭali (Patna), but got hidden in the floods of the Ganges in times gone by. The point of the reference in these cases is, as is borne out by a corresponding passage [4] of the same author, in connection with the accumulated wealth of the Śeras, that the Nandas had accumulated vast wealth at one time which came to be of no use to them having been hidden in the waters of the Ganges, as in the other as having been engulfed in the earth. We have then in Māmūlanār

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[1] Narkīrar in *Aham* 346.

[2] *Padiṟṟuppattu.*

[3] *Aham* 264.

[4] *Aham* 127.

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an author who had heard of the wealth of the Nandas and who speaks of the southern invasion of the Mauryas. By way of confirmation the two other authors speak of the invasion of the south by the Mauryas also in equally clear terms except for a difference of reading in one of the two cases.

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HISTORICAL BASIS AND MODEL FOR KĀLIDĀSA'S DESCRIPTION OF RAGHU'S CONQUESTS.

By RADHAGOVINDA BASAK, M.A., M.R.A.S.

A general consensus of opinion prevails amongst scholars that Kālidāsa flourished in the fifth century A.D., and that he might have seen two reigning Gupta emperors, Candragupta II—Vikramāditya, and his son and successor Kumāragupta I—Mahendrāditya. It is not even unlikely that the poet might also have lived till some time during the prosperous reign of Skandagupta, the son and successor of Kumāragupta I.

It is not an unusual practice with poets of all ages to introduce, consciously or unconsciously, in their works, with respect to their heroes and other characters, many things, political or otherwise, which are nothing but the reflections of coeval or immediately past historical events. It is now a fact of history that Samudragupta, the second Gupta emperor, was the restorer of the sacrifice called *aśvamedha* which had fallen into disuse in Northern India, perhaps, due to long absence of powerful emperors of Brahmanic faith ruling there before him. The most significant epithets of Samudragupta, *Cirotsann-āśvamedhāharttā* and *Aśvamedha-parākrama*, used respectively in some of the inscriptions of his successors and in the legends of some of his own gold coins (one variety of which is also known to scholars by the name of "coins of the *aśvamedha* type) are evidence in point. It is natural that other great rival kings of the period may have thrown some sort of opposition to the celebration by the Gupta monarch of such a sacrifice, for, the performer of it, if successful to the end, attains the position of a universal sovereign. A reflection of this historical event of the Gupta period is clearly visible in Kālidāsa's description (in Canto III of the *Raghuvaṃśam*) of the *aśvamedha* sacrifices performed by Dilīpa in which his son Raghu described as *Kumāra-vikrama* (literally, having the valour of Kārttikeya) was appointed to keep watch as guard over the sacrificial steed. The poet, it appears, has not failed to do ample justice to the valour of the family of his patron kings by describing so very vividly the spirit of opposition and pride with which Dilīpa's son, Raghu, defended the horse against Indra's attack

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whereupon an actual fight took place between "the lord of gods" and the son of "the lord of men." It does not even seem quite unlikely that in his great Epic the poet to some extent pictured Samudragupta, at least in this sacrificial scene, as Dilīpa and his chief patron sovereign Candragupta II as Raghu. It will be going too far if it is suggested that in the guise of describing the family of the Raghus (*Raghuṇām = anvaya*) who were lords of the earth girdled by the seas (*āsamudra-kṣitīśa*), Kālidāsa was more or less describing the kings of the Gupta dynasty beginning with Samudra-kṣitīśa (King Samudragupta). The abundant and perhaps intentional use of the word *vikrama* (cf. the title *Vikramāditya* as used by Candragupta II) in Canto IV and the word *kumāra* in Cantos III and V and the short but significant description of the royal family of Aja in Canto VI (vv. 74–80) of the *Raghuvaṃśam* may be indications that the poet while engaged in introducing, in the *svayamvara* scene, Raghu's *kumāra* (son) Aja, prince of the kingdom of Uttarakosala may have had in his mind the picture of Vikramāditya's (Candragupta II's) son Kumāragupta I. Perhaps in the poet's time the Gupta rulers had a second capital in Ayodhyā. The poet's description in verse 44 of the *Meghadūtam* suggests forcibly in one's mind that at the time of the composition of that great lyric Skandagupta had his residence fixed (*tatra Skandaṃ niyata-vasatiṃ*) in Avanti, probably in Ujjain and that he was placed in charge of the king's (cf. the title *Mahendrāditya* as used by king Kumāragupta I) army (*Vāsavīnāṃ camūnāṃ rakṣā-hetoḥ*). Was the Epic *Kumāra-sambhavam* written in honour of the birth of Skandagupta (for Skanda = Kumāra, i.e. Kārttikeya) himself ? The above is only to show that the poet while composing his Epics could not forget his own patron kings and their family, as also the political situation of the country.

Let us now approach the main point of our thesis. In order probably to commemorate the ambitious scheme of conquests of the whole earth (*kṛtsna-pṛthvī-jayārtha*) attempted by Candragupta II [1] and his actual conquests of Mālava and Surāṣṭra, Kālidāsa was led to introduce in the *Raghuvaṃśam* (Canto IV) such a grand description of the round of conquests made by Raghu. It may easily be observed by any casual reader that Raghu's conquests were described only with regard to those countries and people lying outside the limits of the dominions of his patron king and his predecessors,—that

[1] Fleet—*Gupta Inscriptions*, C. I. I., No. 6.

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is, those provinces and people that were not within the direct administrative jurisdiction of the Gupta rulers.

In describing in the *Raghuvaṃśam* the glories of the kings of the solar race famous in Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* Kālidāsa should have made reference to those countries and those people only that would have agreed better with the characters of his work; but instead of so doing, the poet seems to have not unconsciously, as said before, introduced in his description kingdoms and people that were more widely known in his own time. He has left for us much in his description of Raghu's career of conquests in the Fourth Canto of his great Epic, the *Raghuvaṃśam* (vv. 26–85) for gathering the political condition of some of the kings, kingdoms and people of the Gupta age. To read history into poetry it may be suggested that the poet may have based his description of Raghu's round of conquests on a similar round of conquests made by some monarch or monarchs belonging to his own times or living at a somewhat earlier period. Scholars have greatly varied in dealing with this question. Dr. Hoernle [1] thought that the emperor whose exploits and campaigns Kālidāsa wanted to commemorate in his description of Raghu's conquests was Yaśodharmadeva. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri, C.I.E., appears inclined to hold the same view.[2] Mr. Bijay Chandra Majumdar [3] took that monarch to be Skandagupta. Dr. Keith [4] following Dr. Bühler said that Raghu's march was a poetical one—and not a real one—the poet Kālidāsa having only followed the preceding Epics and *Purāṇas*. But as has just been suggested by us, the poet may have sought to commemorate the actual conquests of his patron king, Candragupta II, in his description of Raghu's campaigns. It may also be advanced as a most plausible view that Hariṣeṇa's description of Samudragupta's conquests in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription [5] may have served as a model before Kālidāsa's eyes when he described in verse Raghu's conquests

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[1] *J.R.A.S.*—1909, pp. 89–144.

[2] *J.B. & O.R.S.* II, Pt. I, p. 36, and pp. 40–41.

[3] *J.R.A.S.*—1909, pp. 731–739.

[4] *J.R.A.S.*—1909, pp. 433–439. In a footnote on p. 437, Dr. Keith referred to an article by Dr. Bloch in the *Z.D.M.G.* lxii, 671–6, on "Die Zeit Kālidāsa" and stated that Dr. Bloch also saw a reflection of the glories of Samudragupta in Raghu's *digvijaya*.

[5] Fleet—*Gupta Inscription*, C.I.I., No. 1.

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of the quarters (*digvijaya*). It is indeed difficult to negative the suggestion that Kālidāsa borrowed from Hariṣeṇa, when we consider the identity of idea and verbal form in both. It cannot be passed without notice that Kālidāsa may not have forgotten the deeds of valour of Samudragupta's father, Candragupta I, as described in the Meharauli Posthumous Iron Pillar Inscription.[1] The parallels are very strong and striking and the similarity of the manner of description both by Hariṣeṇa and Kālidāsa is so very evident. The empire of Raghu as described in the great Epic appears almost exactly that founded by Çandragupta I, expanded by his son Samudragupta by means of *digvijaya* and established and enjoyed by the poet's patron kings, Candragupta II and his son and successor Kumāragupta I. Kālidāsa has mentioned Raghu in Canto IV (vv. 36 and 59) of the *Raghuvaṃśam* as having erected *jaya-stambhas*, pillars of victory, and this reminds us of the prevailing custom in the Imperial Gupta period of raising such pillars with inscriptions incised on them recording the valorous deeds of kings and emperors, the most famous amongst them being the pillar of Samudragupta himself and that of his father, Candragupta I, as just mentioned.

Let us very shortly place before ourselves Hariṣeṇa's description of Samudragupta's expedition. In the half-mutilated verse 5 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, some opponents are stated to have submitted to him (*śaraṇam = upagatāḥ*) after having been afflicted by his prowess (*vīryy-ottaptāḥ*), and in the next verse it is hinted that some of his great wrong-doers (*uccāpakārāḥ*) were defeated by the king in battle by means of his own arms (*saṃgrāmeṣu svabhuja-vijitāḥ*) and perhaps they after expressing repentance for their wrong-doing became the monarch's friends. It is recorded in the seventh verse that Acyuta and Nāgasena (mentioned also in lines 20–21) were overthrown (*unmūlya*) and that a descendant of the Kota family was made a captive by his soldiers (*daṇḍair = grāhayatā*). The poet-laureate then referred to the aggressive deeds of the emperor who engaged himself in hundreds of battles of various kinds (*vividha-samara-śat-āvataraṇa*, l. 17) for achieving glory and fame by making a conquest of the whole earth (*sarva-pṛthivī-vijaya*, l. 29). Lines 19–20 record the defeat courted by the kings of the numerous states in the Deccan (*Dakṣiṇāpatha-rāja*)—viz. Kosala, Mahākāntāra, Kurala, Piṣṭapura, Mahendragiri-Koṭṭura, Eraṇḍapalla, Kāñci,

[1] *Ibid.*—No. 32.

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Avamukta, Veṅgi, Palakka, Devarāṣṭra, Kusthalapura, and other places. Samudragupta is here described by his panegyrist as attaining a great good-fortune mixed with majestic glory due to his first capturing these South Indian kings and afterwards favouring them with a release (*grahaṇa-mokṣ-ānugraha-janita-pratāpa*). Lines 20–21 describe Samudragupta as adding to his majesty by violent extermination (*prasabh-oddharaṇa*) of a list of kings of Northern India (*Āryyāvarta*)—viz. Rudradeva, Matila, Nāgadatta. Candravarman, Gaṇapatināga, Nāgasena, Acyuta, Nandin, Balavarman, and others, whose territories, however, were not mentioned by name by the court-poet. They perhaps ruled independently over some of the well-known neighbouring provinces or states[1] of Northern India, such as Puṣkaraṇa, Aṅga, Avanti, Anūpa, Śurasena, etc., existing from before Samudragupta's conquests. There is hardly any doubt that these kings, at least those whose states were allowed to continue as states and which were not brought under the direct jurisdiction of the central government, were made feudatories of the Gupta monarch after their defeat, when their kingdoms were most probably annexed to the growing Gupta empire. Then the inscription describes the emperor as turning the forest-kings (*āṭavika-rāja*, l. 21) perhaps of modern Central India, into his dependants (*paricārakīkṛta*, l. 21). In lines 22–23 it is mentioned that some of the neighbouring kings of the *pratyanta*[2] countries in the north and the north-east, viz. Samataṭa, Ḍavāka, Kāmarūpa, Nepāla, Kartṛpura, etc., and some of the republican communities of the west and south-west, viz. the Mālavas, Arjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, Ābhiras, Prārjunas, Sanakānikas, Kākas and Kharaparikas, etc., gratified the monarch by payment of all kinds of tributes (*sarva-karadāna*), by obedience to his commands (*ājñākaraṇa*), and by approach for paying court to him (*praṇāmāgamana*). Lines 23–24 mention some of the distant monarchs—the representatives of the various races

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[1] Cf. The list of rulers of the different states attending the *svayamvara* assembly of Indumatī in Canto VI of the *Raghuvaṃśam*.

[2] Mr. A. K. Maitra, C.I.E., Director of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, in course of his Calcutta University Lectures delivered in 1915–16 on "*The Fall of the Pāla Kings of Bengal*" drew the attention of scholars to the meaning of the word *pratyanta* as used in the epigraphs of the Gupta period, and referred to the *Amarakoṣa* which in Book III has "*pratyanto mlecchadeśaḥ syāt*," i.e. a country which did not abide by the social laws laid down in the Brahmanic *S'āstras*.

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of foreign origin, e.g. the Devaputras, Sāhis, Sāhānusāhis, Śakas and Muruṇḍas, as also the people of Ceylon and the inhabitants of all other islands, rendering the Gupta ruler service by means of self-surrender (*ātma-nivedana*), presents of maidens (*kany-opāyana*), payment of tributes (*dāna*), and request for the issue of the charter marked with the Garuḍa seal to secure them in the enjoyment of their territories (*garutmad-aṅka-svaviṣayabhukti-śāsana-yācana*). The emperor is also described in line 23 as having won fame by re-establishing many a royal family previously fallen and deprived of its kingdom (*aneka-bhraṣṭa-rājyotsanna-rājavaṃśa-pratiṣṭhāpana*), and he is also said to have appointed his own subordinate officers in restoring the wealth of various kings who were conquered by the strength of his own arms (*sva-bhujabala-vijit-āneka-narapati-vibhava-pratyarpaṇa*, l. 26).

From the above details it appears to be very plain that there were various shades in the degree of conquests and invasions made by the mighty Gupta emperor;—firstly, there was violent extermination of some kings of Northern India and permanent annexation of some of their kingdoms to the victor's own dominions; secondly, there was liberation after capture of some of the kings of Southern India and consequent re-instatement of these kings in their own kingdoms; thirdly, there was acceptance of some sort of service—monetary or personal—rendered by some of the kings of the neighbouring *pratyanta* countries, by some of the tribal republics, as also by some distant foreign powers, who, it appears, all enjoyed autonomy by acknowledging the suzerainty of the emperor; fourthly, there was renewal of old administration of some royal families that were fallen and deprived of their power, perhaps by former emperors; fifthly, there was restoration of wealth to many kings who were defeated by the emperor himself.

As regards the mention of the deeds of valour of a king named Candra in the Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription, it may not be out of place to state here that the writer of this paper has strongly set forth his view elsewhere[1] that the Candra of this old Gupta epigraph could not be other than Candragupta I, the founder of the great Gupta empire. It is recorded in that inscription that Candragupta I led his arms of conquest to the distant country of Vaṅga in the east, the people of which place were extirpated for their having

[1] *Indian Antiquary*—XLVIII (1919), pp. 98–101.

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offered united resistance against him (*udvarttayataḥ śatrun sametyāgatān Vaṅgeṣv-āhava-varttinaḥ*); and that he crossed, in course of war, the seven mouths of the Indus (*sindhoḥ sapta mukhāni*) and overcame the Vāhlikas in the west, and that he also proceeded (certainly, for making his power felt) up to the Indian Ocean in the south (*dākṣiṇaḥ jalanidhiḥ*).

An attempt will now be made for proving our own view of the question in point by giving a comparative analysis of Raghu's expedition of conquests (*Yātrā*, v. 24). Raghu, the lord of the Kosalas (*Kosaleśvara*, v. 70) started to conquer the quarters with forces of six kinds after having his own capital (*mūla*) and frontier fortresses (*pratyantas*) guarded (*gupta*) by garrisons, and after having the rear cleared of his enemies (*śuddha-pārṣṇiḥ*, v. 26). He first proceeded towards the east (*prācīṃ*, v. 28) leading his army towards the eastern seas (*pūrva-sāgara-gāminīṃ*, v. 32). The conqueror's path was made clear of antagonistic princes, some of whom were compelled to surrender their acquisitions (*phalaṃ tyājitaiḥ*), some others were dethroned or uprooted (*utkhātaiḥ*) and yet others were vanquished in various ways in battle (*bahudhā bhagnaiḥ*, v. 33). We have shown above that Samudragupta also appropriated the wealth of some princes, exterminated some and overthrew others. While traversing the eastern countries Raghu met the unyielding (*anamra*) people of Sumha (i.e. Rāḍha, Western Bengal) who at last saved their lives by adopting the course of the cane-plant (*vaitasīṃ vṛttiṃ*, v. 35) i.e. by forced submission, before the conqueror. The defeat of the people of Vaṅga (East Bengal) by the Gupta sovereign Candragupta I as mentioned in the Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription (*vide ante*) may have suggested to Kālidāsa a similar defeat of the people of Vaṅga by Raghu as depicted in the Epic (vv. 36–37). The relation of Raghu with the people of Vaṅga appears to be exactly similar to that of Candragupta I and his son and successor Samudragupta with the same people. Having ousted by his prowess the princes or people of Vaṅga who offered him a resistance with their fleet of boats (*nausādhana*, v. 36), Raghu erected pillars of victory within the estuaries of the Ganges; and when they were reinstated (*utkhāta-pratiropita*), after total defeat, in their own position by the conqueror, they honoured the latter by presentations of wealth. It appears that the first Gupta conqueror of Bengal re-established the family of the reigning princes as governors under the direct control of the Central

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Gupta government. In this connection we are reminded of the appointment of governors especially in North Bengal (Puṇḍravardhana) who wielded power under the direct appointment of Kumāragupta I as known from the now famous Dāmodarpur Copperplates[1] of the Gupta period, discovered by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi. Kālidāsa perhaps did not like to paint Raghu only as having completely overthrown the Vaṅga kingdom but as also having re-instated its kings, lest the people of all other parts of Bengal who lived during his own time under the direct jurisdiction of the Gupta empire should be offended by such a description. Raghu then crossed the Kapiśā river (modern Rupnarain) and having received homage from the princes of Utkala (North Orissa) who showed him the way, proceeded towards Kaliṅga, but this righteous conqueror (*dharma-vijayī*) appropriated the wealth, but not the territory, of the lord of Mahendra who was first captured but afterwards released (*gṛhīta-pratimukta*). Samudragupta too showed similar favour of release after capture (*grahaṇa-mokṣānugraha*, l. 20 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription) to any of the kings of the Deccan (*Dakṣiṇāpatharāja*). The victorious Raghu then made his way towards the west (Aparānta) where he achieved much success against the princes of that quarter, who also offered rich tributes (*karaṃ*, v. 58) to the victor. The description has it that Raghu by his success has turned the Trikūṭa mountain (in North Konkan) into a pillar of victory (*jayastambha*). Perhaps this was a reflection[2] of some sort of political advantage gained by Candragupta II (who proceeded towards the Gujarat and Kathiawaḍ provinces for making conquests) over "the Traikūṭaka kings of the family known to us from their inscriptions and coins" who may have been reigning in that region during Kālidāsa's lifetime. From the west Raghu set out by inland route to conquer the Persians with whom he fought a fierce battle (*saṃgrāma* = *stumula*, v. 62). We know of no Gupta monarch who fought against these foreigners. It may, however, be a remote reflection of the conquest of the Vālhikas by Candragupta I as stated in the Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription. Whatever it may be, we read that the surviving Persians submitted to Raghu (*śaraṇaṃ yayuḥ*) with obeisance as the

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV (No. 7). *Vide* my paper on the "*Five Dāmōdarpur Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Gupta period*," especially Nos. 1 and 2.

[2] Rapson—"*Catalogue of coins of the Andhra and Kshatrapa Dynasties, etc.*" Introduction, p. clix.

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only remedy to please the victor (*praṇipāta-pratīkāra*) by putting off their helmets (*apanīta-śirastrāṇa*, v. 64). We have seen above that Samudragupta after having made an easterly movement towards Samataṭa, Ḍavāka and Kāmarūpa bent his course in a northerly direction towards Nepāla, Kartṛpura, and other places. Raghu also after his conquest in the west careered towards the northern direction and extirpated the northerners amongst whom were the Hūṇas who, it appears clear from v. 67, were, till at least the poet's own time, confined to the Indian frontier in the north-west, i.e. near the banks of the Oxus (*Vaṅkū-tīra*). It is only during the close of, or just after, the reign of Kumāragupta I that the Indians had a struggle with the Hūṇas within the borders of the Indian empire. This may be a strong argument for considering whether Kālidāsa at all saw Skandagupta reigning. If, however, he had seen that emperor reign as the ruling king, he must have written his *Raghuvaṃśaṃ* before the Hūṇas were defeated in India by Skandagupta. The Kāmboja princes being unable to stand the valour of Raghu made presents (*upadā*) of stupendous heaps of gold accompanied with fine horses to the conqueror. In his easterly movement through the northern direction Raghu had to fight a battle with some mountain-tribes (*pārvvatīyaiḥ gaṇaiḥ*, v. 77), perhaps the Tibetans and other races (*utsava-saṃketān*, v. 78) who had at last to approach the victor with rich presents in hand (*upāyana-pāṇiṣu*, v. 79), from the Himalayan treasures. Can some of these northern mountain-tribes be referred to those in Nepāla, Kartṛpura and other places mentioned in Samudragupta's inscription? Voluntary submission by the offer of various kinds of gratifications like these is alleged to have been adopted by various kings and republican communities for pleasing the imperious nature of Samudragupta. Then when Raghu crossed the Lauhitya river (the Brahmaputra), the lord of Prāgjyotiṣa (another name for Kāmarūpa) began to tremble in fear, but he pleased the advancing conqueror by paying homage to him by means of excellent war-elephants with which he encountered other conquerors (v. 83) and "worshipped the shadow of his (Raghu's) feet with the offerings of flowers in the shape of precious gems" (*ratna = puṣpopahāreṇa*, v. 84). The relation of Raghu with the lord of Kāmarūpa as described by Kālidāsa is exactly similar to that of Samudragupta and the king of that eastern kingdom. The probability of such a relation between the Gupta monarch and the

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lord of Kāmarūpa being real appears clear from a verse in the Nidhanpur copperplates, discovered in 1913, of King Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, whom we know to be a contemporary and ally of King Harṣavardhana of Kanauj (606-648 A.D.). From this inscription [1] the names of the rulers of Kāmarūpa during the Gupta period may easily be known. That epigraphic record contains the names of twelve kings in chronological order. By a calculation assigning a period of twenty-five years on an average for each reign, it may roughly be inferred that the tenth or eleventh ancestor of Bhāskaravarman, i.e. Puṣyavarman or Samudravarman, very probably the latter as the commonness of name suggests, was the king of Kāmarūpa ruling contemporaneously with the emperor Samudragupta. Verse 8 of the Nidhanpur plates describes the opulence of Samudravarman whose riches were always displayed to view (*prakāśa-ratna*) and who was therefore compared to a fifth ocean (*pañcama iva hi samudraḥ*). So there can be no doubt that Samudravarman was rich enough to gratify a Gupta sovereign with precious presents and save his kingdom from being incorporated into the Gupta empire and thus remain as a frontier eastern province attached to the empire by bonds of subordinate alliance.

It is in this way that Raghu conquered the different quarters, just as the great Gupta emperor Samudragupta and his father Candragupta I before him did, and Kālidāsa has, therefore, described Raghu's conquests in the way he has done, very probably to commemorate the military operations of Samudragupta's son and successor Candragupta II.

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, XII.

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THE ORDER OF SUCCESSION OF THE LATER IMPERIAL GUPTAS.

By Dr. HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI, M.A., Ph.D.

There is a good deal of uncertainty regarding the chronology and order of succession of the Gupta emperors after Kumāra Gupta I. According to the Bihār and Bhitarī inscriptions Kumāra I was succeeded by his son Skanda Gupta. The Bhitarī Seal, however, omits the name of Skanda, and gives the following list of Kumāra's successors—Pura, Narasiṃha and Kumāra II. The Tumain inscription (435 A.D.) mentions Ghaṭotkaca Gupta immediately after Kumāra I, and does not refer to Skanda or Pura. The newly discovered Sārnāth inscriptions mention two Gupta kings namely Kumāra with the date 154 (473–74 A.D.) and Budha Gupta with the date 157 (476–77 A.D.), who must have come after Kumāra I and Skanda (414–467 A.D.). Budha Gupta's inscriptions have also been found in East Mālwa and North Bengal.

It is difficult to reconcile the divergent data of the different records. In a paper read in a meeting of the Bengal Asiatic Society Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggested that the immediate successor of Kumāra I was Pura who was the rightful heir being the son of Kumāra I's chief queen or *Mahādevī*. He was ousted by Skanda who was not the rightful heir as his mother was not a *Mahādevī*, her name not being found in the Bihār and Bhitarī inscriptions. Later on Skanda was supplanted by Narasiṃha who was succeeded by his son Kumāra II.

The case of Kuberanāgā (Poona Plates) shows, however, that there was no rule prohibiting the mention of *non-Mahādevīs*. On the other hand several Pāla and Pratīhāra inscriptions show that the mention of a *Mahādevī* was not compulsory. The name of Yaśomatī as *Harṣa's mother* is mentioned in the *genealogical portion* of the Sonpat Seal, but not in *that* of the Madhuban Plate. The omission of the name of Skanda's mother is an *argumentum ex silentio* which can only be accepted if it can be proved that the mention of the name of a *Mahādevī* was compulsory, and that the mention of the name of an ordinary queen was prohibited.

As to the question of rightful claim to the succession we should

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remember that the cases of Samudra Gupta and Candra Gupta II suggest that the ablest among the princes was chosen irrespective of any claim arising out of birth.

There is nothing to show that there was a fratricidal struggle at the end of Kumāra I's reign. The struggle out of which Skanda emerged victorious was a war with outsiders inimical towards the *Gupta Vaṃśa Lakṣmī* like the Puṣyamitras and the Hūṇas. The passage in the Junāgaḍh inscription which says that "the goddess of fortune and splendour of her own accord selected Skanda as her husband having discarded all the other sons of kings" does not necessarily imply a fratricidal struggle. The statement that Lakṣmī of her own accord selected Skanda is not surprising in view of the fact that the empire was 'made to totter' at the close of Kumāra's reign, and Skanda owed its restoration to his own prowess. The important thing to remember is that the avowed enemies of Skanda mentioned in his inscriptions were outsiders like the Puṣyamitras, Hūṇas and Mlecchas. The *Manujendraputras* of the Junāgaḍh inscription are mentioned only as disappointed princes, not as defeated enemies, like the brothers of Samudra Gupta who were discarded by Candra Gupta I. There is nothing to show that Skanda shed his brother's blood and that the epithet *amalātmā* applied to him in the Bhitarī inscription was unjustified.

The omission of Skanda's name in the Bhitarī Seal of his brother's grandson does not necessarily indicate that the relations between him and Pura's family were unfriendly. The name of Bhoja II of the Imperial Pratīhāra dynasty is not mentioned in the Partabgarh inscription of his nephew Mahendrapāla II, though it is mentioned in an inscription of his brother Vināyakapāla, the father of Mahendrapāla II. There was no rule or custom prohibiting the mention of the name of a rival brother. Govinda II of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty is mentioned in several inscriptions of his rival brother's family. On the other hand, even an ancestor of the reigning king was sometimes omitted. For example, Rudrasena II is omitted in one Ajantā inscription. Dharapaṭṭa of the Valabhi dynasty is not mentioned in an inscription of his own son, though he is mentioned in many other inscriptions.

Mr. R. G. Basak regards Kumāra of Sārnāth and Kumāra of the Bhitarī Seal as two entities, and thinks that the Gupta family split up into two branches after Kumāra I. One branch consisted of

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Skanda, Kumāra of Sārnāth and Budha. The other branch consisted of Pura, Nara and Kumāra of the Bhitarī Seal. The two branches ruled over different provinces. The inscriptions of Skanda and Budha, however, show that there was no disruption, and the same princes ruled over the eastern and the western provinces.

Mr. N. K. Bhattasali places Pura, Nara and Kumāra after Skanda, Kumāra of Sārnāth, Budha Gupta and his successor Bhānu Gupta. His view rests upon the identification of Nara who had the epithet *Bālāditya* with Bālāditya the conqueror of Mihirakula mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. I have shown elsewhere (*J.A.S.B.*, 1920, p. 315) that Nara Bālāditya, the son and successor of Pura and the father of Kumāra II, cannot be identified with Hiuen Tsang's Bālāditya who was the successor of Tathāgata and the father of Vajra.

We have seen that there are no cogent reasons for believing that there was a fratricidal struggle after Kumāra I, or that there was a disruption of the empire. We have also seen that the theory which places Pura, Nara and Kumāra of the Bhitarī Seal after Bhānu Gupta does not bear scrutiny. It is impossible to regard Kumāra of Sarnath and Kumāra of the Bhitarī Seal as two entities as in that case we have to assume the disruption of the empire after Kumāra I. The most probable order of succession is Kumāra I, Skanda, Pura, Nara, Kumāra II and Budha. The evidence of the Bharsar hoard seems to suggest that a king styled Prakāśāditya ruled shortly after Skanda Gupta. This king may have been identical with one of the monarchs mentioned in the Bhitarī Seal, presumably Kumāra II Kramāditya, as the letters *KU* seem to occur on the obverse of Prakāśāditya's coins. The objection that a king could not have two "Āditya" names is untenable in view of the fact that Skanda Gupta had the titles Vikramāditya and Kramāditya, and a Valabhi king was styled Śilāditya Dharmāditya. The reigns of Pura, Nara, and Kumāra II appear to be abnormally short amounting together to only ten years (467–77 A.D.) This is by no means a unique case. In Vengi three eastern Cālukya monarchs, viz. Vijayāditya IV, his son Ammarāja I, and Ammarāja's son another Vijayāditya, ruled only for seven years and six and a half months. In Kāśmīra five kings Śūravarman I, Pārtha, Śaṅkaravardhana, Unmattāvanṭi and Śūravarman II ruled from A.D. 933 to 939; and three generations of kings, Yaśaskara, his uncle Varṇata, and his son Saṃgrāmadeva ruled for ten years (A.D. 939–949).

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Hiuen Tsang represents Budha Gupta[1] as the son of Śakrāditya who is very probably identical with Kumāra I Mahendrāditya (Mahendra = Śakra). Budha's successors according to the Chinese pilgrim were Tathāgata. Bālāditya (II) and Vajra. Allan (pp. liii–liv) refers to a king named Candra Dvādaśāditya, but adds that the '*Ca*' of '*Candra*' is certainly like *Va*. It is not improbable that the real name of Dvādaśāditya was not *Candra* but *Vajra*.

Ghaṭotkaca of the Tumain inscription (435 A.D.) was apparently Kumāra I's viceroy of Eran which included Tumbavana. The fact that he issued coins (cf. Allan's *Catalogue*, p. 149) does not necessarily indicate that he was a sovereign ruler. Coins were also issued by viceroys (cf. the coins of Soter Megas and those of the Kṣatrapas). Besides, the identification of Ghaṭotkaca of the Tumain inscription with Ghaṭo of the coins is not yet clearly established.

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[1] Fo-to-kio-to has been restored as Buddha Gupta. Similarly Pun-na-fa-tan-na has been restored by Watters as Puṇyavardhana. But, just as there is no country named Puṇyavardhana apart from the well known Puṇḍravardhana, so we have no external evidence regarding the existence of a Buddha Gupta apart from Budha Gupta. The synchronism of Fo-to-kio-to's grandson Bālāditya with Mihirakula indicates that whatever may be the correct transcription of the name, the king meant was most probably Budha Gupta.

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ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF MERU UPROOTED BY THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬA KING INDRA III.

By SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR, SASTRI, M.A., P.R.S.

So thorough were the researches of Dr. Fleet and of Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar in the domain of the early history of Mahārāṣṭra, that there are very few unsolved points in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period of its history. One of these few points is the identification of Meru uprooted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Mahārājādhirāja Indra III Nityavarṣa whose known dates are 914 and 916 A.D.

As inscription No. 86 of Kielhorn's Southern List (*Epi. Ind.* VII) states that Indra III uprooted Meru, whereas inscription No. 91 of the same list refers to his conquest of Mahodaya or Kanauj, the late Dr. Kielhorn[1] suggested that Meru was probably identical with Mahodaya.

The uprooting of Meru has been referred to thus :

कृत-गोवर्द्धनोद्धारं हेलोन्मूलितमेरुणा ।
उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा तेन न विस्मितम् ॥

The plain meaning to the *śloka* is 'as Indra (the king of gods) surpassed, by playfully uprooting Meru (mountain), Upendra (Kṛṣṇa) who uplifted Gobardhana hill, so Indra (III) surpassed king Upendra, the recoverer of Gobardhana (a province mentioned in several cave inscriptions) by easily uprooting Meru.'

As there is no proof that Mahodaya was ever called Meru, a search is to be made for Meru, in epigraphic records, and I am fortunate to find out a Prabhu-Meru (= Lord Meru) and a Jaya-Meru (Meru, the victorious) in the records of the Mahāvalī Bāṇa family who ruled in North Arcot.

Inscriptions numbered 659–63 in Kielhorn's Southern List belong to this family. Their genealogy is :—

1. Jayananda-Varman.
   |
2. Vijayāditya I.
   |
3. Malladeva.
   |
4. Bāṇa-Vidyādhara I.

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[1] *Epi. Ind.* VII, Appendix, p. 16, F.N. 2.

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4. Bāṇa-Vidyādhara I.
|
5. Prabhu-Meru-Deva.
|
6. Vikramāditya I, Jaya-Meru, Bāṇa-Vidyādhara II.
|
7. Vijayāditya II.
|
8. Vikramāditya II.

Dr. Kielhorn did not fix his attention on these two Merus, evidently because he accepted the chronology of the Bāṇas as suggested by Dr. Hultzsch. But let us examine, critically, the dates as supplied by Dr. Hultzsch. Record No. 44 of his *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. III gives 810 Śaka as the date of Mahāvalī Vānarāja. But that is the general epithet of all kings of this family. Inscription No. 47 of the same volume records a gift by Vāna-Mahādevī, the daughter of Pratipati-Aariyar, the son of Koṅguṇi-Dharmamahārāja, the supreme lord of Kuṇilapura, the glorious Śivamahārāja-Perumāṇadigal and the great queen of Vāna-Vidyādhara. This great Bāṇa queen was a princess of the Gaṅga-Bāṇa family whose genealogy and short account are thus supplied from Kielhorn's Appendix to *Epi. Ind.* VIII :—

1. Śivamāra II.
|
2. Pṛ(i)thvīpati I. Aparājita.
[He saved Iriga from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Amoghavarṣa I. 817–77 A.D.]
|
3. Mārasiṃha I. — *Daughter. m. Bāṇa-Vidyādhara.*
|
4. Pṛ(i)thvīpati II.
[feudatory to Parantaka I. 907–53.]

Now who married this Gaṅga-Bāṇa princess—Bāṇa-Vidyādhara I, the fourth Bāṇa king, or his grandson, Vikramāditya I Jaya-Meru Bāṇa-Vidyādhara II ? Dr. Hultzsch makes her the queen of the latter, the sixth king of the family. But there is nothing in the known records to prefer the second instead of the first king of that name. Hence I propose to identify the son-in-law of Gaṅga-Bāṇa Pṛ(i)thvipati I with Bāṇa-Vidyādhara I, the fourth Bāṇa king.

Prabhu-Meru-Deva (Lord Merudeva), the fifth Bāṇa king was, thus, the *dauhitra* (daughter's son or daughter's co-wife's son) of Pṛ(i)thvīpati I Aparājita who saved Iriga from the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king Amoghavarṣa I (817–77 A.D.) and cousin to Pṛ(i)thvīpati II a feudatory of Parantaka I Coḷa (907–53 A.D). Hence there is no difficulty in taking him to be the Meru uprooted by Indra III whose known

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dates are 914 and 916 A.D. and who was the successor of Kṛṣṇa II, the son and successor of Amoghavarṣa I (817–77 A.D.).

Another Bāṇa king also had something to do with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The eighth and last king named in Kielhorn's Southern Inscription No. 663 is thus described :—

अनुगतनयमार्गो बाणवंशैकदीपः
प्रणतरिपुसमाजः कृष्णराजप्रियो यः।
अजनि विजयवाङः सूनुरस्याधिकश्री-
रपगतदुरितेति-र्विक्रमादित्यनामा ॥

'There was born his son, Vikramāditya [II] by name, who followed the path of Polity, the unique lamp of the family of the Bāṇas, homage to whom was paid by the assembly of foes, the *beloved of Kṛṣṇarāja*, the victorious-armed one of great splendour, and devoid of all sins and calamities.'

Dr. Kielhorn suggested, in his genealogical list of the family, that this Kṛṣṇarāja, who loved the eighth Bāṇa king, was probably, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II [whose known dates are 902–911 A.D.] I propose to take him to be Kṛṣṇa III. We do not know of any campaign of Kṛṣṇa II in the Drāviḍa country in course of which he would come in contact of the Bāṇa king and love the latter for his services. Kṛṣṇa III, on the other hand, had to fight with the Coḷas and Pallavas and would have been in great need of services of a feudatory like the Bāṇa king in the Drāviḍa land.

To sum up: Indra III uprooted Meru. This Meru was, most probably, identical with Prabhu-Meru-Deva, the fifth Bāṇa king, son of Bāṇa-Vidyādhara who married the daughter of Pṛ(i)thvīpati I, a contemporary of Amoghavarṣa I. The Bāṇas became, from that time, vassals or allies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. And when Kṛṣṇa III (940–61 A.D.), the fourth king after Indra III, passed through what is now known as the Madras Presidency to conquer the Coḷas and Pallavas, he was helped by Vikramāditya II, the great-grandson of Prabhu Meru defeated by Indra III.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE SENA KINGS.

By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.

The epigraphic records of Southern India introduce us to a line of Jaina teachers whose names end in the surname Sena and who are distinctly referred to as belonging to the Sena family. The earliest reference occurs in the Mulgund inscription[1] of the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II dated in 902–3 A.D. It recites that a temple of Jina was founded at the city of Mulgunda, in the Dhavala Viṣaya, and records some grants to that temple. These grants were given in trust (for the temple) to a Jaina teacher or priest named Kanakasena, of the Sena lineage (*Sen-ānvaya*), a disciple of Vīrasena who had apparently been the chief disciple of an *ācārya* named Kumārasena. Mulgunda of the inscription is no doubt represented by the modern place called Mulgund in the Dharwar District and Dhavala Viṣaya is apparently a Sanskrit translation of the well-known "Belvola three-hundred district" in which Mulgunda is located according to the Nilgund inscription of 866 A.D. Taking the three generations of teachers to have covered at least half a century, we are in a position to assert that the Sena family flourished in the Dharwar District as early as the middle of the 9th century A.D.

The next reference to the Sena family occurs in the Honwad stone inscription[2] of the time of the Western Cālukya king Someśvara I, dated in 1054 A.D. It mentions three teachers, viz. Brahmasena, his disciple Āryasena and the latter's disciple Mahāsena. The feet of the first are said to have been adored by a number of kings while the third was the preceptor of a feudatory chief of the Cālukyas, the author of the inscription. It thus appears that a Sena family enjoyed power and prestige during the first half of the 11th century A.D.

The Śravaṇa Belgola epitaph[3] of the Western Gaṅga chief Mārasiṃha II tells us that he preserved the doctrine of Jina, founded various Jaina temples and eventually abdicated and ended his days in the practice of religion at Bankapur, in the Dharwar District, at

[1] *Ep. Ind.* XIII, p. 193. [2] *Ind. Ant.* XIX, p. 271.
[3] *Ep. Ind.* V, p. 171.

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the feet of a Jaina teacher named Ajitasena. According to *Cāmuṇḍa-rāya-Purāṇa*, Cāmuṇḍa-rāya who was the minister of Mārasiṃha II, and born in the *Brahma-kṣatra* race, was a pupil of this Ajitasena. As Mārasiṃha II ruled from 963 or 964 A.D. to c. 975 A D. Ajitasena must have flourished in the latter half of the 10th century A.D. As we have seen above the Sena family flourished in the Dharwar District from the middle of the 9th to the middle of the 11th century A.D., and considering the time and the locality Ajitasena may be looked upon as belonging to the Sena family of teachers. We have thus the following line of teachers in the Sena family of the Dharwar District.[1]

1. Kumārasena.	
2. Vīrasena.	c. 850–903 A.D.
3. Kanakasena.	
4. Ajitasena.	c. 950–975 A.D.
5. Brahmasena.	
6. Āryasena.	c. 1000 to 1054 A.D.
7. Mahāsena.	

Several circumstances seem to connect this Sena family with the famous ruling dynasty of Bengal bearing the same name.

I. The Senas of Bengal are said to have originally belonged to the Karṇāṭa country. This is quite evident from the 4th and 8th verses of the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena and is clearly mentioned in the 4th verse of the Madhainagar Grant of Lakṣmaṇasena.[2] The district of Dharwar may be said to have been almost the centre of the Karṇāṭa country.

II. The Senas of Bengal are said to have been the head-garland of the *Brahma-kṣatriyas*.[3] As we have seen above, Cāmuṇḍa-rāya, the minister of Mārasiṃha II, belonged to the *Brahma-kṣatriya* race, and was a pupil of Ajitasena.

III. There are clear references in the inscriptions of the Sena kings

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[1] The Śravaṇa Belgola epitaph of Malliṣena (*Ep. Ind.* III, p. 184ff.) refers to a number of Jaina teachers with names ending in Sena, such as Kumarasena I, Kumarasena II, Puṣpasena, Hemasena, Guṇasena, Ajitasena, Malliṣena. But as neither the time nor the locality of these teachers is known we cannot decide the question whether any of them belonged to the Sena family.

[2] *Karṇāṭa-kṣatriyānām-ajani kula śiro-dāmaḥ Sāmantasenaḥ.*

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 307.

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of Bengal that their forefathers were religious teachers. Thus Sāmantasena is called a *Brahma-vādī* in the 5th verse of the Deopārā inscription and the epithet '*a-carama-param-ātmajñāna-bhīṣmād*' is applied to him in the tenth verse. The fact that Sāmantasena retired to a hermitage in his old age may not also be without significance.

IV. In the Deopārā inscription[1] Vīrasena is said to have been one of the ancestors of the Sena kings. The poet, of course, in his usual mood of exaggerating things, makes him one of the heroes described by Vyāsa, but, as we have seen above, there is one Vīrasena in the list of the Sena family of Dharwar who lived about 250 years before the time of the inscription. A poet who could fancy the path of the Sun obstructed by the high spires of the temple of Vijayasena may no doubt be easily supposed to have converted Vīrasena into an epic hero.

The fact that the Senas of Dharwar were Jainas while the Sena kings of Bengal were Śaivas need not stand in the way of the proposed identification. It is a well-known fact that in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. there was a religious revolution in Karṇāṭa in favour of Śaivism, which ultimately culminated in the establishment of the Vīraśaiva or Liṅgāyat sect. A notable instance of the conversion from Jainism to the Śaiva faith is furnished by the Western Cālukya king Jayasiṃha II Jagadekamalla who ruled from 1018 to 1042 A.D.[2] It is not impossible that the conversion of the ruling dynasty to the Śaiva faith might have influenced some members of the Sena family to embrace the new creed.[3]

It may again be argued that the Sena family of religious teachers could hardly have anything to do with the Sena family wielding political powers. But the possibility of the transformation of a religious teacher to the founder of political power is demonstrated by historical instances. Haricandra, the founder of the Jodhpur branch of the Pratīhāras is a case to the point.[4] An example, nearer

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[1] Verse 4. [2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, part II, pp. 435, 477.

[3] It is a significant fact that both in the Deopārā and the Naihāti grants the poets make it a point of emphasizing the Śaiva faith of Hemantasena while Sāmantasena is simply called *Brahmavādī* and *a-carama-param-ātma-jñāna-bhīṣmād* in the former and *praṇayī-gaṇa-mano-rājya-siddhi-pratiṣṭhā-śrī-śailaḥ-satyaśīlo nirupadhi-karuṇā-dhāma* in the latter.

[4] *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, pp. 4ff.

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home, is furnished by the Kadambas, originally "a Brāhmaṇ family devoted to the study of the Vedas and the performance of sacrificial rites." We read how Mayūraśarman of this family with the hand dexterous in grasping the Kuśa grass, the fuel, the stones, the ladle, the melted butter and the oblation-vessel, unsheathed a flaming sword, eager to conquer the earth.[1]

On the whole, therefore, there are good grounds for the presumption that the Sena family of Bengal is closely connected with the Sena family of the Dharwar District. How far this presumption is correct, future investigation alone can show. In the meantime it may be pointed out that the presumption, as it is, satisfactorily explains some facts known about the Sena dynasty of Bengal.

The 8th verse of the Deopārā inscription refers to the fact that Sāmantasena defeated the hostile forces that were plundering the Karṇāṭa country. We learn from the Western Cālukya inscriptions that shortly before 1060 A.D., the Cola king Rājendra-deva penetrated into the Dharwar District and burned the Jaina temples but was eventually defeated and killed.[2] It is not unlikely that Sāmantasena distinguished himself on this occasion by warding off the foreign attacks, and that this was the turning point in the fortunes of the family.

The name Ballāla is unfamiliar in Northern India but was borne by a king of the Hoysala dynasty who ruled in the neighbourhood of Dharwar District not long before Ballālasena was born and a Silahara feudatory chief of the Cālukyas.

The course of events which placed a Sena family of Karṇāṭa to the far-off province of Bengal is not difficult to determine. The Sudi Inscriptions of Someśvara I[3] and Someśvara II[4] refer to their conquest of Bengal. We are told in *Vikramāṅka-carita* that Vikramāditya II of the Western Cālukya dynasty invaded Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa even while he was a prince. Several circumstances indicate that similar expeditions were undertaken throughout his reign and in that of his successor. 'A record of 1088–9 A.D. speaks of Vikramāditya VI crossing the Narmadā and conquering kings on the other side of the river. Another record of 1098 A.D. shows that he was again on the banks of the Narmadā at that date.'[5] Aca, a feudatory chief in

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 34. [2] *Bomb. Gaz.* I, part II, p. 441.
[3] *Ep. Ind.* XV, p. 86. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 94. [5] *Bomb. Gaz.* I, part II, p. 452.

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the south, during the latter part of Vikramāditya's reign is said to have made the kings of Kaliṅga and Vaṅga subject to his sovereign.[1] Then, again, we know that Nāṇyadeva, a Karṇāṭa chief, had established himself at Tirhut and Nepāl in the closing years of the 11th century A.D.

It is thus quite conceivable that Sāmantasena might have accompanied Vikramāditya in one of his expeditions and like Nānyadeva carved out a principality for himself in the conquered territories. This seems at any rate to be the only satisfactory explanation of the fact that a chief of admittedly Karnatik origin had founded a royal dynasty in far off Bengal in the first half of the twelfth century A.D. It may be added here that the pretensions of the kings of Karṇāṭa to dominion in Northern India during this period are further attested by the fact that Someśvara III (1127–38 A.D.) is represented to have placed his feet on the heads of the kings of Andhra, Drāviḍa, Magadha and Nepāla,[2] while Viḷḷala claims to have conquered Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Magadha and Nepāla.[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 219. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 221. [3] *Ep. Ind.* V, p. 257.

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Social and Religious History.

President:

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AN INTERESTING FOLK MOVEMENT AND THE LIGHT IT THROWS ON INDIAN CULTURE—THE SĀTVATAS.

By Dr. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., Ph.D.

One remarkable feature of the religious history of South India is that it gets associated with the cult of *Bhakti* very early in that history, nay, it gets so intimately assimilated to, and interwoven in, its culture that in later times this cult of *Bhakti* is specially associated with South India as its home. This latter feature is explainable historically as in the centuries following the Christian era, *Bhakti* received such a special development here to meet the requirements of a vast population hitherto taken to be entirely alien to that culture and brought under the new school of Hinduism by a modification of older Brahmanism by a strong infusion into it of the peculiar form of theism generally indicated by the term *Bhakti*. *Bhakti* involves devotion, selfless devotion, amounting to self-surrender, and the resignation of the individual to the Supreme Being, Who here is looked upon as a personal Being exercising the active qualities of Mercy, etc., without limit. This became the dominant note of the teachings of a school of poetic seers of whom one section devoted themselves to Viṣṇu and the other to Śiva. These devotees came gradually to be known Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva respectively, and founded the two branches of the school of *Bhakti* in the South. *Bhakti* gradually developed in a manner peculiar to the language and the customs of the country, and got ultimately systematised by great teachers who combined in themselves both Sanskrit and Dravidian learning in the first three centuries of the second millennium after Christ, so that it reacted in turn upon the other parts of the country and influenced their religious development. It is as a result of this reaction that in later history South India generally got to be known as the home of *Bhakti*. A closer examination of the cult as it developed within historical times however, shows that for its origins we shall have to look into the cultural history of Northern India, and a careful study of this northern culture proves that the origin of *Bhakti* as a cult is again traceable ultimately to the northern worship of Vāsudeva as the god of gods. This cult receives the name of the cult of the Sātvatas at least in Southern India. As such it is referred

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to in the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata* itself. It is this cult of the Sātvatas that seems early to have entered South India and took its development there along with other forms of Brahmanic thought till at last the pre-vedic Brahmanism that was carried into the Tamil country by the immigrant Brāhmaṇas got so thoroughly infused with this new cult as to overcome the purely Brahmanical part of the religion and develop into the Hinduism of modern times. It will be convenient to consider the Vaiṣṇava part of it first of all leaving the Śaiva side of the question for another occasion.

The *Mahābhārata* explains the term Sātvata and the chief deity Vāsudeva according to this cult, in two ways: Vāsudeva, the son of Vasu Deva, the Yādava king and the king over the people designated generally as the Sātvatas. This is probably the historical explanation. The other explanation is rather of the character of derivation of the names, and explains the term Vāsudeva as being derived from the peculiar character of the Supreme Being as immanent in all created beings and things. In this aspect of the deity the *satva* quality, a combination of strength and mildness dominates. Hence the derivative Sātvata is applied to that system of religion and its votaries who worship the Supreme Being in this aspect of its manifestation.[1] The two aspects of the significance of the terms involved, that are thus explained in the *Mahābhārata* are so inextricably intertwined that it is difficult to disentangle the two and explain which is the original and which the derivative significance. On the face of it however it would appear as though the historical part of it connecting Vāsudeva with the Kṣatriya Vāsudeva, and the Sātvatas with the tribe of people, the Yādavas, would seem the original, and therefore the other the derivative significance of the terms. This however is not necessarily the case as it is quite possible that these names both of the individual and the tribe are derived from previously known names whatever their origin. This position finds support in the comment of Patañjali on the two *sūtras* of Pāṇini which make a distinction between the two significances of the affix that go to give the same form Vāsu Devaka.[2] Whether Patañjali adopted the explanation of the

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[1] *Mbh.* Udyog. 69, 3 and 7; and Śānti. 351, 12 and 13.

[2] *Pāṇini* IV—3, 98 and 3, 99.

See R. P Chanda's *Archaeology and Vaishṇava Tradition.* Mem. A.S. No. V, p. 153.

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Mahābhārata or the *Mahābhārata* made the derivation from Patañjali, it is clear that in the age of Patañjali a divine Vāsudeva as distinct from Kṣatriya Vāsudeva was a recognized entity. We can go a little farther and say that the distinction made by Pāṇini is a clear indication that that distinction was known in the age of Pāṇini himself. It becomes then clear that Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's claim that the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata* is at least as old as, if not older than, the age of the Buddha, has considerable justification. If the divine Vāsudeva is a familiar idea, the name Vasu Deva for a person is readily explainable on that basis alone. It is an accepted article of faith of the Pāñcarātrins that the *Vasus* and the other Divine Beings are derivatives of the Supreme Vāsudeva. Hence the term "*Deva* of the *Vasus*" would indicate merely the Supreme Being himself, and Vāsudeva's son could naturally be described as a Vāsudeva. It is just possible therefore that the germs of the cult of Vāsudeva worship may reach back to a much earlier antiquity, going back to the age of the *Upaniṣads*, an age peculiarly of intellectual ferment. It is equally possible that that form of faith got associated with one particular tribe of people, themselves Aryans, though not coming within the fold of the old orthodox Kuru-Pāñcālas of the holy land of the Sarasvatī.

Among the tribes of people who figure prominently in the *Ṛgveda* are the well-known "*Pañca Janāḥ*" of whom the tribes, Turvaśas, Yadus, and Pūrus seem inter-related. According to Professors Macdonnel and Keith,[1] it cannot be regarded as quite certain that this actually constituted the five tribes under reference. According to the same authorities however, the two tribes Yadus and Turvaśas are intimately connected, and the two terms Turvaśa and Yadu stand alike both for the tribe and the chiefs of the tribes. It thus becomes clear that a tribe by name Yadu was in existence in the age of the *Ṛgveda* and had their home in all probability to the west of the Sarasvatī and not far from the river Paruṣṇi. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[2] the Turvaśas, at any rate appear as allies of the Pāñcālas, and it is likely as Oldenberg conjectures, that they ultimately became merged in the Pāñcāla people. Whether this amalgamation, if it is a fact, involved the Yadus also, is not clear. But in later history, the Yadus, or Yādavas, show them-

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[1] *Ved. Ind.* I—315 to 317. [2] XIII, 5, 4, 16.

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selves to be an important people and according to the *Bhāgavata*[1] had the generic name Sātvata.

The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[2] describes the Sātvatas as a people of the South. In describing the *Mahābhiṣeka* of Indra, *Rudra is said to have inaugurated him in the southern region as Bhoja over the tribes of people Sātvatas.* This apparently is the basis of the later tradition embodied in the *Bhāgavata*, and the people were known by the name Sātvatas, while their rulers generally took the name Bhoja. These Sātvatas or Satvants are referred to in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[3] as having been defeated by Bharata Dauṣyanti who took away the horse which they had consecrated for an *Aśvamedha*. This does not appear to be a solitary exploit of Bharata against the Sātvatas. He is described elsewhere as making regular raids against the Sātvatas.[4] This habitual raiding would indicate that the Sātvatas were the inhabitants of the neighbouring territory, at any rate not far off, of the kingdom of the Bharatas. It seems therefore clear that the Sātvatas were once inhabiting the region not far removed from the holy land of Kuru-Pāñcāla. If, as was shown already, the Yadus along with the Turvaśas merged in the tribe of the Bharatas, and if the Bharatas came to be known later as the Kurus, or got merged in the larger ethnical unit of the Kuru-Pāñcālas, then it is easy to understand why in the *Bhāgavata*, the Yādavas and the Sātvatas get to be spoken of as being the same tribe of people.

We have already seen that the Yadus figured among the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Bharatas, and indicated the possibility of their having become merged in the ethnically larger Kuru-Pāñcāla. It is just possible that they moved from the Paruṣṇi towards the Sarasvatī and settled in the region of Mathurā (Muttra), the country associated with the Śūrasenas of a later time. Throughout, the *Bhāgavata* speaks of the Śūrasenas as the kinsmen (*jñātis*) of the Yādavas, and the same work ascribes the wider dispersal of the Yādavas as due entirely to the oppression of the Śūrasena king Kaṃsa during the period of his tyrannical rule. When Kaṃsa was overthrown by young Kṛṣṇa, the petty oppression of a tyrant ruler gave place to an uprooting war against these people, the Yādavas, by Kaṃsa's father-in-law, Jarāsandha, the great ruler

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[1] *Bhāgavata*, X, 45, 15.
[2] VIII, 14, 3.
[3] XIII, 5, 4, 21.
[4] *Ait. Br.* II, 25, 6.
Also Oldenberg's *Buddha*, p. 407, note.

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of Magadha and his allies. This great and continuous war made it absolutely necessary for Kṛṣṇa to transport himself and his kinsmen across the whole of western Hindustan to Dvāraka, and we may presume that the Yādavas generally also had to disperse into regions beyond the reach of Jarāsandha's arms. We have therefore then three active causes that must have made for the migration of the Yādavas to great distances from the holy land of Kuru-Pāñcāla. (1) The constant and successful raidings of the Bharatas, and Bharata Dauṣyanti, (2) oppressive and tyrannical rule of Kaṃsa, and (3) the devastating war of Jarāsandha. While the last two are near in point of time, the first is perhaps some generations away into remoter antiquity. The emigration therefore of the Yādavas must have begun much earlier than the age of Kṛṣṇa, and must have been going on for some considerable time to enable them to move out bodily, in the period of oppression during the early period of the life of Kṛṣṇa himself. This state of things is what is reflected in the groupings of the southern kingdoms which we can infer from the *Brāhmaṇaic* and *Sūtra* literature on the one side, and Buddhistic on the other.

According to these sources, we find five kingdoms in the south of the Vindhyas. The kingdom of the Māhiṣakas, with its capital Māhiṣmatī (Māndhāta) ; then from the east coast to the west ; the kingdom of Kaliṅga with its capital Dantapura ; the kingdom of Vidarbha with its capital Kuṇḍinapura, the territory of the Bhojas pre-eminently. Farther westward of it was the kingdom of the Aśmakas with their capital at Potali or Potana, the Pratiṣṭhāna of later times. This kingdom may be described as a Yādava kingdom, as the *Mahābhārata* refers to a princess of this kingdom as *Aśmāki* the *Yādavī*. Set over against these on the farther southern side was the kingdom of Daṇḍaka which came afterwards to be known as the Daṇḍakāraṇya, or the forest of Daṇḍaka, probably after the incident referred to in the *Arthaśāstra*, according to which a descendant of this Daṇḍaka destroyed himself, kingdom and family by the forceful abduction of a Brāhmaṇa girl. This latter is explained as the daughter of the Ṛṣi Bhṛgu, whose abduction by a descendant of Daṇḍaka (*Dāṇḍakyaḥ*) brought on the destruction of the kingdom according to the commentary of the *Kāmandakīya Nītiśāstra*. This kingdom of Daṇḍaka extending as far south as the river-frontier of the Krishna, had for its capital a place called Kumbhavatī in the

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Buddhist *Jātakas*. Thus we see that the region between the Vindhya mountains and the river Krishna was politically divided into five kingdoms, of which two at least are clearly described as Yādava kingdoms. The general reference in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* to the southern kings being called Bhojas and their subjects the Sātvatas, would lead to the inference that all these people were inter-related and were branches of the same ethnical group. The region comprised in the Kaliṅga later on became associated with the Andhras, Pali or Prakrit, Andha or Andhaka, obviously one of the great divisions of the Yādava tribe, the Andhas and the Vṛṣṇis. The inhabitants of Vidarbha were always known Bhojas and the *Aśmāki* princess described *Yādavī*, leaves no room for doubt in respect of these three. The inhabitants of Māhiṣaka from whom the later Cedi rulers traced their descent, and whose era of a later time beginning A.D. 249 was adopted by the Ābhīras of the region, which would correspond to Aśmaka, will perhaps support the inference that the people of that region also were ethnically the same as the Yādavas. I have not so far come upon any clear reference on the Sanskrit side to describe the inhabitants of Daṇḍaka as Yādavas also. But Tamil literature to which I shall make reference presently describes these people uniformly as Iḍaiyar, or shepherds, which leads to the conclusion that they were the same ethnically as the Yādavas.

It thus seems clear from the evidence of Sanskrit literature alone that the Yādavas had already overspread the region of the Dakhan, and spread themselves into different political units across the whole width of the Peninsula almost from the mouth of the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges, the Krishna being the southern boundary. It is in this region peculiarly that the official title *Mahābhoja* appears very commonly in the inscriptions of Aśoka and of the early Andhras. On the western side of these Bhoja peoples, lay the people known to later history as the Yādavas, and the corresponding official title there is *Mahārāṣṭrakas*, the modern form of which is Māhrāṭṭa. *Āraṭṭa*, (*a-rāṣṭra*), *Su-rāṣṭra*, and *Mahā-rāṣṭra* are names that are applied to ethnic groupings extending all the way from the Panjab to almost the frontier of Mysore. This similarity of names perhaps indicates also relationship between the ethnic groups and the notion conveyed by the language of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* in describing the *Mahābhiṣeka* is confirmed in a way by the later designations of the peoples

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themselves. The western peoples, according to the *Brāhmaṇa*, installed their ruler as *Svarāṭ*, which is taken to be synonymous with some form of popular government, i.e. government by the people. *A-raṭṭa*, does not perhaps on the face of it convey this significance particularly in its Sanskrit form *Arāṣṭraka*. The Tamil lexicons which describe the name Āraṭṭa give it a significance which borders on the setting up of petty rule by tribal chieftains untrammelled by the authority of an over-ruling sovereign (*Rāṣṭraka*). We shall have to revert to this later.

We have already pointed out that the region south of the Krishna was from the point of view of the Tamils, composed of two well-marked divisions. The first, the larger, extended from Cape Comorin northwards to about the 12th or the 13th degree north latitude, containing the well-known Tamil kingdoms interspersed with a pretty large number of chieftaincies. That is from the point of view of the Tamil, the Tamil country, 'Tamiḻakam,' the Sanskrit equivalent being Dramiḍaka, Dramiḍa, and ultimately Drāviḍa. Between this somewhat ill-defined northern frontier and the river Krishna, was a belt of country occupied by people in the hunting stage, and therefore in a lower state of civilization as compared with the Tamils as well as their Sanskrit neighbours, the Āriyans as the Tamils called them. Tamil classical literature, the Śangam works, as they are called, refers to the territory beginning with the southern limit of Daṇḍaka as Āriyadeśa, and the frontier belt of country occupied by the "savage" people Vaḍukar, the Vaḍuka frontier (*Vaḍukar-munai*). The region south of this of course is the Tamil land. The normal occupation of the savage people of the frontier is hunting and robbing wayfarers varied by cattle lifting. But even as between the more civilized folk, the capturing of herds of cattle belonging to their neighbours was a recognized item of military art and achievement. Another of the ordinary warlike exploits of the various chieftains and kings is the carrying on of successful war against the frontier tribes and keeping them under control. Such is among the recognized duties of monarchs according to the *Arthaśāstra*. The chieftain who held the frontier post at Tirupati is described as the prince of Kaḷvar, in ordinary Tamil, Kaḷḷar. This term designates nowadays a caste of people, warlike in some respects, and generally described as of a predatory character It is their chief that held Tirupati wherefrom he had to keep the frontier

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tribes in check. At this stage of history, we already have reference to some of the tribal chieftains so far advanced in civilization as to be recognized as civilized kings to be treated with on terms of civilized equality.

From this body of literature which may have a range at the widest of about three centuries we glean that the Tamil land was divided among the 'three crowned kings of the south' the Cola, the Pāṇḍya, and the Cera, and of chieftains whose actual number varies from generation to generation. The fourth monarchy or State referred to in the Aśoka inscriptions, namely the Satiyaputra, does not find mention as such in this body of literature. The region where we would naturally look for them is in the possession of a chieftain by name Nannan whose name has been handed down to posterity as the women-killer. He is described in this class of literature as the ruler of Tuḷu and Koṇ-Kānam, the original of the modern contracted form Koṇ-Kan. Koṇ-Kānam breaks in Tamil into two words Koḷ and Kānam, a sort of a no man's land, plundering and cattle-raiding in which was beyond the local jurisdiction or even sphere of influence, of any recognized ruler at the time. In the age of the great kings, of the three kingdoms, there were seven chieftains, and certain early Cera rulers are described as wearing the 'garland of the seven crowns.' The Tamils are accustomed to describing the kings that achieved an ascendency in the Tamil land as the "ruler" of the "three crowns," the equivalent of which in Sanskrit occurs in some of the Pallava inscriptions in the Sanskrit form "*Trairājya*," on the interpretation of which there was a considerable amount of dispute and discussion in which the protoganist, as in other matters, was the late Dr. Fleet. *Trairājya* is the exact translation of the Tamil *mummuḍi*, this having nothing to do with the later Kanarese expression *mummaḍi*, meaning thrice. The seven chiefs sometimes reduced themselves to five which means that two of them got merged in the neighbouring kingdoms or chieftaincies as did actually happen in the case of the chieftains of Kollimalais for instance. There are references to as many as eleven and sometimes fourteen chieftains.

This brings us to a political distribution that obtained among the Tamils; and this distribution brings them into some kind of connection with the Āriyan tribes inhabiting the Dakhan at the time, and takes us back to the tradition of Agastya's migration to the south. The rulers of various regions in South India are spoken of

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in this body of literature in two classes, kings (*vēndar*) and chieftains (*vēḷir*). These were only two recognized classes that had title to rule. The first class ruled generally over kingdoms and settled territories. To the latter was assigned the region that had not been brought into settled organization and which required constant fighting, at any rate perpetual readiness to fight, as the essential characteristic. These chieftains in some cases answered to the frontier wardens of the *Arthaśāstra*, or the *Āṭavika Sāmantas* (chieftains of forest tribes) of later history. This classification owes its origin to the followers of Agastya. According to tradition he obtained permission of Kṛṣṇa in Dvāraka to take with him representatives of eighteen families of rulers and a large number of eighteen *kuḍis* (septs or clans) of cultivators and shepherds with him into the forest region of the south to clear the land of forest and make it country. This implies the distinction that the *vēndar* and *vēḷir* belonged to one class, and the inferior *veḷir* and *aruvāḷar* as the labouring classes under them. This further implies that absence of the distinction of caste which, from all that we know of the Tamils from this body of literature, had not been known to them except through the Brahmanising organization that they received in the Tamil country after the advent of Agastya. Recognized and authoritative Tamil grammars mark the people into classes merely on the analogy of Brahmanical castes almost explicitly stating that the recognized caste divisions were foreign to these people. The modern notion of the eighteen castes which seems to be a common feature of both the so-called right, and left-hand classes seems reminiscent of the eighteen *kuḍis* from whom, according to this tradition, Agastya brought representatives to the South.

The position and distribution of the Sātvatas we have derived from Sanskrit literature as already detailed above seem to find confirmation in the early classical literature of the Tamils. One of the acknowledged early Śangam works has a reference to an ancient Cera having captured vast herds of cattle in the Daṇḍāraṇyam of the Tamils. Daṇḍāraṇyam is only the Tamil form of Daṇḍakāraṇyam, and this territory is described by the commentator as a division of Āryadeśa. It is however looked upon as a hostile country raiding for cattle in which is a justifiable act of war even of an aggressive character. The poem, which, by the way, is the work of a lady "the good Śeḷḷai who sang of the crow" (*Kakkai-pāḍiniyār Nac-*

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Celḷaiyār), and the hero of the poem is known to us only by the title the Cera who captured herds of cattle (*Āḍu-Kōṭpāṭṭu-Śeran*). He captured these cattle in Daṇḍakāraṇyam, drove them over to his port of Toṇḍi and there made them a free-gift to Brāhmaṇas. It seems clear from this that the Daṇḍakāraṇyam marked the Āriyan frontier in this age. Certain other poems again of the same character relate to chieftains who are described as belonging to the caste or class of Iḍaiyar, which term in Tamil means shepherds. But the specific names by which these classical poems speak of them is by name *Anḍar* which seems to be the Tamil adaptation of *Andha* or *Andhaka*. The transformation from *Andha* to *Anḍa* perhaps indicates that writing was already known along with its peculiar feature which made no distinction between *dh* and *ḍh*. That the term Anḍar is applied to these shepherds is in the clearest evidence in one of the poems which describes the early achievement of Kṛṣṇa in his frolics with the shepherdesses of Gokulam. This has reference to a rather peculiar form of the story that Kṛṣṇa surprised these young shepherd women in their bath in the river Jumna He took all their clothing and got up a tall tree which grew on the bank of the river close by. When they were appealing to him plaintively for their clothing being restored to them his elder brother Baladeva appeared. Lest their modesty should suffer violence he bent down the whole tree to cover them from the gaze of his elder brother. These young ladies are there spoken of as *Anḍar mahaḷir*, the daughters of Anḍar. If Ptolemy could speak of the Āndhras as Andarae, the Tamil might be justified, and the name Āay Anḍiran may have reference to a chieftain of the Āndhras almost certainly as the surname is in opposition to that of another chieftain of the name Āay who is described as *Eyinan*, the two names standing for Āay, the shepherd and Āay, the hunter. These Anḍar were a people who were apparently possessed of some power, and one of the early Ceras claims great distinction for his achievement against them. They are described there as riding on fleet horses like the later Mahratas, and it was a difficult achievement to overthrow them.

These people the Anḍar or shepherds are generally described as hostile to the Tamils and cattle rearing is ascribed to them as almost their sole occupation. One of their chieftains, a particularly troublesome one, occupied some portion of the country between the regular northern frontier of the Tamils and the southern Aryan frontier.

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He is known by the name Kaḷuvuḷ. He was attacked several times by the Tamils ineffectively. On one of these occasions as many as eleven chieftains had allied themselves together. On another occasion as many as fourteen of these Tamil chieftains joined against him. He was ultimately overthrown and his citadel Kāmūr of Kāḷūr was completely destroyed.

These Aṇḍar chieftains seem to be included among those whom the Tamils describe as Kuṛumbar. The term Kuṛumbar is derived from Tamil *kuṛumbu* which means the power of a petty chieftain, and is applied in Tamil classical literature to the authority exercised by a usurper. More generally it seems to imply the exercise of subordinate authority under well-recognized limits. The tendency of chieftains exercising that authority seems to have been always to transgress the bounds of their power. It is this tendency that seems to be conveyed by the term *kuṛumbu*. This evil tendency was probably the general characteristic of petty frontier chieftains; and hence by extension these came to be described as Kuṛumbar, a term often times used synonymously with the more inocuous *kuṛu-nila-mannar*, rulers of petty tribes (literally poorer tracts of land). These are given in the earliest Tamil lexicon the alternative designation Śaḷukki-Vēndar. These petty chieftains had for their characteristic ensign the boar flag. It is this term that seems to have given rise to the later Cālukya. The territory occupied by these petty chieftains taken together came to be described as *kuṛumba bhūmi* or *kuṛmba nāḍu*, and hence a number of Kuṛumba kings, and a Kuṛumba coinage of Sir Walter Elliot, though neither of the designations has much exactly to justify it. Of these petty chiefs seven of them made themselves famous in the age of the Tamil classics and these are described as *Vēḷir* (chieftains) in opposition to *Vēndar*. One of these seven famous chieftains is known by the designation Iruṁ-go-vēḷ, and was among the enemies of the Pāṇḍyan 'Victor at Talaiyāl-angānam.' He seems to have had his territory somewhere about the north-west frontier of Mysore and had for his capital the town known as Araiyam. The well-known Tamil poet Kapilar of Śangam fame describes him as coming of a family of chieftains whose progenitor sprang out of the sacrificial fire pit of a *Ṛṣi* in Dvāraka, and from whom he was the forty-ninth in descent. He is described a *Vēḷ* among *Vēḷir* (chief among chieftains). This origin and description of the chieftain as having been forty-ninth in descent from a

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chieftain of Dvāraka warrants in another way the spread of the Sātvata tribe and of these chieftains from the region of Gujarat downwards. What is perhaps more, it lends the colour of a historical event to, what appears at first sight a mere wild tradition with no historical bottom, Agastya's migration to the south. Whether there was an actual Agastya or not the migration would seem inferable as a fact from this description of the Mysore chief itself. It gives to him the character of an *Agnikula* chieftain whether he is connected with a whole body of people among the South Indian populations who nowadays call themselves *Vanniyakula Kṣatriyas*, or *Paḷḷis* as they are generally described.

This reference to the *Agnikula* brings us to the inscription of the Sātavāhana queen Nāyanika of the sacrificial inscription at Nānāghāt. She was the wife of the third ruler who came in the second generation of the Āndhra dynasty of rulers. She describes herself as the daughter of Maḥāraṭṭi Kaḷalayo. The coins of this chieftain found near Chitaldryg in Mysore describe him as *Aṅgīya Kula Vadano* which has hitherto been interpreted as "the raiser of the prosperity of the family of *Aṅga*," rendering the first part *aṅgīya* as belonging to Aṅga. It seems much more likely that it is the Prakritic equivalent of *āgneya*, *aṅgi* being a classical Tamil word for fire, the more regular Prakrit *aggi* being a word of common use in Kanarese and in Telugu both alike cognate with *aṅgi*. He undoubtedly was the chieftain of the same family as Iruṁ-go-vel, and belonged to the *Agnikula* in the same manner as the Irungo-vel did. That makes these *Vēḷs* of the Tamils somewhat near of kin to the Mahāraṭṭi chieftains directly and the Sātavāhanas indirectly, and goes someway to support their immigration into the Tamil land from the region of Gujarat, under the lead of Agastya.

There is one other connection in which the Sātvatas are described as a distinct tribe. According to Manu[1] the Sātvatas are descendants of *Vaiśya Vrātyas*, i.e. *Vaiśyas* who, by neglect of the sacred duties enjoined upon the twice-born became *Vrātyas*, described specifically as Sātvata.

According to the same authority[2] an *Ambaṣṭa* is the son of a Brāhmaṇa by a Vaiśya woman. A son of a Brāhmaṇa begotten on the daughter of an Ambaṣṭa is an *Ābhīra*. *Śloka* 24 of the same

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[1] *Manu* X, 23. [2] *Ibid.*, X, 8.

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chapter lays it down that 'as a result of adultery between different castes, marriages unpermitted by recognized law, and by neglect of occupation prescribed to each caste, spring what are called mixed castes.' It is perhaps possible to infer from this that the *Vrātya* Sātvata and an Ābhīra, as the offspring of irregular union between a Brāhmaṇa and a Vaiśya, are near of kin to each other; at any rate we find them closely associated during historical times. If the general designation Iḍaiyar or Anḍar for the whole body of the Dakhan people given by the Tamils indicate anything, it does signify that to the Tamils they were all ethnically the same people. Two sub-divisions however of these *Vaiśya Vrātyas* are, according to Manu again, respectively *Acārya* and *Sātvata*. Uśanas states that these two classes of people subsisted by worshipping gods.[1] This function of worshipping gods, as also the reference to their subsisting by the sale of images which occurs elsewhere, would bring them into some kind of close relationship with the Sātanis who are a class of people found in some number in the south, and who subsist by various items of service connected with temples, and by trading in articles connected with Vaiṣṇava worship such as the sale of the material for the caste marks, etc. It may perhaps seem a far cry to identify Sātani with Sātāhani the Prakrit form of Sātavāhana; but it is a fact that at the present day this class of people speak only Telugu. The chief headquarters of one influential section of them is in the Vizagapatam District, and their *ācāryas* happen to be Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇas of a sept named '*Paravastu*.' This last name is that of one of the categories of the *Pāñcarātra āgama*, *Paravastu* being more or less synonymous with *Paravāsudeva*. This may require to be worked up more fully before any final conclusion could be arrived at.

The *Vaijayantī* lexicon has three *ślokas* referring to the term Sātvata. According to the first it is merely an epithet of Balarāma or Saṅkarṣaṇa. According to the second[2] a Sātvata is the son of a *Vaiśya Vrātya*, and a Vaiśyā who was formerly the wife of a Kṣatriya.

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[1] Quoted by Govardhana in his comment. on X, 23; Bühler's *Manu*; Sacred Books of the East XV, p. 407.

[2] P. 76, 1–114. *Sā Vaiśyapūrvā Dramiḍam Śūdrapūrvā tu sā Khaśam*
Vaiśyā Vrātyāt Sudhanvānam Ācāryam Viprapūrvakā
Sudhanvācārya eko vā maitram sā Vaiśyapūrvakā
Śūdrapūrvā dvijanmānam Sātvatam Kṣatrapūrvikā.

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According to the third [1] a Sātvata is a person who worships Viṣṇu also called Bhāgavata. The same lexicon recognizes that there are Brāhmaṇas who also go by the name Bhāgavatas as being devout followers of Viṣṇu. This seems to make a clear distinction between the Sātvatas as a people and *Sātvata Vidhi*, as a religion. In the eleventh century A.D. which is the generally accepted period of the author of this lexicon there were two distinct classes of Sātvatas, namely Brāhmaṇa Bhāgavatas and Sātvatas as such. It is probable that the latter followed the practice of the Sātvata worship in the original crude form, while the Brāhmaṇa Bhāgavatas represent the followers of the *Sātvata Vidhi* of the *Mahābhārata* the roots of which may reach back to the primitive popular worship of the Sātvatas. It is probably this double character that is responsible for the view that the *Pāñcarātra* is *a-vaidic* in Kumarila Bhaṭṭa's and even in Śaṅkara's estimation.[2] It is explicitly so described in the *Śaiva Siddhānta* literature which is somewhat later in point of time. It is probably the currency that this view gained that called for Vedānta Dēśika's final vindication of the *vaidic* character of this form of worship by an elaboration of the work of Rāmānuja in his *Śrī Bhāṣya*.

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[1] P. 80, ll. 206–10. *Sudhanvācārya Iśānam Śākya caityādi maitrakaḥ*
Bhūtaprēta Piśācāṃstu vijanmā sūti veśma ca
Sātvataḥ pūjayet Viṣṇum ukto Bhāgavataśca saḥ
Santi Bhāgavatāścānye Brahmaṇaḥ Bhagavatparāḥ.

[2] In regard to this position cf. Mr. R. P. Chanda's *Indo-Aryan Races*, chapter on Vaiṣṇavism.

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PATRIA POTESTAS IN ANCIENT INDIA.

By Nirmal Chandra Chatterjee, M.A., B.L., P.R.S.

Of the two characteristic features of primitive polities—*patria potestas* and agnatic kinship—we trace here the history of the former institution. Both in ancient India and in ancient Rome the father had very extensive powers over his children which included the authority to inflict uncontrolled corporal punishment. He could make a gift of his son and had the right to sell him. In the Vedic literature we find that the son was expected to render the father unquestioning and ready obedience :

Pitur = na putrāḥ kratuṃ juṣaṃta śroṣaṇ = ye arya śāsaṃ turāsaḥ ।
Vi rāya aurṇod = duraḥ purukṣuḥ pipeśa nākaṃ stṛibhir = damunāḥ ॥

"Hastening to obey the commands of Agni, as sons obey their father's commands, they celebrate his worship." [1]

Under the benevolent despotism of the *paterfamilias* corporal punishments were frequently inflicted [2] :—

Pra va eko mimaya bhūryāgo yan = mā pit = eva kitavaṃ śaśāsa ।
Āre pāśā āre aghāni devā mā mādhi putre vimiva grabhīṣṭa ॥

In the *Ṛgveda* there are passages which show that the Vedic father blinded his son and inflicted other horrible punishments upon his sons :

Śatam meṣān = vṛkye cakṣa-dānam = Ṛjrāśvam tam pitā = andhaṃ cakāra ।
Tasmā = akṣī nāsatyā vicakṣa = ādhattaṃ Dasrā bhisajāv = anarvan ॥

"When his father caused Ṛjrāśva—as he was giving to a she-wolf, a hundred sheep cut up in pieces—to become blind (*andhaṃ cakāra*), you, *Dasrās*, physicians (of the gods) give him eyes (that had been) unable to find their way, with which he might see." [3]

The melancholy story of this unfortunate boy is described again in a later verse :—

Śataṃ meṣān = vṛkye māmahānaṃ tamaḥ praṇītam = aśivena pitrā ।
Ā = kṣī Ṛjrāśve aśvināv = adhattaṃ jyotir = andhāya cakrathur = vicakṣe ॥

"You restored eyes to Ṛjrāśva, who on presenting a hundred sheep to the she-wolf, had been condemned to darkness by his in-

[1] *Ṛv.* i. 68. 5. [2] *Ṛv.* ii. 29. 5. [3] *Ṛv.* i. 116. 16.

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dignant father, and gave light to the blind, wherewith to behold all things." [1]

From these passages [2] as well as from the famous stories of Śunaḥśepha [3] and Naciketas [4] we get an idea of the extensive powers of the ancient father which included the right to transfer his children. An ancient Ajīgartta could sell his son with impunity, and an ancient Vājaśravasa could give away his son without much hesitation.

But the *patria potestas* was not a very durable institution. It was in its very nature a transitionary condition of things. Even in the *Ṛgveda* we find that the sons might divide their father's property in his old age.[5] Manu is said to have divided his property among his sons with the exception of Nābhānediṣṭha who was given cattle.[6] In the Vedic literature there are also evidences of a father dividing his property amongst his sons.[7] In the later portion of the *Ṛgveda* there is a verse which indicates that in their old age the parents generally came under the control of the wife of their son :

" *Samrājñī śvaśure bhava samrājñī śvaśrāṃ bhava* ! "

" Be a queen to thy father-in-law, be a queen to thy mother-in-law." (X, 85, 46 ; Wilson's tr. vol. vi, p. 231).

We find the vestiges of the absolute powers of the father till a comparatively later period both in ancient India as well as in ancient Rome—up till the later *Dharma-Śāstras* in India and the Imperial period in Rome. But they were reduced within very narrow limits. The history of the steady and progressive restriction of the *patria potestas* is clearly traceable in ancient India.[8]

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1 *Ṛgveda*, i, 117, 17 ; Wilson's tr. Vol. I, p. 317.

2 From these passages Zimmer has inferred the existence of a developed *patria potestas* :—" Zwar stand der Mann unbeschränkt an der Spitze des kleinen Staates ; Sklaven und Kinder mussten nicht allein gehorchen ihm, er hatte noch grössere Gewalt über sie," (*Alt. Leben*, p. 316). Keith and Macdonell are of opinion that it is unsafe to lay stress on this isolated and semi-mythical incident. (*Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 526).

3 *Śat. Br.* v, 4, 4, 9 ; *Ait. Br.* vii, 12–8 ; *Śan. Śr. Sūtras*, xv, 17.

4 *Kaṭha-Upaniṣad*, i, 1, 1–4 ; S.B.E., XV, pp. 1–2.

5 *Ṛgveda*, 1, 70, 10.

6 *Vide Ait. Br.*, V, 14 and *Jaiminīya-Br.* iii, 156.

7 *Taitirīya-Saṃhitā*, iii, 1, 9, 4–6.

8 From a passage in the *Ṛgveda* (viii, 51, 2) and from a passage in the *Atharvaveda* (xviii, 2, 34) Zimmer has inferred that in old age a father might be exposed in Vedic India. (*Alt. Leben*, pp. 327–8). As has been pointed ot by Macdonell, the first passage need not refer to exposure, while the second merely refers

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The father's power continued absolute in theory and the sons, even according to the later *Smṛtis*, cannot act for themselves, either as regards secular transactions or religious rites. The legal fiction of the *patria potestas* persisted for a long time. Vaśiṣṭha says :—

Śukra-śoṇita-sambhavaḥ putraḥ mātā-pitṛ-nimittakaḥ।
Tasya ca pradāna-vikraya-tyāgeṣu mātā-pitarau prabhavataḥ॥

"Man formed of uterine blood and virile seed proceeds from his mother and his father (as an effect) from its cause. (Therefore) the father and the mother have power to give, to sell, and to abandon their son."[1] Manu lays down :—

Bhāryā putraś=ca dāsaś=ca śiṣyo bhrātā ca sodaraḥ।
Prāpt-aparādhās=tāḍyāḥ syū rajjvā veṇu-daleṇa vā॥

"A wife, a son, a slave, who have committed faults, may be beaten with a rope or split bamboo."[2] Manu repeats the ancient legal fiction :—

Bhāryā putraś=ca dāsaś=ca traya ev=ādhanāḥ smṛtāḥ।
Yat=te samadhigacchanti yasya te tasya tad=dhanam॥

"A wife, a son, and a slave, these three are declared to have no property ; the wealth which they earn is (acquired) for him to whom they belong."[3] Nārada also declares—"While they (parents) are alive he can never acquire independence, even though he may have reached a mature age."[4] It is thus the beloved fiction of the jurists that the son stands on the same footing with the slave and cannot acquire property or independence during the lifetime of the family patriarch whose authority is absolute. Nārada even goes further and emphatically declared that a son is incapable of transacting any valid business :—

Yad=bālaḥ kurute kāryam=asvatantras=tath=aiva ca।
Akṛtam tad=iti prāhur=dharma-śāstro-vido janāḥ॥

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to the exposure of a dead body as by the Pársis in modern time (*Vedic Index*, vol. i, p. 395). Whitney's translation of the *Atharvaveda* clearly disproves Zimmer's view—"They that are buried, and they that are scattered away, they that are burned and they that are set up (*úddhitaḥ*)—all these Fathers, O Agni, bring thou to eat the oblation." (W. A. V. p. 840). The burial and the cremation certainly refer to dead bodies and no exception should be made in the case of exposure or setting up which no doubt refers also to dead bodies.

[1] xv, 2; S.B.E. vol. xiv, p. 75.
[2] viii, 299; S.B.E. vol. xxv, p. 306.
[3] viii, 416; S.B.E. vol. xxv, p. 326.
[4] i, 36; S.B.E. vol. xxxiii, p. 51.

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"If a boy or one who possesses no independence transact anything, it is declared an invalid transaction by persons acquainted with the law." [1]

But the actual facts did not coincide with the theory of law. The unqualified right of chastisement and corporal punishment soon declined into the power of restraint for ordinary delinquencies. The author of the earliest *Dharmsūtra*, Gautama,[2] disapproves of corporal punishment, while Āpastamba [3] never mentions corporal punishment even in the case of disobedient pupils. Manu in the passage quoted above (viii, 299) speaks of light punishment of a recalcitrant wife, son, slave, pupil or brother; but Manu in the very next passage strictly enjoins that they may be beaten with a rope or a thin bamboo—"on the back part of the body (only), never on a noble part; he who strikes them otherwise will incur the same guilt as a thief." [4] The liberty of selling children also fell into disuse before long. Even so early as Āpastamba we notice in his *Dharmaṣūtra* clear prohibition against the sale and purchase of children:—

Dānaṃ kraya-dharmaś = c = āpatyasya no vidyate ।

"The gift (or acceptance of a child) and the right to sell (or buy) a child are not recognized." [5]

Manu and Viṣṇu forbid abandonment of sons and ask both the father and the son not to forsake one another:—

Na mātā na pitā na strī na putras = tyāgam = arhati ।
Tyajann = apatitān = etān = rājña daṇḍyaḥ śatāni ṣaṭ ॥

"Neither a mother, nor a father, nor a wife, nor a son shall be cast off; he who casts them off, unless guilty of a crime causing loss of caste, shall be fined by the king 600 (*paṇas*).[6]

Pitṛ-putr-ācārya-yājya-ṛtvijām = any-ony-āpatita = tyāgī ca ।

"(Punishment is) also ordained for father and son, ... if one should forsake the other, provided that he has not been expelled from the caste." [7]

In the later *Dharmaśāstras* the alienation of sons is condemned as

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[1] 1, 39: S.B.E. vol. xxxiii, p. 52; Jolly's Ed. (Bib. Ind.), p. 59.
[2] 2, 43-44; S.B.E. vol. ii, p. 189.
[3] 1, 2, 8, 28; S.B.E. vol. ii, p. 32
[4] viii, 300; S.B.E. vol. xxv, p. 306.
[5] II, 6, 13, 11; S.B.E. vol, ii, p. 131; Bombay Ed. (1892), p. 72.
[6] *Manu*, VIII, 389; S.B.E. vol. xxv, p. 321.
[7] *Viṣṇu* V, 113; S.B.E. vol. vii, p. 34; Bib. Ind., p. 23.

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beyond the scope of paternal authority. Both Yājñavalkya and Nārada declare the son as one of the objects not fit to be given away. The former expressly declares that a son is unfit to be given :

Svaṃ kuṭumb-āvirodhena deyaṃ dāra-sutād=ṛte[1]

Compare another passage.[2]

Nārada says that there are eight kinds of things which "have been declared inalienable by the spiritual guides in the worst plight even," and he enumerates the son as one of these objects[3] :—

Anv-āhitaṃ yācitakam=ādhīḥ sādhāraṇaṃ ca yat।
Nikṣepaḥ putra=dāraṃ ca sarvasvaṃ c=ānvaye sati॥
Āpatsv=api hi kaṣṭāsu vartamānena dehinā।
Adeyāny=āhur=ācāryā yac=c=ānyasmai pratiśrutam॥

In the Vedic literature we have already noticed evidences of the distribution of the family property among the sons, but it depended upon the will of the father. Gautama, the author of the earliest *Dharmasūtra*, declares that the consent of the father is absolutely essential to a partition by the sons.[4] In his *Dharmasūtra* we find unmistakable evidence of a progressive step towards the restriction of the paternal power, when he speaks of sons dividing the family estate even against the father's wish.[5] This shows that in Gautama's time sons could enforce a partition even against the father, though they would thereby incur social ostracism, as Gautama says, that such sons should never be invited in social functions. Gautama further enjoins sons to cast off a father guilty of heinous offences like the murder of a king or of a Brāhmaṇa, divulging the *Vedas* etc.[6] The despotic powers of the father had thus been appreciably limited by the time of Gautama. The latter injunction of casting off a father guilty of a serious crime causing loss of caste is also repeated by later jurists, e.g. Vaśiṣṭha,[7] Viṣṇu,[8] Manu,[9] and Yājñavalkya.[10]

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[1] *Yājñavalkya*, II, 175 ; Stenzler's Ed. p. 64.

[2] *Pitā putra-śvasṛ-bhrātṛ-dampaty-ācārya-śiṣyakāḥ।*
Eṣām=apatit-āny-onya-tyāgī ca śata-daṇḍa-bhāk॥
Yājñavalkya, II, 237 ; Stenzler's Ed., p. 71.

[3] *Nārada* iv, 4–5 ; S.B.E. vol. xxxiii, p. 128 ; Bib. Ind. p. 137 ; cf. *Bṛhaspati* XV, 2; S.B.E. vol xxxiii, p. 342.

[4] XXVIII, 2; S.B.E. vol. ii, p. 299.

[5] XV, 19; S.B.E. vol. ii, p. 255.

[6] XX, 1; S.B.E. vol. ii, pp. 274–5

[7] XIII, 47; S B.E. vol. xiv, p. 67.

[8] V, 113 ; S.B.E. vol. vii, p. 34.

[9] VIII, 389 ; S.B.E. vol. xxv, p. 321.

[10] II, 237, Stenzler's Edition, p. 71.

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In the later *Dharmaśāstras* we find that partitions of the family estates during the father's lifetime and even against his will became more frequent. We have already noticed in Gautama's *Dharmasūtra*, that despite the danger of social ostracism partitions were enforced against the father. In Manu's Code we find that the *patria potestas* had become still more reduced to narrower limits as there are references to recalcitrant sons going to law against a father for the purpose of having a partition of the family property. Manu solemnly asks—almost in the same angry tone of Gautama—that "he who wrangles or goes to law with his father" (*pitrā vivadamānaḥ*) [1] should be avoided at sacrifices offered to the gods and to the manes.[2]

In order to harmonise the old law with the progress of society which was in favour of emancipating the dependant members of a family from the authority of the father or the elder brother, the Hindu jurists cleverly—though perhaps reluctantly—saved the situation by declaring that partition was desirable on spiritual grounds. In the earliest *Dharmasūtra* we get this significant passage :—

'*Vibhāge tu dharma-vṛdhiḥ* ।'

"In partition there is an increase of spiritual merit." [3]

To the same effect runs the injunction of Manu :—

Evaṃ saha vaseyur-vā pṛthag=vā dharma-kāmyayā ।
Pṛthag=vivardhate dharmas=tasmād=dharmyā pṛthak kriyā ॥

"Either let them (brothers) thus live together, or apart, if (each) desires (to gain) spiritual merit; for (by their living) separate (their) merit increases, hence separation is meritorious".[4]

Nārada enjoins separate religious ceremonies by the brothers after partition :—

Bhrātṛṇām=avibhaktānām=eko dharmaḥ pravartate ।
Vibhāge sati dharmo hi teṣāṃ bhavet=pṛthak pṛthak ॥

"Among unseparated brothers, the performance of religious duties is single. When they have come to a partition, they have to perform their religious duties each for himself." [5]

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[1] This expression has been interpreted by Medhātithi as referring to a son who forces a father to divide the family estate. 'पित्रा विवदमानश्च'—'पित्रा यो विवदते परुषं भाषते। राजकुले व्यवहारतीति।' Mandlik's Ed. Vol. I., p. 379.

[2] III, 159; S.B.E. vol. xxv, p. 105.

[3] *Gautama*, XXVIII. 4; S.B.E. Vol. II, p. 299; Mysore Ed. p. 438.

[4] *Manu*, IX, 111; S.B.E. vol. xxv, p. 347; Mandlik's Ed., II, p. 1170.

[5] *Nārada*, XIII, 37; S.B.E. vol. xxxiii, p. 198: Bib. Ind. p. 200.

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Bṛhaspati lays down an identical rule :—

"The worship of the manes, gods, and Brahmins by those residing (together) and cooking their food (in one house) is single. But when they divide the property, (the worship) takes place separately in each house." [1]

The gradual limitation of the despotism of the family patriarch is also noticeable in other directions. As has been already pointed out, the son under the fully developed *patria potestas* had no independent status of his own. Even death could not put an end to the obligations of a son to his father. On the death of the father the son had to clear all his debts and had to meet all the obligations of the deceased father, irrespective of any consideration of justice, propriety or morality. There are passages in the *Atharvaveda* (e.g. vi, 117–119) which indicate that a debt was a heritable interest and from this we can also conclude that it was likewise a heritable obligation which devolved upon the son.

In the earliest *Dharmasūtra* Gautama lays down :—

'*Ṛktha-bhājaḥ ṛnaṃ pratikuryuḥ* ' [2]

But law was to be harmonised with social necessities and opinions which supported the just demand of the son to liberate himself from the inequitable obligations of the deceased father. Thus we find that in the very next passage Gautama adds a saving clause :—

Prātibhāvya-vaṇik-śulka-madya-dyūta-daṇḍa na putrān = adhyābhaveyuḥ ।

He thus exempts the sons of the debtor from the payment of "money due by a surety, a commercial debt, a fee (due to the parents of the bride), debts contracted for spirituous liquor or in gambling" [3]

Vaśiṣṭha says: "A son need not pay money due by a surety, anything idly promised, money due for losses at play or for spirituous liquor, nor what remains unpaid of a fine or a toll." [4]

Manu gives this very rule almost in the same terms :—[5]

Prātibhāvyaṃ vṛthā-dānam = ākṣikaṃ saurikam ca yat ।
Daṇḍa-śulk-āvaśeṣam ca na putro dātum = arhati ॥

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[1] *Bṛhaspati*, XXV, 6 ; S.B.E. vol. xxxiii, p. 370–71.
[2] XII, 40 ; S.B.E. vol. ii, p. 241 ; Mysore Edition, p. 207.
[3] XII, 41 ; S.B.E. vol. ii, p. 241 ; Mysore Edition, p. 208.
[4] XVI, 31 ; S.B.E. vol. xiv, p. 82. [5] VIII, 159 ; S.B.E. vol. xxv, p. 282.

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But he adds another distinctly progressive clause :—

Darśana-prātibhāvye tu vidhiḥ syāt pūrva-coditaḥ ।
Dāna-pratibhuvi prete dāyādān=api dāpayet ॥

"The rule shall apply to the case of a surety for appearance (only) ; if a surety for payment should die, the (judge) may compel even his heirs to discharge the debt."[1]

Viṣṇu, a later jurist, furnishes rules indicating another stage in the progressive march towards the emancipation of the son from the patriarchal thraldom :—

Avibhaktaiḥ kṛtam=ṛṇaṃ yas=tiṣṭhet sa dadyāt ॥
Paitṛkam=ṛṇam=avibhaktānāṃ bhrātṛṇāṃ=ca ॥
Vibhaktāś=ca dāy-ānurūpam=aṃśam ॥

According to Viṣṇu the sons are liable to pay the debt of the father before partition, but after partition they shall severally pay in proportion to their shares of the inheritance.[2] He further lays down :—

Darśane pratyaye dāne prātibhāvyaṃ vidhīyate ।
Ādyau tu vitathe dapyāv=itarasya sutā api ॥

Thus he classifies sureties into three classes—(1) for appearance, (2) for honesty, and (3) for payment. While Manu exempted the payment of obligations only in the first case, Viṣṇu relieves the sons from any obligations under both the first and the second classes and makes the sons liable only under the third class.[3] Authors of the later *Dharmaśāstras* are also very liberal towards the sons :—

Surā-kāma-dyūta-kṛtaṃ daṇḍa-śulk-āvaśiṣṭakam ।
Vṛthā-dānaṃ tath-aiv=eha putro dadyān=na paitṛkam ॥

"A son is not to pay the debt, though contracted by the father, if it is contracted for the purpose of drinking, debauchery, or gambling, or if it is the residue of a fine or duty unrequited or anything idly promised."[4] Bṛhaspati lays down an analogous injunction[5] but goes even further than Viṣṇu or Yājñavalkya in one respect. He classifies sureties into four kinds—(i) for appearance, (ii) for competence, (iii) for payment, and (iv) for delivering the assets of the debtor. "The first says, 'I will produce (that man)'; the second

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[1] VIII, 160; S.B.E. vol. xxv, p. 282.
[2] VI, 34-36; S.B.E. vol. vii, p. 45; Bib. Ind., p. 31.
[3] VI, 41; S.B.E. vol. vii, p. 46; *Ibid.*
[4] *Yājñavalkya* II, 47; Stenzler's Edition, p. 50.
[5] XI, 51; S.B.E. vol. xxxiii, p. 329.

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says, 'He is a respectable man'; the third says, 'I will pay the debt'; the fourth says, 'I will deliver his assets.'" Only in the last two cases Bṛhaspati makes the sons of the sureties responsible for the discharge of their obligations, while in the first two cases the sureties themselves, and not their sons, are responsible.[1]

The Vedic father under the developed *patria potestas* had very wide powers in the transfer and devolution of the family property; as we have already noticed, the sons, when they grew up, sometimes divided the family property with the consent of the father. But the family generally lived together with undivided shares in the land and the son had very little independence with reference to property under the despotic authority of the family patriarch.[2] The word *dāya* occurs once in the *Ṛgveda* [3] but there it means "reward" (*śramasya dāyaṃ*) which means "reward of exertion" or, as Wilson has translated it, "alleviation of fatigue."[4] Later it means, "inheritance" and we first notice detailed rules regarding the inheritance of landed property in the *Dharmasūtras*,[5] when the *pater-familias* was being deprived of much of his authority.

The importance in the law of partition of the distinction between ancestral and self-acquired property appeared clearly from the *Viṣṇu Smṛti*.[6] Viṣṇu contrasts self-acquired property which a father may distribute according to his pleasure among his sons, with ancestral property, over which his right is not greater than that of the sons. Both Yājñavalkya[7] and Bṛhaspati[8] lay down that in property inherited from the grand-father the sons possess an equal right with the father.[9] This equal division is strongly advocated by other Hindu jurists, e.g. Vyāsa and Kātyāyana.

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[1] XI, 39-41; S B.E. vol. xxxiii, p. 327.

[2] In the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* there are passages (XIII, 6, 2, 18; XIII, 7, 1, 13–15) which deprecate gift of land as fee to priests—presumably because land was considered inalienable without the consent of the members of the family or the clan.

[3] X, 114, 10. [4] Wilson's Tr. vol. vi, p. 323.

[5] *Gautama*, xxviii; S.B.E. vol. ii, p. 302ff.
Baudhāyana, II, 2, 3; S.B.E. vol. xiv, p. 224ff.
Āpastamba, II, 6, 13–16; S.B.E. vol. ii, p. 130ff.
Vaśiṣṭha, XVII; S.B.E. vol. xiv, p. 84ff.

[6] XVII, 1–2; S.B.E. vol. vii, pp. 67–68.

[7] II, 121. [8] XXV, 3; S.B.E. vol. xxxiii, p. 370.

[9] According to the *Mitākṣarā* School which governs the majority of the Hindus in the modern times the son acquires from the very moment of his

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In the earliest period of ancient Indian history, the acquisition of the son was thrown into the stock of the family coparcenary and the son had no right to hold or acquire separate property of his own. Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba nowhere refer to such acquisitions which leads to the probable inference that they never contemplated the possibility of the sons claiming separate ownership over their own acquisitions free from the control of the *pater familias.* But gradually the rigour of the early law regarding the acquisitions of a son was mitigated. Vaśiṣṭha[1] says, "If one of the brothers has gained something by his own effort, he shall receive a double share." There is also a text of Kātyāyana under which the father is entitled only to a portion of the acquisition of a son.[2] But the right of the son to acquire property for himself gained early recognition and all the later Hindu jurists hold that whatever has been acquired by the individual effort of a single member, without prejudice to the family estate, shall not be given up by him to his co-heirs. Manu[3] says :—

Anupaghnan pitṛ-dravyaṃ śramena yad=upārjitam ।
Svayam-īhita-labdhaṃ tan-n=ākāmo dātum=arhati ॥

"What one (brother) may acquire by his labour without using the patrimony, that acquisition (made solely) by his own effort, he shall not share unless by his own will (with his brothers)." Viṣṇu lays down an identical rule—"What a brother has acquired by his own efforts, without using the patrimony, he must not give up (to his brothers or other co-heirs), unless by his own free will for it was gained by his own exertion."[4] Yājñavalkya is equally liberal towards the son in the recognition of his complete dominion and ownership over separate acquisitions.

Pitṛ-dravy-āvirodhena yad=anyat=svayam-arjitam ।
Maitram=audvāhikaṃ c=aiva dāyādānāṃ na tad=bhavet ॥

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birth an interest in the property of his father, which gives him in the case of ancestral property, a right to demand a partition even against the father.

[1] XVII, 51, S.B.E. vol. xiv, p. 89.

[2] Jīmūtavāhana gives the father a share in the property acquired by the son—"The father has a moiety of the goods acquired by the son as the charge of his estate; the son who made the acquisition has two shares; and the rest take one a piece. But if the father's estate have not been used, he has two shares; the acquirer as many; and the rest are excluded from participation." (*Dāyabhāga* Ch. II, 71).

[3] IX, 208; S.B.E. vol. xxv, p. 375.

[4] XVIII, 42; S.B.E. vol. vii, p. 74.

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"Without impairing the ancestral property, whatever else is acquired by one by one's exertions, whatever is got by one from one's friend or by one's marriage, shall not belong to the co-sharers." [1]

The ancient Roman father like his prototype in ancient India gradually lost his despotic powers. During the earlier period of Roman history the father had the power of life and death over his children and could modify their personal conditions at pleasure. He could marry and divorce his children and could sell or expose them.[2] Nor could the son acquire any separate property as the father was entitled to take the whole of his acquisitions. In the Imperial period the vestiges of all these powers were reduced within very narrow limits. The power of life and death was gone. In 318 A.D. Constantine condemned the father who killed his child to the punishment of parricide.[3] The unqualified right of domestic chastisement has become reduced to a right of bringing domestic offences under the cognisance of the civil magistrate. The privilege of dictating marriage has declined into a conditional veto. The liberty of selling children has disappeared.[4] A fictitious sale of a child was sometimes resorted to for the purpose of releasing the child from the *patria potestas*. Adoption can no longer be effected without the consent of the child concerned. The son can now have separate property and has full control over his peculium which was gradually released from the *patria potestas*. The history of the progressive and gradual relaxation of the father's control over the sons own acquisition is equally interesting both in ancient India as well as in ancient Rome. In Rome the first relaxation was made in the early years of the Empire (Augustus to Hadrian) when the acquisitions of soldiers on active service (*peculium castrense*) were withdrawn from the *patria potestas*. The same concession was then extended to the earnings of sons in employments of or about the courts (*peculium quasi-castrense*). Constantine next relieved the

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[1] II, 118, Stenzler's Edition, p 58.

[2] *The Twelve Tables*, Table No. IV., "Evolution of Law Series," vol. 1, Ch. XVIII, p. 466.

[3] Sandars, "*Institutes*" Lib. I. Tit. IX, p. 29.

[4] A law attributed to Numa forbade a man to sell a son he had permitted to marry (Muirhead, "*Roman Law*," p. 29n). Diocletian and Maximilian deprived the father of his liberty of selling children.

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property which the son inherited from his mother or received from strangers (*peculium adventitium*). Lastly, the privilege was extended to the acquisitions of the son not derived from the father's property (*peculium profectitium*) which Justinian included under the *peculium adventitium*. We find that this last stage of emancipation of the son's *peculium* from the *patria potestas*—as enjoined by Justinian—is identical with the final stage of the recognition of complete dominion and ownership over the separate acquisition of the son in ancient India—as noticed by Manu (IX, 208) and Yājñavalkya (II, 120). We notice in Justinian's "*Institutes*"[1] an echo of the old Roman boast which Gaius first expressed—"the power which we have over our children is peculiar to the citizens of Rome; for no other people have such power over their children as we have." But, in fact, the prerogative of the Roman father was ultimately narrowed down and limited to moderate chastisement—(as it was the case in ancient India)—the authority which is but a natural emanation of paternal relationship.

Though the power of the father in ancient patriarchal societies was originally absolute, the rule of the *paterfamilias* was really a benevolent despotism. The very absence of legal sanctions and of independent rights made the moral checks peculiarly strong. The ancient family was an isolated, self-existent unit. The source of the unity of the family was the *patria potestas*, which fostered devotion to hearth and home and loyalty to one another. The ancient family was really an *imperium in imperio* governed by the father. The authority of the *gṛhapati* or the *paterfamilias* was supreme in the family. He was the patriarch of the family—the ruler, the guide, the legislator and the judge.[2] His word was law which the dependent members could never venture to disobey or interfere with. His was, therefore, a glorified individuality which embraced many within the sphere of its despotic interests and which produced a deep sense of moral and religious responsibility towards the weak and the helpless and a stern unyielding attitude towards every man who would infringe upon their rights.[3] The *potestas* was, therefore, tempered by filial affection on one side and by parental piety on the

[1] I, 9, 2, borrowed from Gaius (I, 55).

[2] Seneca speaks of the *paterfamilias* as *judex domesticus* (Muirhead, "*Roman Law*," p. 32).

[3] Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*.

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other and thus the danger of an arbitrary exercise of the despotic authority of the father was obviated to a great extent. With the progress of society—as we follow the slow evolution from the tribal state to the territorial state we find that the ancient father—both in ancient India and in ancient Rome—was shorn of most of his prerogatives and thus the stringency of the *patria potestas* was considerably mitigated.[1]

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[1] See in this connection my paper on "*Primogeniture in Ancient India,*" published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

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ECONOMIC CULTURE AS DEPICTED IN VĀLMĪKI'S RĀMĀYAṆA.

By J. N. SAMADDAR, B.A.

General Remarks.

In a paper, which I have contributed to the *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume*, on "*Some Economic Teachings of the Mahābhārata*," I have tried to draw a picture of the economic condition of ancient India as revealed in the great Epic. I propose to draw up here a short picture of the economic culture as portrayed in the Sister-Epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. It is not necessary for me, here, to discuss any question relating to the age of this Epic; neither, do I think it expedient to take up the question how much of this national poem pervading with the same spirit as the *Mahābhārata*, was the production of only one man or whether it is simply "an artificial epic,"[1] though it has been admitted to be "homogeneous in plan and execution."[2] But, whatever may be the divergence in view regarding such questions, no difference has arisen regarding its great popularity even down to the present day. Neither has its historical value, as the first "literary record of the passing of the Aryans beyond the Vindhya mountains, the southern boundary of *Āryāvarta* and their penetration by armed force into Southern India,"[3] been questioned.

I have to-day taken up the book as it is now presented to the civilized world (though I have avoided, as a rule, references to the *Bālakāṇḍam* which is considered to be spurious), gleaning what materials I have found regarding economic culture as depicted in it. At the outset, however, I must frankly confess that the materials at our disposal are not so abundant as I have been able to glean from the *Mahābhārata*, and that the economic culture of the *Rāmāyaṇa* period seems to be more primitive than what we find in the other. This is in perfect keeping with what Dr. Macdonell observed, when he said, that, "the original part of the *Rāmāyaṇa* appears to have been completed at a time when the epic kernel of the *Mahā-*

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[1] Macdonell: *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, page 281.
[2] *Ibid.* [3] Havell: *Aryan Rule in India.*

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bhārata had not as yet assumed definite shape."[1] True it is that even here, wealth signified not merely coins,[2] but it consisted of horses, elephants, woollen sheets, and deer skins as well,[3] just as we find in the *Mahābhārata*,[4] where paddy and oats, gems and beasts were included along with horses, elephants, kine, and gold as wealth,[5] showing that even in those early days *artha* had practically the same sort of meaning what wealth means in modern day economic phraseology. Kine, even then, was very likely the medium of exchange,[6] signifying certainly a primitive stage of society. The price of a particular cow is also mentioned in terms of kine.[7] Indeed, in almost all the passages which I have been able to collect, though gold and silver[8] are mentioned and I take it that these are generally silver and gold coins,[9] importance has been invariably given to kine. King Daśaratha does give gold and silver but he does it along with ten lacs of kine.[10] When the king gives away the four quarters of the world to the sacrificial priests, they want as price thereof gems or gold but preferably kine. The king is indeed spoken of as dispensing with *dakṣiṇās* profusely but he does it along with hundreds and thousands of kine.[11] His daughter-in-law, the inimitable Sītā also evidently attached more importance to kine than to gold or silver, for in addressing the Ganges,[12] as well as the Kāliṇdī,[13] to propitiate them, she promises to offer thousands of kine. Certainly if she had liked and if gold and silver had been the general media of exchange, she would not have laid particular importance to the kine. We are told again that the banks of the Gomatī were filled with kine.[14] When Rāma was giving away his wealth, he rewarded the Brāhmaṇa Triṭaṭā with cows and bullocks,[15]

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1 Macdonell: *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 306.

2 Compare *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍam* v and also *Ayodhyā* c.

3 *Ayodhyā* lxx.

4 Compare *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhā Parvan*: Gambling scenes. Also *Ādi*, lxxxv.

5 Manufactures and produce of the land were also included.

6 *Bāla* liii. Subsequent references will show that they are referred to in some other *kāṇḍas* as well.

7 *Ibid.* cf. *J.R.A.S.* 1901 (p. 876) where Mrs. Rhys Davids speaks of reckoning values of things by cows.

8 *Bāla.* xiv. *Ayodhyā* lxx.

9 Prof. Bhandarkar considers the references in the *Bālakāṇḍam* to be very likely *Dinars*, evidently on the ground that this *kāṇḍa* was of later day.

10 *Ibid.* 11 *Ibid.* Also *Kiṣkindhyā* v. 12 *Ayodhyā* lii.

13 *Ibid.*, lv. 14 *Ayodhyā* xlix. 15 *Ayodhyā* xxxii.

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though we find him giving away golden coins[1] as well. We also meet with the celebrated *Niṣkas*[2] which figure prominently from the Vedic age. We see king Kaikeya giving two thousand *Niṣkas* to Bharata. Certainly these *Niṣkas* were coins and to these may be very well applied the oft quoted remarks of the authors of the *Vedic Index* that these could hardly be required for purposes of personal adornment.[3]

As in the *Mahābhārata*, so here also we find, *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma* are enjoined to be enjoyed equally.[4] Rāma asked Bharata whether he was doing so, just as we find in the sister Epic Yudhiṣṭhira being questioned repeatedly on the same topic. We also find Kumbhakarṇa admonishing Rāvaṇa and telling him that as the king had not pursued seasonably these three things, he was to come by calamity.[5] But while in the *Mahābhārata* the king was asked whether in the last division of the night he reflected both over *dharma* and *artha*,[6] here we find Rāma enquiring of Bharata whether the latter revolved on the means of acquiring *wealth* only during the short hours of the night. But in spite of this, the advice of Kumbhakarṇa that a king who pursued seasonably righteousness or profit or desire or any two or all these combined truly, had understanding, is indeed significant and reflects the spirit of the time showing that it was becoming more materialistic which we find more fully developed in the *Mahābhārata*.

After having made some general remarks we pass on to make some observations on some particular topics.

Agriculture.

The first point which we take up first is the question of agriculture, the main industry of the people from the Aryan settlement down to the present age. As usual, importance is attached to this matter, here also. The king of the *Rāmāyaṇa* like the king of the *Mahābhārata*,[7] was required to understand three kinds of learning namely, *Vedas*, *Agriculture*, and *Commerce*. And the question asked of Bharata by Rāma, whether the agriculturists and the cowherds

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1 *Ibid.* 2 *Bāla* vi. *Ayodhyā* lxx. 3 *Vedic Index*. Vol. I, p. 454.
Prof. Bhandarkar's *Carmichael Lectures* 1921, page 64, may also be referred to in this connection.

4 *Ayodhyā* c. 5 *Laṅkākāṇḍam* 63.

6 *Sabhā* v. 85, 86. Also *Ādi* ccxxiv. 7 II. 5.

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found favour in Bharata's sight is not only significant but certainly reminds one of the question which was asked of Yudhiṣṭhira by the great saint Nārada.[1] The cultivators and cowherds[2] were to enjoy happiness and the king was to secure unto them, what they wished for and remove from them what they did not like. Ayodhyā is represented as full of cultivators,[3] abounding in paddy and rice, the staple crops of those days[4] as well as of these. The king is represented as boasting of his kingdom abounding in corn.[5] Villages are described as having ploughed fields on their skirts.[6]

Not only the capital but the kingdom of Kośala as a whole abounded with corn,[7] while the king of Mithilā is described as engaged in ploughing[8] and finding out Sītā, showing significantly the importance of agriculture.[9] A Brāhmaṇa is seen earning his livelihood by digging the earth with spades and ploughs[10] and evidently no stigma is attached to his action, though with the advance of the society, as in the *Mahābhārata*, we note how a Brāhmaṇa's taking to agriculture was condemned[11]—a fact which also seems to prove that the society described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, was more primitive than that described in the *Mahābhārata*.

Famines seemed to be in evidence, though we are told that during the reign of Rāma, the people were to be free from the fear of famine.[12] The fact, however, that the king was to have a clear idea regarding the prevention of famine shows that famines were not unknown even in those days.[13] We are also informed that drought overtook the neighbouring kingdom of the king Romapāda. The reason why this took place is significant from the view of political philosophy,[14] the evil referred to coming in consequence of some default on the part of the king—a point which we propose to take up later on.

Arts and Industries.

The age had made sufficient progress so far as the arts were concerned. The artisans enjoyed special privileges and it is on record in the *Rāmāyaṇa* that some of the higher craftsmen, specially those engaged in the canons of the rituals, the *Śilpaśāstras*, enjoyed a very

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1 *Sabhā* 577 and 578. 2 *Ibid.* 3 *Ayodhyā* lxviii. 4 *Bāla* 5.
5 *Ayodhyā* III, 14. 6 *Ibid.*, xlii. 7 *Ayodhyā* lxxv. 8 *Bāla* lxvi.
9 Cf. R. C. Dutt: *A History of Civilization in Ancient India*, p. 39.
10 *Ayodhyā* xxxiii. 11 Cf. *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhā* xii, 91.
12 *Bāla* i. 13 *Ayodhyā* c. 14 *Bāla* ix.

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high social status. Similarly those employed in irrigation works and in the preparation of public buildings enjoyed high privileges. Ayodhyā was inhabited by all classes of them[1] and they had to be specially entertained.[2] They seemed to have been specially protected and just as we find in the *Mahābhārata*[3] and as advocated by Kauṭilya,[4] forts were required to be provided with them.[5] In the interesting list of trades which we get in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[6] we find mention of various classes of artisans along with various other traders who evidently contributed to the welfare of the capital and the king, as well as of the people, along with others who helped in the formation and development of the economic life of the people. The list is a long one reminding one of the suggestive list put forward by Ajātaśatru, the king of Magadha, when he made his only call upon the Buddha but is worth mentioning. It is mentioned when the traders formed themselves into a body and went out of Ayodhyā to meet the Prince, and is as follows:—

A good number of jewellers, expert and agreeable pot makers, persons skilled in machinery and the use of weapons; a band of fowlers, piercers of objects, dentists, extractors of wine, perfume dealers; renowned goldsmiths, physicians, wine keepers, incense worshippers; washermen, weavers, painters, charioteers, bards, eulogists, peasants, makers of ramparts, makers of instruments, artisans, dealers in bellmetal vessels, cultivators, shop-keepers, fruit-sellers, garland makers, planters, expert in brickworks, curd keepers, and vendors, sellers of meat, dealers in lime, badge makers, cotton sellers, bow makers, thread sellers, expert in the manifold use of weapons, shoe-makers, blacksmiths, makers of iron bars and bows, skilful chemists, knowers of past, present and future; brass and copper dealers, barbers, and actors. We cannot say definitely whether these constituted the guilds of those days, although they may have formed so. The guilds are mentioned,[7] though as usual unfortunately their distinct names are not mentioned.

Some references which I have been able to collect give us a clear indication of the advance made in the various arts. Shafts were decked with gold,[8] and occasionally feathered shafts were also plated with gold,[9] while instances of bows decked with gold were also not

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1 *Bāla* v. 2 *Ibid.*, xiii. 3 *Sabhā* v. 35. 4 *Arthaśāstra.*
5 *Ayodhyā* c. 6 II. 90. 7 *Ayodhyā* lxvii.
8 *Kiṣkindhyā* viii. 9 *Āraṇyaka* iii, xxi and xl.

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rare.[1] Coats of mail,[2] gold hilted scimitar,[3] and golden armours,[4] show the progress made by the artisans in the process of manufacturing armours.

Not only the arts connected with war but in domestic utensils also progress could be noticed. Gold, silver and bell-metal vessels[5] were in use, while vessels made with burnished gold with silver covers,[6] show not only the wealth and luxury of the age but prove also the development of the artisan. Bangles studded with gems,[7] elegant ornaments,[8] garlands of well melted gold,[9] and pendants of pure gold,[10] typify the improvement in the art of the goldsmith referred to in the long list of trades, while cars decked in gold were also not wanting.[11]

And finally, the description of the palace of Rāvaṇa ornamented with plastered jewelled pavements studded with all gems, crystals and pearls with elephants of burnished gold and speckless white silver, girt round by a mighty golden wall, furnished with golden doors, with beautiful golden stairs embellished with ornaments of burnished gold, with lofty edifices having excellent windows made of ivory and silver, covered with golden nets show how the art of the artisan had progressed and remind one of the palace of the "City of the Fairest" near Cordova displaying the wealth and the taste of the Khālifs of Spain of a very late age. Well might Hanumān acclaim when seeing the bedchamber of the Ceylonese king, of its jewelled staircase, illumined with heaps of gems, with its terraces of crystal and statues of ivory, pearls, diamonds, coral, silver and gold, adorned with jewelled pillars, that this must be *Svarga*, or the abode of the immortals.[12]

Textile Industries.

But if progress had been made in arts, greater advancement had undoubtedly been made in the art of textile industries. Silk dress was very much in demand, and figured prominently. This would be evident from some of the instances quoted below. Sītā when going to Daṇḍaka wore silk,[13] and even when in Daṇḍaka she appeared in silk. Surrounded and oppressed by *ceṭis*, suffering from the

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1 *Sundara* xlvii. 2 *Ayodhyā* xl. 3 *Āraṇyaka* xliv. 4 *Ibid.*
5 *Kiṣkindhyā* l and *Bāla* lxxiii. 6 *Bāla* xvi. 7 *Āraṇyaka* lii.
8 *Ibid.*, liv. 9 *Ayodhyā* ix. 10 *Āraṇyaka* li. 11 *Ibid.*, xlix.
12 *Sundara* ix. 13 *Ayodhyā* vi, xx, xxxii, lxv.

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pangs of separation from her dear lord we are surprised to find her clad in silk.[1] Rāvaṇa came to her while she was in the forest clad in silk[2] and in describing her he spoke of Sītā as dressed in silk.

Indeed, silk dress seems to have been in vogue. On the occasion of the marriage of Sītā, Janaka gave among other presents a large quantity of silk dress.[3] The queens of Daśaratha were clothed in silk when they welcomed Sītā as a bride,[4] while we find Rāma and Śītā clad in silk at home[5] and even an ordinary nurse is seen clad in silk dress.[6] Bharata put on a dress of silk when he went out of the capital to meet Rāma in the forest.[7] We have already mentioned the fact of Rāvaṇa's going to Śītā clad in silk; we further find him sleeping with a dress of yellowish silk,[8] while after his death he was decked in silk before cremation.[9] Other stuffs were also in evidence. Common cloth was of course in use,[10] along with ordinary linen garments,[11] as well as silver and golden robes,[12] excellent yellow cloth made of golden fibres,[13] while coverlets studded with jewels,[14] were also not rare.

Shepherds were particularly mentioned as residing in the capital.[15] Woollen stuffs were in evidence both in Ayodhyā,[16] as well as in Kiṣkindhyā.[17] Woollen sheets were also used,[18] along with woollen carpets made of the fleece of the deer,[19] while covered blankets were in evidence as well.[20] Spacious and parti-coloured woollen cloth figured in the bed-room of Rāvaṇa,[21] and other evidences were also not wanting in to show the wealth of textile industry.

Commerce.

Commerce indicates not only the progress which a nation or a country makes but also the connection which it has with the other countries or nations of the world. As I have already observed, the king of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is enjoined to learn three kinds of learning namely *Vedas*, *Agriculture* and *Commerce*. That shows the importance which was attached to commerce though the list of countries having commercial connection with Ayodhyā does not appear to be

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1 *Āraṇyaka* lxvi. 2 *Ibid.* 3 *Bāla* lxxiv. 4 *Bāla* lxxvii.
5 *Ayodhyā* xxxvii and also lxxix. 6 *Ayodhyā* vii. 7 *Ayodhyā* lxxxix.
8 *Sundara* x. 9 *Ibid.*, cxiii. 10 *Kiṣkindhyā*. 11 *Ayodhyā*.
12 *Sundara*. 13 *Ibid.* 14 *Ibid.* 15 *Ayodhyā* lxvii.
16 *Bāla* lxxiii. 17 *Kiṣkindhyā* l. 18 *Ayodhyā* lxx. 19 *Ibid.*
20 *Ayodhyā* xxx. 21 *Sundara* ix.

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very long. Traders however did come from other lands with various kinds of merchandise to Ayodhyā,[1] which was also inhabited by merchants of various lands.[2] We also note that opulent traders graced the army of the prince,[3] when Rāma was proceeding towards the forest but the want of details is due possibly to the fact that the king of Ayodhyā possessed only a small territory. Instances are not rare, of persons ranging over the sea,[4] or of merchants trafficking beyond the sea to bring presents to the king.[5] Here we note of course, some paucity of details, specially in comparison with the very long list which we find in the *Sabhā-Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata.* That even an inland-king like Guhaka could command hundreds of *Kaivarta* young men to lie in wait to obstruct the enemy's passage with five hundred ships which though fit for a naval fight were very likely employed for trading purposes as well, shows the trading propensity of the people of those days. The directions given by Sugrīva, to the monkey leaders for the search of Sītā, mentioning various places where Rāvaṇa could have concealed her, are significant as indicating the names of places which were then known to the people of Southern India and which probably enjoyed commercial connection with that portion of the continent. The leaders of the monkeys were urged to go to the cities and mountains in lands in the sea,[6] showing that they had maritime commercial connection with these places. They were also ordered to go to the land of *Kośakāras*,[7] about which attempts have been made to identify with China which is said to have produced silk worms. The *Yavana Dvīpa*, whatever it may refer to (we have no indication to know whether this reference is spurious) and *Suvarṇa Dvīpa* which has been identified with Java and Sumatra were not excluded. Mention is also made of *Lohita-Sāgara* which probably referred to the Red Sea of the modern day and might probably refer also to the Erythrean Sea of the ancient. Making all allowances we may come to the conclusion that commerce had attained some degree of progress.

My brief and incomplete references to questions relating to economic culture would be still more incomplete if I do not refer to the important question relating to the economic connection between the king and his subjects, a subject which I have dealt with at

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1 *Ayodhyā* lxvi. 2 *Bāla* v. 3 *Ayodhyā* xxxvi.
4 *Ayodhyā* lxxii. 5 *Ibid.* 6 *Kiṣkindhyā* xl. 7 *Ibid.*

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large in my paper on "*Economic Teachings of the Mahābhārata*" accepted for the *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume*. I can here refer briefly to some of the statements in the *Rāmāyaṇa* concerning this important question.

Great importance has been attached by Prof. Hopkins in his "*The Position of the Ruling caste*,"[1] to the passage in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in *Ayodhyā Kāṇḍam*, "Are thy incomings great and outgoings slender?"[2] He has considered this passage along with other passages in the *Mahābhārata* and has observed, "The possibility of the kingdom's existing without taxation seems specially to irritate the compilers of the Epic. They revert to the subject again and again and prove that the king must have wealth; his army, his happiness, his virtue depend on it. As a robe conceals a woman's nakedness, so does wealth conceal sin; therefore let him get wealth, even if he be so sinful." And he goes on to explain the twelfth book in his own way and says that it means that "let the kings tax the people they rule as much as they can; for poverty is a crime."

I regret that misconception exists regarding many matters relating to ancient India. Commentators, take up detached passages and I may venture to add, come to conclusions. Prof. Hopkins has himself admitted that in the Epic all taxation more than legal was decried. We find that the king was to impose taxes gradually and with mildness. We see how Rāma was told that "the sin of that monarch is mighty that taketh a sixth part of the subjects' incomes but doth not protect them as sons."[3] We also find that the king that protected his subjects righteously was entitled to a fourth part of the great religious merit reaped by an ascetic,[4] an injunction which was practically repeated in the *Uttarakāṇḍam* that a king who ruled well, enjoyed the sixth part of the merits of his subjects.[5] And therefore it follows that the king who failed to rule well did not enjoy the merits of his subjects.

The idea was that by exacting taxes for the subjects but failing to do this duty, the king was robbed of his merits and all sins of his subjects devolved in him. That was a very important consideration in those days when very great importance was paid to rules of religion which decided all the important questions of the day.

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[1] *J.A.O.S.* Vol. XIII. [2] Chap C. [3] *Āraṇyaka* vi.
[4] *Āraṇyaka* lviii. [5] *Uttara* lxxiv.

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POSITION OF THE BRĀHMAṆA IN KAUṬILYA.

By HEMCHANDRA RAY, M.A.

The determination of the true position of the Brāhmaṇa in ancient Indian polity has been always an interesting problem. But so long its solution was made difficult by the use of sectarian literature which often preserve for us not the true picture of the society but the state of things the sects themselves wished to prevail. Thus while the Brāhmaṇical texts claim "a Brāhmaṇa be he ignorant or learned" to be equal to a great divinity,[1] the Buddhist texts[2] are often found emphasizing the shamelessness or the greed of the Brāhmaṇa. Again while Āpastamba holds,[3] that a Brāhmaṇa of ten years stands in the relation of a father to a Kṣatriya of a hundred years, Buddha is found engaged in a serious discussion to establish the unquestioned superiority of even a fallen Kṣatriya over the Brāhmaṇas.[4]

It has been long held that the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya is a true mirror of the political and social conditions of India in the 4th century B.C. But its chief merit seem to lie in its non-sectarian character. Though written by a Brāhmaṇa the treatise is throughout distinguished by the want of undue partiality to the Brāhmaṇas. Indeed the Brāhmaṇas are assigned no prominence in the *Arthaśāstra*. As an illustration to corroborate this might be quoted the following lines from the *Kauṭilīya*[5] :—

tasmāddevatāśrama pāṣaṇḍaśrotriya paśupuṇyasthānānāṃ bālavṛddhavyādhitavyasanyanāthāṃ strīṇāṃ ca krameṇa kāryāṇi paśyet.

Here it will be observed that the author gives the business of the *Pāṣaṇḍāḥ* (heretical sects) preference over that of the *Śrotriyaḥ*. Moreover the fact that Kauṭilya did not scruple to levy taxes even upon the income of idols and gods[6] at once raises him far above

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[1] S.B.E. vol. xxv. *The Laws of Manu.* ix, 317.

[2] *Jātakas*, Ed. by Fausböll, iv, 96; i, 425; Richard Fick. *Die Sociale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien zu Budda's Zeit.* Trans. p. 183.

[3] S.B.E. vol. ii. *Sacred Laws.* i, 14, 25; vol. xxv. *The Laws of Manu.* ii, 135.

[4] *Dialogues of Buddha*, Trans by Rhys Davids Part I, pp. 97 et seq.

[5] *Kauṭilīyam Arthaśāstram*, 1919, p. 39.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 60 and 244.

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the level in which a Brāhmaṇa might be swayed by his caste prejudices. Now once the non-sectarian character of the treatise is admitted the inferences based on it assume a great importance. Any student who has even cursorily read the book knows that the author was fully acquainted with the geographical, economic and social condition of the whole of India. This is nothing surprising and is rather to be expected from one who was at the helm of a pan-Indian empire. Thus the position of the Brāhmaṇa in Kauṭilya being free from any subjective bias on the part of the author and being referable to the whole of India during the period roughly from B.C. 321 to 296 forms one of the most important landmarks in the evolution of ancient Indian polity. The above considerations I hope fully justifies my present attempt.

In the *Kauṭilīya* all the four castes together with some mixed ones, the result of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages, are recognized.[1] The taking of all possible measures to protect the institution of the four castes (*caturvarṇa*) is considered to be one of the essential duties of the State[2] which also assigned different places for their residence.[3] In a fortified city the Brāhmaṇas were placed to the north of the royal palace.[4] In the chapter on *Vidyāsamuddeśa*[5] Kauṭilya gives us a list of the duties of the four castes. Those of the Brāhmaṇa are said to be study, teaching, performance of sacrifice, officiating in others sacrificial performance and the giving and receiving of gifts. It will be noticed that the above does not differ in any way from the orthodox standpoint. It is not possible to state whether all the Brāhmaṇas carried out the duties recorded above. From the nature of our source we should not expect any detailed illustration of the point. But from the fact that the State provided forests to the Brāhmaṇas for *soma* plantation and performance of penances and also from the frequent occurrence of words *vānaprastha*, *brahmacārī*, *yati*, *parivrājakaḥ*, etc., it would appear that at least some did follow the prescribed routine of life.[6]

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[1] *Arthaśāstra*. pp. 7, 165; S.B.E. vol. xxv. *The Laws of Manu*. x, 8–49. Kauṭilya accepts the theory of cross marriages in order to explain away the infusion of new elements in the Hindu social system. The new elements seem to have had either an ethnic or professional significance as the names of some of the so-called mixed castes such as Māgadha, Vaidehaka or Kuśilava indicate.

[2] *Arthaśāstra*. p. 150. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 54–56. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 7; S.B.E. vol. xxv. *The Laws of Manu*. i, 88; x, 75.

[6] *Arthaśāstra*. pp. 16, 20, 48, 49, 191, etc. Notice should also be taken in this

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A considerable section of the Brāhmaṇas however appear to have been in the service of the king. From the chapter on *Bhṛtyabharaṇīyam* it appears that amongst the Brāhmaṇas in the employment of the king the most important were the *Ācārya*, *Ṛtvik* and the *Purohita*, each of whom obtained the highest amount of subsistence, viz. 48,000 *paṇas* per annum.[1] In addition to their salary the State also granted them *Brahmadeya* lands free from taxes and fines.[2] In a fortified town the *Ācārya*, *Purohita* and probably also the *Ṛtvik* occupied sites east by north to the palace.[3] The requisite qualification for a *Purohita* are laid down by Kauṭilya[4] as follows :—

Purohitamuditoditakulaśīlam ṣaḍaṅge vede daive nimitte daṇḍanītyāṃ ca abhivinītamāpadāṃ daivamānuṣīṇāṃ atharvabhirūpāyaiśca pratikartāraṃ kurvīta. Tamācāryaṃ śiṣyaḥ pitaram putro bhṛtyassvāminamiva cānuvarteta.

The importance of the *Purohita* is clear from the last portion of the above quotation where the king is asked to follow him even as a student his teacher, a son his father and a servant his master. It would be interesting if we could know the causes of this importance of the *Purohita*. The following *śloka*[5] which Kauṭilya places immediately after the above statement seems however to be significant.

Brāhmaṇenaidhitaṃ kṣatraṃ mantrimantrābhimantritam jayatyajitamatyantaṃ śāstrānugama śastritam.[6]

Here a very important condition of the prosperity of the Kṣatriyas is said to be bringing up by the Brāhmaṇas. Is it possible then that Kauṭilya regarded the *Purohita* in the kings ministry as a representative of the Brāhmaṇas and of Brāhmanic culture? Though this is probable the internal evidence is not sufficient to enable us to pronounce a definite opinion on this point. However the question whether the importance of the *Purohita* was due to

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connection of the fact that Kauṭilya lays down rules for the division of the sacrificial fees of co-operating priests (*yājakāḥ*), p. 186.

[1] *Arthaśāstra* p. 247. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 46. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 15–16. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 16. See in this connection *Manu.* ix, 322.

[6] In the *śloka* the word '*edhitaṃ*' is taken by Dr. Shamasastry in the sense of 'bringing up.' See his translation of the text p. 17. But this seems to be doubtful. Here I accept his meaning only hypothetically. I shall try to suggest a better sense in my *Caste in Kauṭilīya* that is shortly going to be published in the *Indian Antiquary*.

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his office or to his caste will continue to attract notice. That his importance was greatly due to his office is clear from the above list of qualifications which can safely be taken as a true index to the duties he was called upon to perform. It is apparent that his duties were separate from that of the *Ṛtvik* and the *Ācārya*. Probably he was in general supervision of all the social and religious ceremonies connected with the State. But it appears that sometimes he actually undertook the performance of more important functions. Thus while the *Ṛtvijaḥ* offered the requisite oblations to Indra and Bṛhaspati when the queen (*mahiṣī*) was in her courses (*ṛtumatī*) the *Purohita* had to perform the prescribed purificatory ceremonies when she was delivered of a prince.[1] Our contention is further supported by the following[2] :—

Purohitamayājyayājanādhyāpane niyuktamamṛṣyamānam rājā avakṣipet.

The above quotation also proves that he had occasionally to undertake the teaching of the *Vedas* at the command of the king. In addition to the above duties the *Purohita* was also connected with the actual administration of the State. He was as we have seen well versed in the science of government (*daṇḍanīti*).[3] We are told that the king while testing his *amātyas* by means of various temptations (*upadhābhiḥ*) had to be assisted by the *Mantrī* and the *Purohita* (*mantri purohitasakhaḥ*).[4] In times of war the *Purohita* in company with the *Mantri* had to encourage and inspire the army.[5] But the chief duty of the *Purohita* probably lay in his skill in reading all sorts of portents and his proficiency in the *Atharvan* lore. Even a casual reader of the *Arthaśāstra* must have observed in it the extensive use of astrology and other magical ceremonies connected with the *Atharvaveda*.[6] Every public event of importance be it the entry of the king into his court or an attack on the enemy forces or the prevention of some national calamities had generally to be preceded by various magical ceremonies which must have required the services of the *Purohita*.

Besides the above three Brāhmaṇa officials there appears to have been a host of others generally engaged in sacrifice, foretelling, reading of omens, astrology, sorcery, etc. But these were not the only activities in which the Brāhmaṇas were engaged under the State.

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[1] *Arthaśastra* p. 33. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 16. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 15. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 368. [6] *Arthaśāstra* pp. 19, 38, 210, 211, 247, 248, 368, 395, 418–25, etc.

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Poor widows of Brāhmaṇa caste who were very clever and desirous of earning their livelihood were recruited as *parivrājikā* spies in the *Sañcārāḥ* section of the Intelligence Department.[1] It is also probable that some of the institutes of the *Saṃsthāḥ* section—the *Udāsthita* or the *Tāpasavyañjana* for example counted many Brāhmaṇas amongst their number.[2] It is however to be noted that there is nothing in Kauṭilya to indicate that the social status of an informer suffered as it undoubtedly did in later times.[3] On the contrary we are told that the five institutes of espionage were honoured by the king with awards of money and titles.[4]

It is evident that the Brāhmaṇas were also employed in the risky and delicate task of diplomatic negotiations between different States. The *dūtas* as a class seem to have been recruited from the Brāhmaṇas. This is proved from the following passage in Kauṭilya which was used by the *dūtas* to propitiate a displeased enemy king :—*Tasmād-uddhṛteṣvapi śastreṣu yathoktaṃ vaktārasteṣāmantāvasāyinoḥpyavadhyāḥ. Kimaṅga punabrāhmaṇa.*[5]

Brāhmaṇas served also as soldiers. Kauṭilya discusses the merits and demerits of armies composed of Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras (*Brāhmaṇakṣatriyavaiśyaśūdrasainyānāṃ*). The former *ācāryas* gave the preference to the Brāhmaṇa army. But considering all points of view Kauṭilya recommends the enlistment of armies composed of Kṣatriyas trained in the art of wielding weapons.[6] Besides the above there must have been other professions which engaged the Brāhmaṇas. But our text supplies us with very little information on the point. It is quite evident however from what we have already gleaned out that the Brāhmaṇa caste at the period was anything but a body of men engaged exclusively in the study or teaching of the sacred literature and in sacrifices to the gods.

In ancient Indian polity the Brāhmaṇas appear to have always held more or less a privileged position. According to Kauṭilya Brāhmaṇas were to be provided by the State with forests for *soma* plantation, for religious learning and for the performance of penance. Such forests were named after the *gotra* of the Brāhmaṇas resident therein.[7] The *śrotriyas* were granted *Brahmadeya* lands which were free from taxes.[8] But in case these lands were sold or mortgaged

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 20. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19.
[3] S.B.E. vol. xxv. *The Laws of Manu.* iii, 161 ; iv, 214 ; xi, 50.
[4] *Arthaśāstra.* p. 19. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[6] *Arthaśāstra.* p. 345. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 49 [8] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

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to those who were not endowed with similar tenures then the original holder was punished with the first amercement.[1] The *śrotriyas* also enjoyed the following fiscal and legal privileges :—

(i) Consumption of salt free from any *śulka* (toll).[2]

(ii) Appropriation of ripe fruits and flowers for the worship of gods and rice and barley for the performance of *Agrayaṇa* sacrifice (from crown lands).[3]

(iii) Permission to reside in charitable institutions when the persons concerned were of reliable character.[4]

(iv) Immunity of property from escheat.[5]

(v) Exemption from appearing as witnesses except in the case of transactions in ones own community.[6]

(vi) Safety of property from adverse prescriptory rights.[7]

(vii) A claim of receiving back their goods (*dravyam*) lent, in preference to everyone else except the king.[8]

(viii) Exemption of property from additional taxation or confiscation by the State in times of financial trouble.[9]

The above privileges as we have said were enjoyed only by the *śrotriyas*. But the Brāhmaṇas as class enjoyed the following privileges :—

(i) Provision of free passes to cross rivers.[10]

(ii) Freedom from the payment of dues while passing military stations.[11]

(iii) Immunity from torture to elicit confession.[12]

(iv) Freedom from corporal punishment like whipping, etc. (*sarvāparādheṣvapīḍanīyo brāhmaṇa*).[13]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 171. In the case of *pūrvasāhasadaṇḍa* or the 1st amercement the fine ranged from 48 to 96 *panas*, see p. 192.

[2] *Arthaśāstra* p. 84. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 118. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 161. [6] *Ibid.*, pp. 175–76. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 175. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 242. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 127. [11] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 221. This privilege was also enjoyed by the learned (*Śrutavat*).

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 222. *Pīḍana* in this passage is taken by Dr. Shamasastry in the sense of "torture." But to my mind the word conveys the sense of physical punishment though it is also possible that it refers to punishment in general. It seems that the concluding portion of the chapter (from line 3, page 222) deals with cases where the guilt of the Brāhmaṇas are already established by espionage (*satriparigrahaḥ*). Naturally Kauṭilya here lays down the treatment of the Brāhmaṇa criminals. Torture was applied to establish a crime and as such *pīḍana* cannot be explained in the way in which the learned translator has done.

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It will be noticed from the above that by far the largest number of privileges are granted to the *śrotriyas*. What seems to be the most important privilege, viz. freedom from corporal punishment is however granted to the whole Brāhmaṇa caste. This is in consistency with the two privileges claimed for them by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[1] viz complete *ajyeyatā* (unmolestability) and *abadhyatā* (immunity from being killed). But the following alternative treatment[2] accorded to the guilty Brāhmaṇa is by no means an easy one and in certain cases as in theft was far more severe than the actual punishment. His face we are told must be branded so as to leave a mark indicating his crime

Steye śvā.
Manuṣyabadhe kavandhaḥ.
Gurutalpe bhagam.
Surāpāne madyadhvajaḥ.

But this was not all. After having thus branded him and proclaimed his crime in public the king is directed either to banish him or send him to the mines. Moreover there was some very important exception to the general rule. Kauṭilya says :—[3]

Rājyakāmukamantaḥpurapradharṣakamaṭavyamitrotsāhakaṃ durgarāṣṭradaṇḍa kopakakam vā śirohastaprādīpikam ghātayet. Brāhmaṇam tamapaḥ praveśayet.

Thus a Brāhmaṇa when guilty of high treason and active opposition to the State had to meet the full measure of the punishment prescribed. The only privilege if it was at all any was that he was drowned instead of being burnt alive.

It will be seen from the above and many other passages strewn all over the text[4] that the position of a Brāhmaṇa was a somewhat privileged one. But it is to be observed that most of the above privileges were not exclusively enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas but were equally shared by other religious orders and sects (*tapasvinaḥ*). Moreover in the *Kauṭilīya* we do not find the Brāhmaṇa enjoying many of the privileges which the later literature claim for him. Thus while in *Manu* the king's place in the judiciary is specially reserved for a learned Brāhmaṇa and the privilege of interpreting the law appears to be the monopoly of his caste in the *Kauṭilīya*

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1 xl, 5, 7, 1. 2 *Arthaśāstra* p. 222. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 229.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 159, 176, 181, 194, 230, 233, 236, etc.

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there is no special provision for the employment of the Brāhmaṇa in the Civil and Criminal Courts. The *amātyas*, who were *jānapada* and *abhijāta* and not necessarily Brāhmaṇas and whose character had been tested under religious allurements were employed in the *Dharmasthīyakaṇṭakaśodhaneṣu*.[1] Again in the case of treasure-troves while Manu decides that a learned Brāhmaṇa might take the whole of it there is no such provision in Kauṭilya, who seems on the contrary to recommend the state-ownership of all such properties.[2]

In conclusion I would like to draw your attention to the fact that in Kauṭilya's time, i.e. in the Maurya period there were Brāhmaṇas who were *rājyakāmuka*.[3] This is interesting in view of the later developments, viz. the rise in India of Brāhmaṇa ruling dynasties like the Kāṇvas and probably also the Andhras—shortly after the downfall of the Maurya power.

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[1] S.B.E. vol. xxv. viii, 9, 21 ; *Arthaśāstra*. pp. 15, 17, 147, 200.

[2] S.B.E. vol. xxv. viii, 37, 38 ; *Arthaśāstra*. pp. 61, 203.

[3] *Arthaśāstra*. p. 229.

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ASPECTS OF ANCIENT INDIAN INDUSTRIAL LIFE.

By S. V. Viswanatha, M.A.

Importance of Labour.

In all ages of man's history labour has been a very important agent of production. In ancient India there was not much scope for the display of capital and organization as factors of production Land played a very prominent part and still plays a considerable part in Indian economic life. The main living of the Indian population came from agriculture and incidental pursuits. Labour, organized or unorganized, skilled or unskilled, is, however, found to be absolutely necessary for the satisfaction of man's wants. The importance of labour and the difficulties in connection with it become clear in the old saying to the effect that 'for the labourer a discerning master is rare, as for the employer is a faithful, intelligent and truthful servant.'

Qualities of a good Employer.

The essential *quality of a good master* is the faculty to discern right from wrong. Other characteristics enumerated are courtesy, liberality, and goodness especially when the labourer confesses a mistake.[1] A good employer is gentle and liberal and is able to recognize the workman's merit.[2] On the other hand, a bad employer lacking these qualities indulges in 'unreasonably overworking the labourer, in raising hopes not to be fulfilled and withholding or keeping wages in arrears.'[3] Again, a discerning master will not give way to a desire to change frequently the labourers employed under him. Old, experienced and well-trained servants ought to be given sufficient encouragement and treated with kindness.[4] Exploitation of labour by capital is generally condemned, and the labourer should not be asked to render gratuitous services. 'It is not right that the labourer should go without recompense for his labour.'[5]

Judged by these standards, employers have been divided into three classes—kind, severe and just. A kind employer shows indul-

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1 *Hitopadeśa* II, 57. 2 *Ibid.* II, 104. 3 *Ibid.* II, 58.
4 *Ibid.* II, 130. 5 *Ibid.* IV, 12.

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gence to his labourers. He is severe who considers the virtues of his servants as faults, and he is just who deals with them judiciously.[1]

Contracts.

The *relation of the employer and the employee* was fixed in most cases by contracts and 'the wages were to be paid as arranged.'[2] The contract is said to be of three kinds—depending on time, work or on both. When the contract is for finishing a definite piece of work, we have a contract for work. In a time-contract time is the criterion for payment of wages irrespective of work. In the third class a *definite* piece of work had to be done in a *certain* period of time. We know that in a free agreement between the capitalist and the labourer the advantage will ordinarily be on the side of the former. As Marshall puts it, 'the effects of the labourers' disadvantage are cumulative.' 'Labour is perishable' for the worker is 'inseparable from his work.' This principle is possibly intended to be conveyed in a statement that 'the worker spends his life for a living' but he is himself getting 'worn out' with the work.[3]

We shall pass on to the consideration of the rules that regulated *the conduct of the labourer* in relation to the capitalist and *vice versa*. The general rule in regard to wages is 'that the servant shall get the promised wages.'[4] 'Wages previously settled shall be paid and received as agreed upon.' Next, it is laid down that wages are to be paid for work that was finished; and it is not right if the labourer demanded wages before the work agreed upon had been finished or if the master refused payment for the work done. 'Wages are to be paid for work done, but not for work that is not done,'[5] and wages are not to be withheld.[6] 'Only a bad workman asks for wages in the course of the work, and it is only a bad master that does not pay the labourers their wages for work done.'[7]

Working Hours.

We meet with the following rules regarding *the time during which a labourer may be worked.*[8] It was accepted that in the day, the labourers could be detained by the employers *only* for nine hours.

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[1] *Ibid.* II, 58f.
[2] *Śukranīti* II, 791f. and Trans. S.B.H.
[3] *Hit.* II, 24.
[4] Kauṭilya *Arthaśāstra*: Trans. p. 233.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 235.
[6] *Śukra.* II, 799.
[7] *Hit.* II, 30.
[8] *Śukra.* II, 815ff.

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Three hours rest during day and nine hours rest at night are allowed. On the whole, the maximum period of work was twelve hours. This is certainly very reasonable period considering that even in the nineteenth century the number of working hours in English factories was very much the same. This rest was allowed to the workmen for 'the discharge of their domestic duties.' That the labourer is not a mere chattel but has certain belongings to look after is recognized here. The workmen were, in addition, let free on days of festival and for the performance of obsequies and ceremonies, if any. Again, there was the good rule that the labourer may be allowed a week's *casual leave* at a time on full pay for ill-health and for a period not to exceed fifteen days in the year.[1]

The labourer, on the other hand, 'shall neither leave out anything undone, nor carry away with him anything from his place without the permission of the employer.'[2] Likewise, a 'servant neglecting or putting off work assigned to him without cause shall be fined and detained till the work is finished.' If the work be of a low nature, or the labourer is unfit to finish it, or suffers from disease or is in distress, some concession shall be shown him and he may be allowed to have the work done by a substitute. The loss incurred by the capitalist in this way shall be made good by extra work.[3] 'An employee who has received wages for a certain piece of work, shall not, of his own accord, go elsewhere for work, if the work is not finished.[4] The rules proclaimed by the Buddha and reproduced by Aśoka in his edicts are interesting in this connection. The duties of the employer are laid down thus: to allot work to the labourers according to their strength, give them good wages and food, tend them in sickness and grant them holidays. The employees, on the other side, should do their work thoroughly, cheerfully and have contentment.[5]

Labour efficiency—Factors.

The '*efficiency of labour*' depends on a number of social and economic considerations, and the labourers have been divided into three classes—inactive, ordinary and quick. Judged by another standard, the labourers fall into three types—the best, of medium

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1 *Śukra.* II, 817; 818; 823; 825.
2 *Arthaśāstra* p. 185.
3 *Ibid.* p. 184.
4 *Ibid.* p. 184.
5 *Rock Edict.* XII.

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ability and the worst. The best care only for name; the second class desire both wealth and fame; the worst want only wealth.[1]

One of the tests of labour-efficiency mentioned in our works is any special aptitude or skill that the labourer may possess. 'The special attainments which give a man his living and which are commended by others should be preserved and improved by the owner.'[2]

Other tests of a labourer are his capacity for work, faithfulness, cheerfulness, thoroughness in work, uprightness and general contentment.[3]

Thirdly, general experience and skill in work are other standards of the capacity of the worker. The service of old and experienced labourers should not be dispensed with unless it be for very grave faults.[4] The distinction is also noted between labour of the ordinary kind and labour that involved some special skill and dexterity.[5]

Fourthly, the kind treatment accorded by the employers to the labourers under them may go to increase their efficiency. The good employer should have at heart the welfare of his workers, should tend them in their illness, grant them holidays and pay them amply.[6] 'The servant suffers pain only for the sake of future pleasure and hence he waits to be assured of the latter.'[7] The employer 'by his harsh words, low wages, severe punishment and insult alienates his labourers.'[8]

Lastly, the efficiency of labour depends on the amount of the reward, the wages the labourers get. The following remarks are interesting about the disadvantages of low wages. 'Those who are paid low wages are enemies by nature. They become tools in the hands of others, they seek new opportunities, and set themselves to plunder other people.'[9]

We have noted in the above the various factors which determined the efficiency of the individual labourer. The quantity of work that could be turned out depended also on the '*organization*' *of labour*. The importance of 'organization' in production is thus hinted. 'There is no man who is utterly unfit' but rare are the persons who

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1 *Sukra.* II, 813–14 and 840–41.
2 *Hit.* II, 63.
3 *Hit.* II, 75 and III, 105.
4 *Ibid.* II, 130.
5 *Arthaśāstra* p. 183 and Trans.
6 *Aśōka R.E.* XII.
7 *Hit.* II, 24.
8 *Sukra.* II, 836–7.
9 *Ibid.* II, 807f.

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can connect (organize).[1] Organization of labour displayed itself in two ways—in labour combination and 'division of labour.' Labour combinations are intended in *sambhūya samutthānam* and in all other co-operative undertakings mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*[2] and the *Śukranīti*.[3] The employers should first see that the labourers were given the work for which they were fit.[4] A careful employer will put the right men in the right place, for the success of the enterprise depends on whether 'workmen like ornaments, are used properly.'[5] A discerning master will therefore divide his workmen into various gangs and give distinct badges so as to distinguish them from one another.[6] This 'division of labour' is to depend on knowledge and capacity for patient exertion.[7] In other words efficiency is to be the true criterion of division.

Wages how determined ?

The *amount of wages* depends on the contract, the nature, the quantity and quality of the work, the main factors being the qualification of the labourers and the amount of work turned out.[8] According to Kauṭilya, changes in time, place and workmanship are other factors that determine wages.[9] In cases where the wages were not previously settled, the rule is suggested in the *Arthaśāstra* that the wages will depend on the nature of the work, the time taken, the efficiency of the labourer and the general custom.[10] Thus, the same wage earner did not receive the same wage at all times, labour in one place did not fetch as much as labour in another place, and one labourer did not get as much as another in the same occupation.

The amount of wages in any industry was low, average or high according to the low or average or high quality of the labourers' work *in general*. An inactive labourer got less than his comrade with average activity, and the latter got less than his more quick friend.[11] Wages were considered high if they 'adequately supplied' food and clothing and allowed a comfortable living; ordinary or moderate, if they supplied the 'indispensable' food and clothing, i.e. necessaries for the labourer and his dependents. Low wages

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1 *Ibid.* II, 256. 2 p. 185f. 3 IV, v, 603ff.
4 *Kuṛal.* 516. 5 *Hit.* II, 70. 6 *Śukra.* II, 853–57.
7 *Kuṛal.* 515. 8 *Śukra.* II, 803–4 and IV, v, 642.
9 *Arthaśāstra* p. 185. 10 *Ibid.* p. 183. 11 *Śukra.* II, 813.

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maintained only one.[1] The standard in these cases is that of 'living.' A labourer who gets low wages comes in the sphere of the operation of the 'iron-law-theory of wages.' Low wages were certainly condemned as it was recognized that the minimum wages should bring up a family and meet 'compulsory charges.'[2] Thus in ancient India it was recognized that

'A starved dog at the city's gate
Foretells the ruin of the State.'

Labour Unions.

The evils arising out of competition between the employer and the employed are, in modern times, lessened in two ways—by active governmental legislation and by organization among the labourers so as to safeguard their position and to stand in union against exploitation of them by the capitalist. In some of our law-books[3] certain terms occur which denote a combination of labourers for administrative and financial purposes, such as *Śreṇi*, *Kula* and *Gaṇa*. The distinction between the three classes is not made quite clear in the works. All these, however, belong to the same category.

Kula probably indicates a class of labourers actuated by the same interests and motives, as if they were members of the same clan (*kula*). The members of this union, it would appear, need not belong to the same trade or industry.

Śreṇi signifies apparently a combination of workmen that belong to the same calling who go to supplement each other and produce what we may style a 'party' or 'troupe.'

Gaṇa may be taken to denote that the labourers of this combination have the same occupation. Thus we have the *Gaṇa* of goldsmiths, bricklayers, etc.

The powers of these 'guilds' were administrative and financial, like their mediaeval prototype in Europe. They had the right of self-adjudication; and in the settlement of their disputes were led by the usages pertaining to the different companies. The right of appeal lay from the *Kula* to the *Śreṇi* and from the latter to the *Gaṇa* and from the last to the king's officers. Another restriction on the administrative function of these was that they were not

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[1] *Ibid.* II, 799–802.
[2] *Ibid.* II, 805–8.
[3] *Arthaśāstra* 185, 200, *Śukra.* IV, v.

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allowed jurisdiction in certain cases, e.g. robbery and theft.[1] As regards the financial management of these the *Arthaśāstra* has the following remarks: 'Those who can be expected to relieve misery, who can give instructions to artisans, who can be trusted with deposits, who can plan artistic work of their own design, and who can be relied upon by guilds of artisans, may receive the deposits of the guilds. The guilds shall receive their deposits back in times of distress.'[2]

From the above it may be inferred that—

(1) these guilds had deposits of money to be invested;

(2) one of the main purposes for which these combinations were made was 'to relieve misery' among the members;

(3) the unions should have a capable leader who could be relied upon and with whom their deposits may be trusted and;

(4) the deposits which may be the savings of the members of the guilds or made up of subscriptions were intended to serve in times of distress.

These are some of the features of the 'guilds' in ancient India which show that they may have acted, in a way, like the labour and trade unions of modern times.

Old-age Pensions, Insurance, etc.

We have to note next if in ancient India there was any provision made for the labourers' illness, in the shape of bonuses, provident funds, old-age pensions, etc. There were, as has been noted, the deposits of the guilds which served the workmen in times of distress. But these deposits could not serve for long and for all the labourers. The general rule appears to have been that the employer ought not to cut off wages, in times of calamity for the labourer. He should tend them in the period of their sickness.[3] If, during the time of his illness a diseased workman offered any substitute for him he was to have his full wages.[4] If, for any unforeseen reason, the work was not finished within the time, the labourers were allowed an extension of a week. Beyond that period they were to finish the work with the aid of outsiders.[5] The efficient workmen should in addition have $\frac{1}{8}$ of their wages as *bonus* every year and remission of

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[1] *Sukra.* IV, v, 36, 59–60.

[2] *Arthaśastra.* Trans. p. 253.

[3] *Sukra.* II, 819–21.

[4] *Ibid.* II, 826 and *Arthaśāstra.* 185.

[5] *Arth.* 185.

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an eighth part of their work.[1] An institution corresponding to a *provident fund* is also in evidence in the *Śukranīti.* The employer is advised to 'keep with him as deposit $\frac{1}{6}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the servants' wages, and to pay $\frac{1}{2}$ of that amount or the whole in two or three years.[2] At the time of retirement after forty years of service the approved workman may have half his wages as pension for life and the pension is in some cases extended to the members of his family also, if incapable but well-behaved.[3] These rules appear to be considerably in advance of the age in which they were laid down and show some traits of modern economic ideas on the problem of labour and capital.

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[1] *Śukra.* II, 830f.
[2] *Ibid.* II, 834.
[3] *Ibid.* II, 827.

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Philosophy and Religion.

President:

Prof. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A.

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THE PRĀBHĀKARA SCHOOL OF KARMA-MĪMĀṂSĀ.

By S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A.

The weakest spot in the history of Indian *Darśanas* may be said to be the history of the Prābhākara School of *Karma-Mīmāṃsā*. The study of the *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* system has of late been most undeservedly neglected even in the world of traditional Śāstric scholarship. However, of the two chief schools of *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā*, the Bhāṭṭa School has all along been receiving better attention at the hands of the students of Sanskrit *Darśanas* than its sister school, viz. The Prābhākara School. Till the publication of the *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā* by Śālikanātha about two decades ago and of Dr. Ganganath Jha's thesis in English on the Prābhākara School, all the knowledge that the world of Sanskrit scholars possessed concerning this school was restricted practically to the references given in the Sanskrit works relating to the *Bhāṭṭa*, *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* and *Vedānta* systems. In Śālikanātha's *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā*, we find a learned and scholarly *Prakaraṇa* epitomising and maintaining the distinctive tenets of the Prābhākara School. Dr. Ganganath Jha's thesis is the English counterpart of the *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā*, presenting in a lucid and readable style the main principles of the Prābhākara School and giving, for the first time, very valuable information about Prabhākara's commentary on Śabarasvāmin's *Bhāṣya*, known as *Bṛhatī-ṭīkā*. In his learned introduction to his treatise above referred to, Dr. Jha seeks to make out from certain internal evidences furnished by the *Bṛhatī*, the *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā* and certain other Prābhākara works, that Prabhākara was not, as tradition would have it, a rebellious and disloyal pupil of Kumārila-Bhaṭṭa, the earliest leading exponent of the Bhāṭṭa School; that Prabhākara's works must be assigned to the ante-Kaumārila period of *Mīmāṃsā*; and that they do not presuppose Kumārila-bhaṭṭa's *Vārtika*, while the latter might, in all probability, be said to presuppose Prabhākara's works. Dr. Keith reiterates Dr. Jha's opinion in his recent book on *Karma-Mīmāṃsā* and seems to go further than Dr. Jha in assigning both Prabhākara and Śālikanātha to a date earlier than that of Kumārila.

I had access to a transcript of the *Bṛhatī*, that I recently got

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made for the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras, through the courtesy of Dr. Jha, from his incomplete copy of the *Bṛhatī*. In the course of my official duties as Ex-Officio Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras, I had opportunities of examining, besides the *Bṛhatī*, the following important Prābhākara manuscripts :—

(1) *Ṛjuvimalā-pañcikā*—a commentary on the *Bṛhatī* by Śālikanātha.

(2) *Pariśiṣṭa*—a brief annotation on the *Bhāṣya* of Śabarasvāmin, by Śālikanātha.

(3) *Nayaviveka*—an exhaustive treatise by Bhavanātha based on the *Bṛhatī*, *Ṛjuvimalā* and *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā*.

(4) *Nyāyakośa*—a Prābhākara treatise by Govinda Bhaṭṭa based mainly on the works of Śālikanātha and Bhavanātha.

(5) *Prābhākara-vijaya*—a short epitome of the Prābhākara School.

As a result of the examination of these manuscripts and of the study of several works relating to the Bhāṭṭa and other Indian systems, various interesting facts came to my notice, a few of which bearing upon the history of the Prābhākara School, I propose to embody in this short paper to be placed before the Second Oriental Conference.

Prabhākara, Śālikanātha and Bhavanātha are the three greatest exponents of the Prābhākara School, so far definitely known to us. Śālikanātha, in the first verse of *Nītipatha* (section II of the *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā*), refers to himself as Prabhākara's pupil. In the *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā*, several quotations from the *Śloka-vārtika* are found. For instance, on pages 5, 114 and 122 of the Benares Sanskrit Series edition of the *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā*, the following verses from the *Śloka-vārtika* are found :—

"अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा सूत्रमाद्यमिदं कृतम् ।"—page (5).

"गेहाभावस्तु यः शुद्धः .. .. .. ।—page (114).

"स्वरूपमात्रं दृष्ट्वापि .. .. .. ।"—page (122).

Similar quotations from Kumārilabhaṭṭa's *Śloka-vārtika* are found in Śālikanātha's *Ṛjuvimalā* and *Pariśiṣṭa*, some in the first *adhikaraṇa* and in the sections relating to *Arthāpatti* and *Abhāva* in the *Tarkapāda* of the former work, and some others in the *Tarkapāda* of the latter work.

Again, in the *Tarkapāda* of the *Ṛjuvimalā*, on the first leaf which,

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in the palm-leaf manuscript recently brought on loan to the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, is found broken and in a crumbling condition, I find the following portion of the *Avatārikā* to the first sentence in the *Bṛhatī* :—

"लोक इत्यादि भाष्यं यत्नगौरवं प्र .. broken .. .. .. broken .. .. तर्ककारेण व्याख्यातम्। तत्तु मन्दप्रयोजनमिति मत्वा टीकाकारः प्रयोजनं दर्शयति———लोक इत्यादिभाष्यस्येत्यादिना।"

The following further extract also from the same broken leaf is worthy of note :—

" .. .. .. त्वाद्विप्रतिपन्नत्वाच्च अथातः शब्दयोरेवालौकिकार्था शङ्का-निवृत्ति .. .. .. योजनं .. .. .. लौकिक .. ..

However imperfect the above extracts may be, to my mind it is clear that two inferences could be unmistakably drawn from them. Firstly, Śālikanātha assumes that Prabhākara is refuting the views of '*Vārtikakāra*' with reference to the purpose of the opening sentence in the *Bhāṣya*. Secondly, Prabhākara interprets the *Bhāṣya-kāra* as reaffirming the view of an earlier commentator, that '*Athātaḥ*' should be interpreted as a single significative unit. Though I agree with Dr. Ganganath Jha in thinking that there might have been more than one *Vārtikakāra* and that one of them was Kumārila and the '*Vārtikakāra*' quoted frequently by Śālikanātha and Bhavanātha in support of the Prābhākara doctrines must have been different from Kumārila and probably earlier than both Kumārila and Prabhākara, yet I am strongly inclined to think that the *Vārtikakāra* referred to in the above extract from the *Ṛjuvimalā* must be Kumārila himself, one important reason being that the other *Vārtikakāra* is generally found invoked only in support of Prabhākara's view and not for offering refutatory comments. The earlier commentator alluded to in the second of the two inferences above set forth, I venture to think, is Bhavadāsa, the *Vṛttikāra*, spoken of as alluded to by Śabarasvāmin, in *Ślokavārtika*—verses 35 [1] and 63 [2] of the 1st *sūtra*. In this connection, it may be noted,

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1 प्रसिद्धहानिः शब्दानामप्रसिद्धे च कल्पना।
न कार्या वृत्तिकारेण सति सिद्धार्थसंभवे॥ (35)

2 प्रदर्शनार्थमित्येके केचिन्नानार्थवाचिनः।
समुद्र यादवच्छिद्य भवदासेन कल्पितात्॥ (63)

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with advantage, that Bhavanātha's amplification, in the *Nayaviveka* of the foregoing extract from the *Ṛjuvimalā*, carries us considerably further in the belief that Prabhākara's opening remarks in the *Bṛhatī* may be taken as presupposing—

"लोकदृत्यादिभाष्यस्य षडर्थान् संप्रचक्षते।"

(Verse 96—under *Sūtra* 1.)

Ślokavārtika.

Śālikanātha, who describes himself as Prabhākara's pupil, refers to Maṇḍanamiśra in his *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā* (on page 178), in which a well-known verse from Maṇḍana's *Vidhiviveka* is quoted, viz.: "पुंसां नेष्टाभ्युपायत्वात् .. .. ..।" Maṇḍana is generally believed to be one of the pupils of Kumārilabhaṭṭa. Maṇḍana refers to Prabhākara and *Bṛhatī* in the *Vidhiviveka* (already printed) and in the *Brahmasiddhi* (my edition of which, for the first time, is under preparation), in several places, with the animus generally characteristic of a contemporaneous opponent. The renowned Vācaspatimiśra, known to Vedāntic tradition as *Ṣaddarśanīvallabha*, speaks of Prabhākara as the *Ṭīkākāra* in his *Nyāyakaṇikā*, and in the same work speaks separately of a *Nibandhanakāra* In this connection, it is worthy of note that in the *Nyāyakaṇikā*, Vācaspati distinguishes between two sets of Prābhākaras, viz.: *Jaratprābhākarāḥ* and *Navyaprābhākarāḥ*.

In his *Nyāyaratnākara*, a commentary on the *Ślokavārtika*, Pārthasārathimiśra observes as follows under the verse: "प्रायेणैवहि मीमांसा" (page 4—*Ślokavārtika*).

"प्रायेणेति—मीमांसा हि भर्तृमित्रादिभिर्लोकायतैव सती लोकायतीकृता, नित्यनिषिद्धयोरिष्टानिष्टं फलं नास्तीति वक्रपसिद्धान्तपरिग्रहेण।"

It is noteworthy here that the '*apasiddhānta*' referred to in this extract is widely known to the world of Indian philosophers as one of the distinctive tenets of the Prābhākara School. If Bhartṛmitra, and not Prabhākara, is associated with this tenet as its exponent presupposed by Kumārila, one is tempted to fancy that perhaps Prabhākara's relation to Bhartṛmitra was similar to Śaṅkara's relation toGauḍapāda.

An old verse traditionally handed down in South India runs thus:

उवेकः कारिकां वेत्ति चम्पूं वेत्ति प्रभाकरः।
मण्डनस्तूभयं वेत्ति नोभयं वेत्ति रेवणः॥

The same verse is found quoted by Mr. S. P. Pandit in his learned introduction to the *Gauḍavaho* published in the Bombay Sanskrit

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Series, with the difference that the words *Tantra* and *Vāmana* respectively replace the words *Campū* and *Maṇḍana*. In Mr. S. P. Pandit's introduction to *Gauḍavaho* and in the introduction to the *Mahāvidyāviḍambana* recently published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, it is clearly shown why Uṃveka should be identified with Bhavabhūti and regarded as one of the pupils of Kumārilabhaṭṭa and how, in Citsukha's *Advaitapradīpa*, Uṃveka is spoken of as identical with Bhavabhūti, the author of the *Mālatīmādhava*. Further, in Ramakṛṣṇa's commentary, *Yuktisnehaprapūraṇī*, on the *Tarkapāda* of the *Śāstradīpikā*, Bhaṭṭoṃveka is referred to on pages 2 and 30 of the Nirnayasāgara press edition. The subjoined extract from page 30 of this work would appear to leave no alternative except to assume that Uṃvekabhaṭṭa was one of the pupils of Kumārilabhaṭṭa.

अत्रोम्वेकभट्टैरिदं वार्तिककारीयं दूषणं समर्थनं च सर्वमेवालूनविशीर्णमित्यादिना ..
.. .. गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः। उत्पथं प्रतिपन्नस्य परित्यागो विधीयते॥
—इत्यन्तेन भाष्यं वार्तिकं च दूषितम्।"

In the South Indian version of the verse quoted above, Prabhākara, hemmed in as he is found between two pupils of Kumārila, would appear to be also one of Kumārila's pupils.

The following conclusions may be taken to follow from the above data :—

(1) The tradition that Prabhākara-guru was one of Kumārila's pupils cannot be brushed aside easily, particularly because it is supported by the historically acceptable grounds indicated above.

(2) Prabhākara's *Bṛhatī* could not be assigned to a date earlier than that of Kumārila, if the high authority of Śālikanātha and Bhavanātha is accepted.

(3) Prabhākara was not the founder of the Prābhākara School, which, according to Pārthasārathimiśra's *Nyāyaratnākara*, must have been represented in the ante-Kaumārila period of *Mīmāṃsā*, by writers like Bhartṛmitra. Probably Bhartṛmitra was the author of the *Prābhākaravārtika* frequently relied upon by Śālikanātha.

(4) Bhavadāsa was undoubtedly the *Vṛttikāra*, whom, *Bhāṣyakāra* is interpreted by Kumārila as refuting, and by Prabhākara, in his *Bṛhatī*, as supporting.

(5) The conjecture, that the *Nibandhana* of the Prābhākara

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School is different from the *Bṛhatī* would appear to be more reasonable than Dr. Jha's conjecture that the *Bṛhatī* is identical with the *Nibandhana.*

(6) Bhavabhūti the poet, *alias* Bhaṭṭoṃveka, Prabhākara and Maṇḍana were all Bhaṭṭakumārila's pupils.

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THE BHAKTI-DOCTRINE IN THE ŚĀṆḌILYA-SŪTRA.

By Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Litt.

Introductory.

The object of this paper is to set forth certain main features of the Hindu doctrine of *Bhakti* developed in a treatise of hundred aphorisms ascribed to Śāṇḍilya, a highly revered seer and teacher of old. But the treatise, as we now have it, can never be supposed to have been the work of Śāṇḍilya himself. In the body of the work, Śāṇḍilya is introduced as the promulgator of a view of the partial identity of *Brahman* and *Jīvātman*, of God and Soul, and this view is contrasted with the Bādarāyaṇa or Vedantic conception of the absolute identity of *Jīvātman* and *Paramātman*, as well as with the Kāśyapa conception of the duality of God and Soul. The historical basis of the ascription of the authorship of the work is that a section of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (III. 14) embodies a conception of faith associated with the name of *Śāṇḍilya*. This passage recurs, as pointed out by Prof. Cowell, with a few verbal differences in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (X. 6, 3). The term for faith used in this passage is not *Śraddhā* but *Addhā* meaning a sense of assurance or firm belief. The passage has been referred to in the *Brahma-Sūtra* (III. 31) as well as in the *Vedānta-Sāra* by Sadānanda as the Doctrine of Śāṇḍilya (*Śāṇḍilya-Vidyā*). Sadānanda mentions this doctrine as an example of *Upāsanāni* or prayers that are conceived psychologically as mental operations having for their object not *Brahman the Absolute*, but *Brahman* endowed with qualities.[1]

Śāṇḍilya's speculations about faith are of the greatest importance to the historian of Indian religion and philosophy in more ways than one. In the first place, in these older Upaniṣadic speculations was laid the foundation of a highly developed system of faith or *Bhakti-cult* in a much later treatise bearing the name of Śāṇḍilya. The speculations are also important as putting before us a strong plea for the cultivation of faith as a mode of attaining to *Brahman*.

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[1] *Vedāntasāra*, ed. Jīvānanda, p. 160: "*Upāsanāni saguṇabrahmaviṣayakāmanāsavyāpārarūpāni Śāṇḍilyavidyādīni.*"

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Śāṇḍilya is represented as declaring that "Verily, all that is, is *Brahman*" (*Sarvam khalvidam Brahma*). "He is the soul within us, the greatest of the great, the smallest of the small." "A man is made of the will-stuff. As his will is in this world, so does he become when he passes away to the other world."[1] This doctrine of Śāṇḍilya is aptly illustrated by the life-practice of Kṛṣṇa who is introduced in another passage of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (III. 17, 6). There we read that Kṛṣṇa, a son of Devakī and a disciple of Ghora Āṅgirasa, became what he desired to be. He is said to have repeated these three *mantras* at the last moment of his life: "Thou art imperishable, thou art immutable, thou are breathed with life."[2]

However imperfectly the Upaniṣadic doctrine of Śāṇḍilya may appear to a modern reader to correspond to the system of Śāṇḍilya, it will be a mistake to violently discard the tradition implying the historical connection of the two as a pure fiction. The right attitude of the historian will rather be to visualise the process of thought whereby a full-fledged system of faith evolved out of a nucleus in the older teachings of Śāṇḍilya. One point of resemblance between the two is sure to strike every modern student, namely, the close association of the *Bhakti-cult* with the life of *Kṛṣṇa*.

Bhakti and Śraddhā. The former has a wider meaning than the latter. The former implies faith in God, the latter, belief in ceremonial works.

In the very first aphorism we see that the older term *śraddhā* is replaced by *bhakti*. It is clearly stated in two other aphorisms (24, 25) that *bhakti* having a wider range of meaning cannot be universally supposed to be the same as *śraddhā* and were they supposed to be identical in all respects, there would be a *regressus ad infinitum*.[3] The commentator Svapneśvara thinks that the *Sūtrakā-*

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[1] "*Atha khalu kratumayaḥ puruṣo, yathākratur asminlloke puruṣo bhavati tathetaḥ pretya bhavati*" Prof. Max Müller rightly suggests 'belief' as an alternative rendering of *kratu*. *Kratu* is, according to Śaṅkara, "*niścayo'dhyavasāya evameva nānyathetyavicalaḥ pratyayaḥ.*" "The confidence, the ardour, that is, the firm belief that a thing is as is believed to be, and not otherwise." Also "*abhipretārtha siddhisādhanam.*" Ānandagiri says that *kratu* is belief preceded by craving (*ākāṅkhāpūrvakam*).

[2] "*Apipāsa eva sa babhūva. So antavelāyām etattrayam pratipadyeta: akṣitam asi, acyutam asi, prāṇasaṃśitam asi.*"

[3] *Naiva śraddhā sādhāraṇyāt. Tasyām tattve cānavasthānāt.*

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ra laid a demon of confusion by stating this distinction in clear and unequivocal terms. And he himself distinguishes *bhakti* in the abstract from *śraddhā* in the concrete as faith in God (*Īśvara*) from belief which is the essential part of ceremonial works."[1] Svapneśvara kept evidently in his mind the Vedic conception of *śraddhā*.

Classification of faith.

The *Śāṇḍilya-sūtra* treats *Bhakti* under these two general heads—*Parā* and *Aparā*,[2] the higher and the lower; *Mukhya* and *Gauṇa*, the principal and the subsidiary. It gives another classification of faith which seems to be based on a passage of the *Bhagavad Gītā* (VII. 16). There are four species of faith cherished by the four classes of men, viz. (*a*) the faith of the distressed (*ārttaḥ*); (*b*) the faith of the young inquirer (*jijñāsu*); (*c*) the faith of one who seeks prosperity (*arthārthī*); (*d*) the faith of the wise (*jñānī*).

The first three of these four forms of faith are called subsidiary and the fourth is the highest expression.[3] The commentator furnishes another classification based on a passage of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (VII. 5, 22–23). The faint traces of it are scattered throughout the *Sūtra*, which go to prove that the *Sūtrakāra* was acquainted either with the actual passage of the *Purāṇa* or the classification itself. Faith is divided into nine classes with special reference to the nine characteristic marks[4]:—

"To hear and repeat the names of Viṣṇu, to remember them, to serve his feet, to honour him, to show him reverence, to do him service as his slave, to love him as a friend, and to surrender oneself to him."[5] Svapneśvara says that this ninefold expression of

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1 *Śraddhāyāṃ karmamātrāṅgatvāt, na caivam īśvarabhaktiriti.* With regard to the older common-sense view of faith and its efficacy, we read in the *Mahāmaṅgala Jātaka* (*Jātaka*, No. 453)—

Annañ ca pānañ ca dadāti saddho
Mālañ ca gandhañ ca vilepanañ ca
Pasannacitto anumodamāno
Saggesu ve sotthānaṁ tad āhu.

2 The word does not actually occur in the *Sūtra*, but *parā* implies at once its opposite *aparā*.

3 *Aph.* 72: *Gauṇam traividhyam.*

4 *Śravaṇaṃ kīrttanaṃ Viṣṇoḥ smaraṇam pādasevanam*
Arcanaṃ vandanaṃ dāsyaṃ sakhyaṃ ātma-nivedanam
Iti puṃsarpitā Viṣṇau bhaktiścennavalakṣaṇā.

5 Cowell's translation of the *Śāṇḍilya-sūtra*.

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faith admits of classifications under the divisions given above. The *Sūtrakāra* himself considers repeating the divine names and the like as the subsidiary forms of faith [1] and there is an aphorism (14) which appears to place the absolute surrender of oneself to Viṣṇu amongst the higher expressions.

It is open to dispute if the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* gives a strictly logical division of faith into nine species. For these are after all not species, but nine successive steps in the practice of *Vaiṣṇava* devotion, the lower step imperceptibly leading up to the higher one, and all lower steps culminating in the highest one. Even in the language of Svapneśvara, each of these expressions is a part or constituent (*aṅga*) of devotion.[2]

The definition of various classes of faith and illustrations.

Bhakti in its highest expression or fundamental character is defined as a devotional attachment to God (as *parānuraktir īśvare, Aph.*, 2).[3] The term *anurakti* is used as a synonym for *rāga* (affection, passionate love) which is the opposite state of hatred (*dveṣa*), —a religious sentiment or feeling of joy arising from flavour or taste (*rasa*) in its Vedic sense.[4] That is to say, the *rāga* is not used in a derogatory sense,[5] in the sense of *kleśa*, like that in the *Yoga-sūtra* (II. 3). Faith or devotion must not be undervalued as being an affection or passionate attachment, because such an affection or passionate attachment aspires to attain the best (*uttama*, ultimate end), e.g. union,[6]—a state of union with God (*Īśvara-saṅgatva*), an abiding in Him which promises immortality as its fruit.[7]

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1 *Aph.*, 57. 2 See under *Aph.* 72.

3 Cowell translates; "In its highest form it is an affection fixed on God."

4 *Aph.* 6: *dveṣapratipakṣabhāvād rasa śabdācca rāgāt*, Cf. *Taittirīya Up.* II. 7: "*rasam hyevāyam labdhvā nandi bhavati*" "having relished the taste, he is filled with joy." Svapneśvara explains the passage thus:—A taste whose object is *Brahman* is understood to be the cause of liberation which is the manifestation of the joy of *Brahman*." (Cowell's translation) cf. the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa's* use of *anurāga* in the sense of faith, e.g. the fervent affection of the citizens of Kosala for the incarnate portions of the supreme *Viṣṇu*, i.e. *Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata, Śatrughna.*

5–6 *Aph.* 21: *heya rāgatvād iti cen nottamāspadatvāt saṅgatvāt.*

7 *Aph.* 3: *Tatsaṃsthasyāmritatvopadeśāt.* Cf. *Chāndogya Up.* II. 23, 2: "He who abides in *Brahman* proceeds to immortality." (*Brahmasaṃsthomritatvam eti*).

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The faith of the wise and that of the ignorant are classed among the higher forms of faith.

Of the fourfold division of faith applicable to the distressed and the like, the fourth one, that is, the faith of the wise implies at once its opposite form, namely, the faith of the ignorant. But in a sense the *Sūtrakāra* explains away the antithesis thus implied between them, when he classes them both among the higher forms.

The faith of the wise is a reasoned or realised faith. Three instances.

The faith of the wise denotes a rational or reasoned faith purified (i.e. confirmed) in the varying degree by the various modes of cognition or understanding,[1] viz. hearing, pondering, meditating, etc.[2] The *Sūtrakāra* furnishes three instances of this kind of faith. In the first place, Kāśyapa holds that intellect or knowledge which finally confirms faith recognizes the omnipotence or infinite powers of God who is the Supreme Being other than the individual souls.[3] Bādarāyaṇa, on the other hand, inculcates that soul alone is the object of knowledge,[4]—the individual soul (*jīvātmā*) which is *Brahman* in its purity, i.e. as a pure intelligence (*suddhacidātmamātra*).[5]

Śāṇḍilya who differs from these two teachers says that both God and soul should be made the objects of knowledge.[6] God and soul differentiated from each other by certain special characteristics which are not incompatible with the views about their partial identity.[7] The commentator cites in this connection the older doctrine of Śāṇḍilya in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* which savours of pantheism. Śāṇḍilya insists on the worship of *Brahman* with a tranquil mind. *Brahman* being the essence of all that is, everything lives, moves and has its being in it. *Brahman* is the intelligent being, whose body is the spirit itself, whose form is light, whose thought is

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1 *Aph.* 27: *buddhihetupravṛttir-aviśuddher-avaghātavat.*

"The practice of the means of knowledge is to be continued until purification is produced, as in selling rice" (*Cowell*).

2 *Śravaṇa-manana-nididhyāsanādi* (the commentary on *Aph.* 27).

3 *Aph.* 29: *Tam aiśvaryaparam Kāśyapaḥ paratvāt.*

4 *Aph.* 30: *Ātmaikaparam Bādarāyaṇaḥ.*"

Cf. the *Brahmasūtra* IV. 1, 3: "*ātmeti tveva-gacchanti grāhayanti ceti.*"

"They approach and apprehend it as the soul."

5 The *comy. on Aph.* 30.

6 *Aph.* 31: *Ubhayaparam Śāṇḍilyaḥ.*

7 *Aph.* 32, with the comy.

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truth, whose nature is all-pervading like ether, who is the main spring of all works, all desires and origin of all agreeable odours and things palatable—the all-embracing, the silent, the fearless one, who is the soul within the heart, the smallest of the small, the greatest of the great,—i.e. (God Immanent and Transcendent).[1]

The higher form of faith cherished by the ignorant such as the milk-maids.

The faith of the ignorant implies that knowledge is not indispensable to liberation by way of devotion to the Supreme Being. The *Sūtrakāra* illustrates this kind of faith as generated among the ignorant by the milkmaids' devotional attachment to Kṛṣṇa.[2] Here the commentator quotes an interesting passage from the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (V. 13, 13) characterising the soul-purifying faith cherished even by an ignorant milkmaid: "Even we hear of the milkmaids who attained *mukti* by having all their merits obliterated from their memory by intense rapture resulting from constant thinking about Him (the object of love), and all their sins expiated by deep pangs arising from despair of union with Him, by meditating on Him as the generator of the world having affinity with *Para Brahman*, until their breath is suspended."[3]

While commenting on this passage. Svapneśvara rightly points out that reason is absent from this form of faith which is in fact a passionate longing for God Incarnate, the outward signs of which are joy and sorrow,—a mere recollection (*anusmṛiti*) stirred up by affection.

Parābhakti includes devotion to the Avatāras as distinguished from homage to kings and others.

In other words, the higher forms of faith include devotional attachment to Vāsudeva and other well-known Incarnations (*prādurbhaveṣu = avatāreṣu*).[4] The *Sūtrakāra* justifies this inclusion on the

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1 *Chāndogya Up.* III. 14.

2 *Aph.* 14: *Ata eva tad abhāvād vallavīnām.*

"And therefore from the absence of knowledge in the case of the milk maids" (*Cowell*).

3 *Taccintāvipulahlādakṣīṇa puṇyacaya satī*
Tadaprāptimahāduḥkhavilīnaśeṣapātaka
Cintayanti jagatsutiṃ parabrahmasvarupīnaṁ
Niracchāsatayā muktiṃ gatānyā gopakanyakā.

4 *Aph.* 46, 55.

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ground that there is no further birth to him who is aware of the divine birth and action in the form of an Incarnation,[1] and his allusion to *śabda* leads the commentator to think of the *Gītā* (IV. 9) where Kṛṣṇa says, "My birth and action are divine (*divya*); he who is truly aware of this is not reborn on leaving his body, but comes to me, Arjuna." The *Sūtrakāra* points out in the same verse that his birth and action are to be considered divine, because, according to the theory of incarnation, these arise solely from his own power,[2] and his chief object is compassion (*kāruṇyam*) when he thus creates himself as an *Avatāra*.[3]

Going by this definition of *Parābhakti* cherished towards the various Incarnations of God, we have to rule out of consideration attachment or homage to kings and others who are invested with sovereignty which is in itself a divine power manifested in connexion with the affairs of human life.[4] And among the Incarnations Vāsu-

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[1] *Aph.* 47.

[2] *Aph.* 48: *Tacca divyam svaśaktimātrodbhavāt.*
Cf. the *Mahābhārata*, *Mokṣadharma*, cccxli:
Māyaiṣa hi mayā sṛṣṭa yan māṃ paśyasi Nārada.
"All this is a *māyā* created by me, that thou see me at all, Nārada."
Also, the *Gītā* (IV. 6):
Ajopi sannavyayātmā bhūtānām īśvaropi san
Prakṛtim svam adhiṣṭhāya sambhavāmi yuge yuge.

[3] *Aph.* 49. Cf. the theory of incarnation in the *Gītā* (IV. 7–8).
"Whenever national righteousness (*dharma*) goes on declining, O descendant of Bharata, and unrighteousness prevails, then I create myself. For the protection of the virtuous, for the destruction of evil-doers and for the re-establishment of righteousness, I come verily into being from age to age." This is an accepted theory of incarnation in India. See Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*, III. 186–91 or Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism* for Jaina views: Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 13, for Buddhist views: *Devī Gītā* IX. 22; Mādhavācārya's *Śaṅkara-vijaya*, I. 41: Ānandagiri's work has a similar verse.

[4] *Aph.* 50: *prāṇitvān-na vibhutīṣu.* Prof. Cowell translates *prāṇa* by "the vital airs." In the *Gītā* (X. 27) the king is conceived as a representative of the divine power: "Know me to be also amongst men the king." This is probably a restatement of the vague conception of the dual personality of Indra in the *Ṛgveda*, (*a*) Indra as a king of the gods, (*b*) Indra as a king among men. In the *Bṛhaspati sūtra*, edited and translated by Dr. Thomas, the king is said to partake of the divine nature (*devānām aṃśe janmaḥ*). We read in the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha* that Cārvāka, a disciple of Bṛhaspati, maintained that a king, as demonstrated by common experience, is the Supreme Lord (*pratyakṣa-siddhaḥ rājā parameśvaraḥ*). This conception of kings is very old indeed, as it can be traced in a hymn of the *Ṛgveda* (X. 174): A king is made the sovereign

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deva is given so much prominence as an object of faith, since he is recognized even by the ancients as a mere embodiment of *Brahman* (*ākāramātra*).[1]

The faith of arthārthī: artha in its material and spiritual sense:— 1. *Rājya svargādyartham kriyamānā; 2. Parābhaktyartham kriyamānā.*

As regards the lower or subsidiary forms, the *Sūtrakāra* nowhere tells us expressly what he understands by the faith of one who seeks prosperity (*artha*). The commentator however says that prosperity, as employed here, admits of a twofold interpretation, meaning either (*a*) material advantage, e.g. sovereignty, heavenly joys, etc., or (*b*) spiritual advancement, e.g. attainment of *Nirvāṇa*. Taking prosperity in the former sense, the faith of *arthārthī* might be supposed to include devotion or loyalty of the ministers, friends, etc., to a king[2] which is a means to material advantages such as position, power, wealth, fame and safety. But Svapneśvara leaves this altogether out of account, and gives instead a definition which proves beyond doubt that the Hindu faith is not without a strong moral basis. Thus the faith of *arthārthī*, according to this definition, fulfils itself only by the faithful discharge of duties befitting a person's social grade and period of life's training (*Sva sva varnāśramavihita dharmaḥ*).[3]

Taking prosperity in its other sense, the faith of *arthārthī* is defined as a means to a higher end,—a preliminary step towards the highest form of faith. It comprises the ninefold expression of *Vaiṣṇava* devotion, repeating the divine names, etc., described in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The fruits of the faith of *arthārthī* are brought out clearly in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (III. 8, 6) : "Viṣṇu being pleased, a man fulfils all earthly wishes and desires,—attains a higher existence that is appreciated by the dwellers in heaven, nay, even *Nirvāṇa* which is the best, i.e., final end."[4]

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of the people by Soma and Savitar, and aided by all the living beings. But the Indian doctrine differs considerably from that of the Divine Right of kings According to the Indian view, it is not that kings can do no wrong, but that they ought not do wrong at all because they participate in the divine powers.

[1] *Aph.* 52, 53, 54, Cf. *Gīta*, X. 37; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV. 11; *Nārāyaṇa Up.* VI; *Mahābhārata, Vana Parva*, clxxxix; *Śanti Parva*, cccxlv.

[2-3] Under *Aph.* 4, 72.

[4] *Bhaumān manorathān kāmān svargivandyaṃ paraṃ padam*
Prāpnotyārādhite Viṣṇau nirvāṇam api cottamam.

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The faith of jijñasu.

The *Sūtrakāra* is equally silent about the faith of the young inquirer, but there are passages in the commentary to indicate that reverence for teachers is a typical example of this kind of faith. Strictly, the commentator defines it as the performance of sacrifices, etc., for the sake of knowledge (*jñāna*) and substantiates his definition by a passage quoted from Yājñavalkya in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*: "Whether by studying the *Vedas*, or by sacrifice, charity, penance, fasting and the like, the Brāhmins desire to know him (*Ātman*)."[1] Svapneśvara's disquisition goes to prove that Indian education was originally founded on a moral as well as a religious basis.

The faith of ārttaḥ: its object is an avatāra.

We turn at last to the faith of the distressed which consists in remembering and chanting the divine names, narrating the divine story, etc., viewed as the manifold means of expiation of sins.[2] The ninefold expression of *Vaiṣṇava* devotion can be viewed in the same light. The visiting of hermitages, bathing in the holy places, pilgrimages, paying homage (*namaskāra*), etc., might be added to the list. The path to salvation is the same for the great sinners[3] as for the distressed in general. The faith of the distressed is cherished as a rule towards an *Avatāra*.

Characteristics of Avatāravāda as a religious faith. Schopenhauer's views criticized.

Thus we see that devotion to an Incarnation or a personal God is never free from its pessimistic associations, as it invariably carries with it the idea of deliverance from suffering or redemption of sin.[4] The *Avatāravāda*, in whatever form it exists, is pessimistic throughout, although its ultimate goal is optimistic. It presupposes that some one is in distress for some reason or other, as in the case of later Indian religions, or that original sin is transmitted through the human race by the first parents of mankind, as in the case of Christianity. All the religions of which the *raison d'être* is *Avatāravāda* is pessimistic in the sense that they give a rather degrading

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1 Under *Aph.* 72.

2 *Aph.* 74: *Smṛtikīrttaiḥ kathādeścārttau prāyaścittabhāvāt.*

3 *Aph.* 82.

4 Under *Aph.* 72: *Evañ-ca pāpakṣayavipad-uddhārādinimittam* (Commentary).

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conception of human nature, take a gloomy view of things, emphasize the dark aspects of life, and profess to destroy sin and deliver men from sorrow and calamity by the redeeming faith in a divine incarnation. In this sense Jainism, Buddhism, Hinduism and Christianity all savour of pessimism. Schopenhauer is right to assert this, although judging his views from the ultra-optimism of the teaching of Leibnitz, it is to be suspected that the philosopher has seen everything yellow like the jaundiced.

Parā or mukhya bhakti = Īśvarānurakti. Aparā or gauṇa bhakti = Devabhakti = Laukika anurāga.

With regard to the division of faith into two main classes we have seen that *parā* or *mukhya bhakti* is essentially a devotional attachment to God, which implies that *aparā* or *gauṇa bhakti* is a species of faith fastened on a god other than God himself.[1] We also have noticed that each of these definitions is wide enough to comprehend within it more than one form. For instance, *parābhakti* has as its object either God transcendent (*Īśvara*) or God personal (*Avatāra*), and the object of *aparābhakti* is a god or a *guru*.[2] But Svapneśvara has carried the analysis of faith one step further by a separate category of *aihika bhakti* (temporal faith) or *laukika anurāga* (earthly affection) made out of the subsidiary forms.[3] The affection of a son for his father, the faith of a wife in her husband, the reverence of a pupil for his teacher, the loyal devotion of the ministers, friends and subjects to a king, etc., are distinctly mentioned as being among the examples of temporal faith.

Faith is a faculty of heart which is the internal organ of sense.

In agreement with Yājñavalkya,[4] Śankarācārya[5] and other ancient teachers, Svapneśvara, the commentator of *Gauḍa*, regards

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[1] *Aph.* 18: *devabhakti* of the *Gītā* VII. 23.

Devān devayajo yānti mad bhaktā yānti mām api. "Those who worship the gods, go to the gods, those who are devoted to me, come to me," also IX. 25–28, where *pitṛs* and *bhūtas* are mentioned along with *devas*. "He who worships a god other than God are like a beast fit for sacrifice (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* I. 4).

[2] *Śvetāśvatara Up.* VI. 23: *Yasya deva parā bhaktir yathā deve tathā gurau,*
Tasyaite kathitā hyarthā prakāśante mahātmanaḥ.

[3] Introductory part of the comy. *aihika-gauṇa-bhaktyādi.*

[4–5] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* III. 9, 21: Śaṅkara's commentary on the same; *Śāṇḍilya-sūtra*, commentary on *Aph.* 2. Note *antaḥkaraṇadharma* under *Aph.* 59.

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faith as a faculty of the heart (*antaḥkaraṇa-vṛttiviśeṣa*), a term which corresponds to the Buddistic expression *Saddhindriya* in particular. The *Sūtrakāra*, as we have seen, considers faith in its highest expression as a devotion to God, and relegates to a lower position other forms of faith which are subsidiary to the higher one. The lower forms as a whole are distinguished from the higher ones as a devotional worship of a god or the gods other than God.

The conception of faith as a purely spiritual element of human consciousness.

By the very definition of faith which the *Sūtrakāra* and his commentator aimed at, they could not but draw a line of distinction between *bhakti* as an expression of religious sentiment of the human heart on one hand, and the so-called temporal faith or earthly affection, reverence, fidelity, loyalty, and so forth, on the other. We have noticed, moreover, that they have endeavoured by all means to eliminate temporal advantages from their conception of *bhakti* in order to establish a purely spiritual significance.

Comment on the denotation of faith. The universality and necessity of the element of faith.

As regards denotation, they have tried to make their definition of each class of faith comprehensive enough to include more than one form, and the result is that they have made thereby provision for all classes of men and all social grades. They have sought throughout to frame a definition which admits of universal application. One who reads carefully their treatises cannot but feel that they are animated by the desire to inquire if there is an element in human nature which can bind together the whole of mankind in a common worship of God. But in opening the gate of the city of *Brahman* to men, irrespective of class, sex and education, they have found it difficult to ignore the distinctions, natural or artificial, which are generally recognized in this matter-of-fact world.

A few preliminary questions concerning the classifications of faith.

The vital question for them to decide was how to classify faith and discriminate one form from another. This question gave rise to other inquiries. Is there any justification for a division of faith according to grades? Can we conceive that one form is higher than another, or that one form is related to another as subsidiary or sub-

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servient to the principal one? Is it not that faith as such, i.e. as the heart's panting after union with God, bound up with a perception of the spiritual existence of the Absolute Being realizing itself in and through the whole of nature?

The gradations or degrees of faith to be settled: (1) *by its results.*

The discussion of classifications of faith leads to a further and more formidable discussion of its gradations or degrees. The two main divisions of faith taken in their natural order are the temporal (*aihika*), as we saw, and the spiritual concerned with the worship of the gods (*devabhakti*) and that of God (*īśvarānurakti*). Of these, the temporal faith is subordinate to the spiritual, and the faith in the gods is inferior to faith in God. It is implied in the expressions of the text as well as the commentary that each of these divisions is in fact the name not of any particular form of faith, but of a genus comprising species which admit of a difference of degree. We can say, therefore, with the *Sūtrakāra* that the devotional attachment to God transcendent is in a way superior to faith in an Incarnation or personal God, or to put it in another form, the faith of the wise is on a higher level than that of the ignorant or illiterate. The test, the main test, which the *Sūtrakāra* applies to a higher form of faith is that it must bring a person—the devotee—into a state of union or identity with God, deliver men and women who are immersed in sin or plunged in worldly afflictions, and lead in the end to immortality, the goal to all human aspirations. It follows that the fruit of a lower form of faith cannot be either liberation or immortality,—liberation and immortality which represent the two aspects—negative and positive, pessimistic and optimistic—of the Indian *summum bonum.* The utmost that can be produced in an individual consciousness (*pratyabhijñā*) by a lower form is *Yoga* or *Samādhi* [1]—concentration, meditation, state of ecstasy—mystic or philosophic,—which is the *conditio sine quâ non* of faith and knowledge in their highest technical sense, that is, of a joyous feeling of union with God and an identification of the subject with the object intuited.[2] And the utmost that can be achieved in regard to things external by a lower form, such as the worship of the gods, is heavenly joy which is not abiding, although intrinsic-

[1–2] *Aph.* 19, 20: *Yogastūbhayārthamapekṣanāt.*
Gauṇya tu samādhisiddhīḥ.

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ally of a superior value in relation to all earthly possessions and enjoyments. However, even such a worship, polytheistic though it certainly is, can claim a higher position than the temporal faith, on the ground that a certain amount of spirituality always attaches to it. The aim of a temporal faith so-called is at best happiness resulting from material prosperity and gratification of sense-appetite which falls to the lot of mortals. It is clear, then, that the various forms of faith can be placed on a graduated scale when judged by the ultimate results each form leads to.

(2) *The quality of faith determinable by the object conceived. The transcendentality of the object is the sole determining factor of the sublimity of the conception of faith.*

It is tacitly suggested by the *Sūtrakāra*,[1] and expressly by the royal commentator, that there is another way of conceiving a gradation of faith according to the degrees of its superiority. We are to judge one form as superior to or higher than another from the point of view of the object conceived. The more the transcendental and sublime is the conception of the object, the superior is the quality of faith; conversely, the more the empirical is the object conceived, the lower is the form. Here we must note that by this particular gradation our authors exhibit a desire to preclude all references to the flesh or matter, all passions and sensualities, and the conditionality which all those imply, from their definition of faith as the highest expression of the religious consciousness of men.

(3) *Determinable with reference to personality of the worshipper—the subject concerned.*

The third way of arranging faith in a series of higher and higher forms is concerned with the character of the subject, i.e. the worshipper. According to this view, the quality of faith depends upon the education, the moral stamina, intellectual capacity and general outlook of the persons concerned. Judged from this point of view,

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1 *Aph.* 85. The commentator says—

"*Bhajanīyottamatvena bhakter uttamatā yataḥ,*
Bhaktatadbhavataścātra bhajanīyo nirupyate."

"Since the pre-eminence of faith arises from the pre-eminence of its object" and also because of the promised identity of the faithful worshipper with it etc. "*Cowell.*"

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the faith of the wise stands superior to that of one who seeks prosperity, the latter to the faith of the young inquirer, and that to the faith of the distressed.

(4) *By the mode of its expression.*

The quality of faith also can be determined by the mode of its expression. Thus we can say that the unconditional surrender of oneself[1] to Viṣṇu incarnated as Kṛṣṇa stands highest in the scale of *Vaiṣṇava* devotion, below it stands loving him as a friend, and below it is serving him as a slave, etc. In other words, the devotion of Rādhikā to Kṛṣṇa is on a higher plane than the friendship of the milkmaids, the latter is on a higher plane than the service of the *Rākhāls*, and so forth.

(5) *By the earnestness and sincerity of the worshipper.*

We have already observed that the gradations of faith necessarily involve the conception of a difference of degree between one form and another. The *Sūtrakāra* is however careful to indicate that the hypothesis of the degrees of faith is open to criticism. An act of worship, however insignificant it may be in its outward form and in the judgment of common people, may be a means to liberation, directly or indirectly, if it is done in an earnest spirit of reverence by the devotee[2] He says elsewhere that even one--one particular form of faith—is powerful enough to please the Lord.[3] The commentator finds an analogue of the case in the simile of an earthly lord who "is not pleased by his other attendants with all their many careless services, but may be pleased by even one attendant with a simple act of shampooing performed with hearty zeal." But he cites numerous passages from the *Gītā* and the *Purāṇas* which bear out this point of view. One passage goes to prove that whatever is given, a leaf, a flower, a fruit, or water, is acceptable to

[1] *Aph.* 64. *Abandho arpanasya mukham.* Cf. the *Gītā* IX. 28, 25–28; also a passage of the *Purāṇa*:

Kāmato akāmato vāpi yat karomi śubhāśubham
Tat sarvam tvayi saṃnyastaṃ tvat prayuktaḥ karomyaham.

"Whatever I do, good or evil, with or without my will, that being all surrendered to thee, I do it as impelled by thee" (*Cowell*).

[2] *Aph.* 76: *Laghvapi bhaktādhikāre mahat kṣepakam apara sarvahānāt.*

[3] *Aph.* 63: *Iśvaratuṣṭer ekopi bali.*

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Kṛṣṇa, if it is offered in faith.[1] Another passage inculcates that the terrible sin of men in the *Kali* age vanishes at once on the remembrance of the name of the Lord even only once.[2] A third passage lays stress on meditation, a fourth on hearing the chronicle of the Yadu race or the legends of Nārāyaṇa,[3] and so forth. Scanning the matter closely, it becomes increasingly clear that this view of faith not only implies a serious criticism of the theory of the degrees of faith, but also forms itself a basis of the gradation of faith in another way. Faith admits of gradations according to its intensity. That is to say, the quality of faith is not to be determined by the pomp and magnitude of its outward show, but by the inner spirit, i.e. earnestness and sincerity of the worshippers.

The relation of the lower forms of faith to the higher ones.

It is premature to raise an inquiry as to how the *Sūtrakāra* and his commentator have met the objections to which their theory of the degrees of faith is subject, or how they have extricated themselves from the difficulties in their way. But it may be worth while to consider one of the main sources from which various objections may arise and which can serve as a means of defence. We have briefly to examine the views of our authors about the relation in which the lower forms stand to the higher ones.

The *Sūtrakāra* sets himself to inquire if a form of faith, whatever its quality, is adequate to bring a person into fellowship with the Divine Being. It is remarkable that he carefully guards against the transcendental view of faith entertained by the extreme Idealists. Although he relegates certain forms of faith to a lower position, and admits that one form may be enough to please the Lord, he does not dismiss them all at once as barren and worthless for all. On the other hand, he maintains that the lower forms exist for the higher one as a means to its production.[4] The proof is not far to seek. It is brought out by the very fact that the word *bhajan*, i.e. *upāsanā*—worship in the wider sense—underlies *bhakti* itself.[5]

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1 The *Gītā*, IX. 26:
Patram puṣpam phalam toyam yo me bhaktyā prayacchati।
Tad ahaṃ bhaktyupahṛtam aśnāmi prayatātmanaḥ ॥

2 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* VI. 8, 21. Cf. II. 6, 32, 33; VI. 7.
Nṛsiṃha Purāṇa, VIII. 28-29.

3 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV. 11; *Mahābhārata, Śānti Parva, Mokṣa Dharma*, XIII, 345, 13305-6.

4.5 *Aph.* 56: *bhaktyābhajanopasaṃhārād gauṇyā parāyaitaddhetutvāt.*

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Perhaps by this subsumption he has in view a sharp distinction to be drawn between faith in the abstract (*bhakti*) and faith in the concrete or outward manifestation of the inner attitude of reverence as denoted by *bhajan*, the former implying the latter as its actualization.

Theory apart from practice is unmeaning, and practice divorced from theory is worthless. Therefore a harmonious combination of the two is always desirable.

Are we not then justified in saying that according to our *Sūtrakāra*, theory apart from practice is unmeaning, just in the same way that practice divorced from theory is worthless. Such an attempt as this on the part of our author to make practice a necessary adjunct to theory and *vice versa* seems to be rather an outcome of the powerful objections similar to those raised by Rāmānuja on philosophic grounds against the unqualified monism of Śaṅkarācārya, or the fruitful result of a vigorous protest raised on religious or practical grounds by Caitanya and his predecessors against the realization of the highest communion with God attainable by a system of abstract meditation, which is a mystery to the common mass who cannot be satisfied without something concrete for their imagination to grasp and for their hearts to adore.

The lower forms of faith are serviceable in so far as they are disciplinary measures to purify the soul,[1]—the purity which is an essential condition of *Yoga* or *Samādhi*, itself a means of communion with God.[2] The *Sūtrakāra* cites the current opinion of some teachers in order to prove that a harmonious combination of the two forms of faith is more desirable than the practice of one particular form *per se*, as such a conjunction is more effective than one form taken by itself.[3]

The *Sūtrakāra* goes so far as to assert that the lower forms of

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Cf. the *Gītā*, IX. 13–14: also IX. 29 where Kṛṣṇa sums up the whole subject in the words:

"*Ye bhajanti tu mām bhaktyā mayi te teṣu cāpyaham.*"

"But those who worship me by faith are in me and I in them."

1–2 *Aph.* 59: *Tābhyaḥ pāvitryam upakramāt.* Also *Aph.* 19, 20. As the commentator puts it under *Aph.* 56. "The ceremonial repetitions of a deity's names, etc.....are means for removing the hindrances to the higher form of faith" (*parābhakter vighnanāśanasādhana*).

3 *Aph.* 60: *Tāsu pradhānayogāt phalādhikyameke.*

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faith ought to be practised subject to varying conditions of time and circumstances as the subsidiary means to the attainment of the highest stage,[1] but he does not explain why he lays down certain conditions for the practice of the lower forms. He leaves it to his readers to conjecture his real intention. The commentator's inference from his use of the simile of building a house by way of illustration of the process to be followed seems rather beside the mark. He thinks that the *Sūtrakāra* is concerned with the question whether the various forms of faith should be practised simultaneously or successively, the lower leading to the higher. The true conclusion, according to the commentator, is that all these practices are auxiliary to the attainment of the highest faith, but it does not imply that all the lower forms should be gone through all at one and the same time. There are of course certain forms which can be observed at the same time in conformity with the dictates of the *Śruti* as to the simultaneous offering of perfumes, flowers, incense, etc. But there are again forms which, according to the text, must be practised as occasion arises.

The teaching by the simile of house-building

Thus the meaning of the simile of house-building is : Just as a man makes use of the various materials for a house, sometimes all at once and sometimes one after another, so as to cultivation of the various forms of faith. With all deference to the commentator's ingenuity, it is not difficult to discover the cause of his failure to grasp the real meaning. For going by his definition of faith as a faculty of the heart, all these votive offerings may be deemed as the outward expressions of one and the same kind of faith. The teaching by the simile is that an act of worship, like everything else, gains in value by its response to a certain need which arises with reference to time and circumstances, that is, in so far as it promotes the self-interest of the devout worshipper.

Two noticeable points :—The incompatibility of the practice of faith with the innate theory.

Here two points deserve special notice. (*a*) The commentator is alive to the fact that the *Sūtrakāra's* insistence on the practice of lower forms is apparently inconsistent with his innate theory of

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[1] *Aph.* 62: *Atrāṅgaprayogānāṃ yathākāla-sambhave gṛhādivat.*

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faith in God (*akṛtisādhyatva*). If the theistic faith does not depend on the performance of duty (*kṛtya na pekṣanāt*),[1] or as the commentator puts it, is not regulated by an effort of the will (*prayatna*) in the sense that a man is unable to make, unmake or alter it at his pleasure,[2] does it not follow that the practice of a form of faith is unmeaning and useless? But as a matter of fact, the *Sūtrakāra* does not really enjoin such a practice as a means for generating the highest faith. The instrumental use of *bhakti* implies that one faith may be the cause of the production of another (*hetu-bhāva*), but the word cause, if used at all, is used in a secondary sense,[3] not that the subsidiary forms generate the highest faith, but in the sense of these being the various means for removing the hindrances to the spontaneous growth of it.

The conjunction of the lower and the higher forms of faith does not imply a universal and necessary causal relation.

(*b*) We must confess that the commentator's meaning is not very clear to us. Does he mean, as the *Sūtrakāra* himself indicates, that the conjunction of the two main classes of faith does not imply an invariable, necessary causal relation? The lower forms either fall within or stand outside the highest faith strictly so called, like the *Aveṣṭi* and the *Bṛhaspati* offering in relation to the *Rājasūya* and the *Vājapeya* sacrifice respectively.[4] These fall within, as the commentator explains, in the sense of being included in it (*antargatatatvam*) as subsidiary parts of the highest faith (*parābhaktyaṅgatayā*), and stand outside in the sense of being external to it, that is, capable of producing independent fruits of their own (*phalāntarasambhavāt*). Just as the *Aveṣṭi* and the *Bṛhaspati* offering are in one sense ancillary to other sacrifices, and in another sense the principal rites, so as to the lower forms in relation to the higher forms of faith. If it be granted that even a little act on the part of a faithful worshipper puts away great sins when he has recourse to it to the exclusion of all other modes of expiation,[5] one must admit that all the lower forms of faith need not be practised as a means to the attainment of the highest stage. The association of the lower forms with the higher ones is not a universal and necessary causal

[1] *Aph.* 7.

[2] *Na puruṣena svecchayā karttum akarttum anyathā karttum śakyate.*

[3] Under *Aph.* 56.

[4] *Aph.* 73: *Vahirantarastham ubhayam aveṣṭisavavat.*

[5] *Aph.* 76.

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relation, though it may be, as the *Sūtrakāra* maintains, that the signification of the former arises from an association with the latter.[1]

The characteristic marks of abstract faith and the types of faith which rest on them.

Hearing and repeating the divine names, remembering the name of the Lord and Saviour, serving his feet, adoring, etc., are the various concrete forms of faith generally entertained in reference to an *avatāra*, the personal God of the Hindus. These are the outward expressions of certain feelings or emotions. Thus the signs characterizing the formal acts of worship presuppose certain mental attitudes or states of consciousness discernible as the various differentiating factors of abstract faith.

The *Sūtrakāra* enumerates these marks in the manner of *Smṛti* compilers, and the commentator illustrates them by the types of faith described in the Epics and the *Purāṇas*. Esteem, honour, joy, forlornness, scepticism as to other creeds, extolling his greatness, living for his sake, regarding everything as his, perception of his existence in all things, the sense of opposition accompanied by self-surrender, etc. these are the fundamental marks of faith recognized in the *Smṛtis*[2] and by common sense. The commentator mentions by way of illustration of each the esteem of Arjuna for Kṛṣṇa, the honour shown by Ikṣvāku, the joy of Vidura at the approach of Vāsudeva, the forlornness of the milkmaids, the determination of Nārada and Upamanyu to become a worm at the command of Śaṅkara in preference to the sovereignty over the three worlds by the grace of any other deity, Yama's eulogy of Keśava, Hanumat's living for the sake of Rāma, Vasu Uparicara's dedication of all his possessions to God, Prahlāda's perception of Hari in everything, Bhīṣma's heroic courage to die for the sake of duty in spite of opposition to the divine purpose, etc.

The degrees of faith imply the degrees of happiness or bliss.

The goal of faith as conceived by our *Sūtrakāra* is immortality,[3] and immortality which is attainable in this present consciousness

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[1] *Aph.* 72 : *Stutyarthatvāt sahacaryam.*

[2] *Aph.* 43, 44. *Sammāna-bahumāna prīti-viraha-itara-vicikitsā mahimakhyāti-tadarthaprāṇasthāna-tadiyatā-sarvatadbhava-prātikulyādinica smaraṇebhyo bāhulyāt:*

[3] *Aph.* 3.

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is a blissful state or beatitude resulting from a sense of purity attending faith. Faith at every stage implies an aesthetic feeling culminating in an ecstatic mood. Thus the degrees of faith carry with them the notion of degrees of happiness. Our authors are right to lead us back to the ancient texts, particularly to the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*[1] where the doctrine relating to the gradations of happiness is brought to a clear consciousness for the first time,—the doctrine which had originated with the *Aitareyas* and has influenced all later speculations.[2]

The Hedonistic conception of the lower forms of faith not excluding the Utilitarian.

The commentator makes it quite clear that happiness is not the direct object of faith, though invariably associated with it. In other words, happiness is concomitant of faith. The object of religious consciousness is God or a god, but *bhakti* and *prīti* go side by side. Happiness attainable through faith does not exclude altogether pleasures of the sense, though differentiates itself from them by the varying degrees. So far as the highest form of faith is concerned, there is no conscious effort on the part of the worshipper to secure earthly enjoyments or heavenly joys, but throws all material interests into the background. Happiness or a feeling of joy accompanies faith as a matter of course. The goal to which the highest faith leads is self-realization through a consciousness of identity with God.[3] The Hedonistic motive attaches only to the lower stages

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[1] *Aph.* 6.

[2] Alluding to *ānandasya mīmāṃsā* embodied in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, II 8, Prof. Max Müller observes, "In giving the various degrees of happiness, the author of the *Upaniṣad* gives us at the same time the various classes of human and divine beings which we must suppose were recognized in his time..... Such would seem to be the invention of an individual rather than the result of an old tradition, if it did not occur in a very similar form in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Mādhyandina Śākhā*, XIV. 7, 1, 31; *Kāṇva Śākhā* (*Bṛhad Ar. Up.* IV. 3, 32). Here, too, the highest measure of happiness is ascribed to the *Brahmaloka*, and other beings are supposed to have certain measure only of its supreme happiness.....The arrangements of these beings and their worlds, one being above the other, remind us of the Buddhists, but the elements, though in a less systematic form, existed evidently before." The *Upaniṣads*, part 2, S.B.E. vol. xv, p. 61, f. n. 2.

[3] *Aph.* 83: *Saikāntabhāvo gītārtha pratyabhijñānāt*, "This (highest faith) is

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which are emphatically denied by the *Sūtrakāra* the power to lead to beatitude in this life and immortality hereafter.[1] The Hedonistic conception which the practice of the lower forms of faith implies does not preclude from it the utilitarian motive. The *Sūtrakāra* and his commentator are anxious to share happiness attainable through faith with others—the women, Śūdras and Caṇḍālas—all are entitled to the practice of faith and the feeling of joy that results from it. They may not have the right to have a knowledge of transcendental truths directly from the Vedic literature, the door yet of a working knowledge of these based on the *Śruti* is unfolded to them by the avenue of the popular literature—the legends, epics, *Purāṇas*, etc., which are not inconsistent with the *Vedas* and Vedic injunctions and ceremonies. All have a right to cultivate faith,—to fold their hands, full of joy and with shouts of praise, in the worship of God, the Supreme personality.[2]

The thesis involved is developed by the commentator as follows: He says that the essence of faith is affection which is inseparably connected with pleasure or happiness (*sukhaniyate rāgo*). The object of the highest faith is God, and the feeling of joy which attends such faith is generated by the presence of the object in consciousness. In this respect the love of God is the same as an affection for an earthly thing. We can say, therefore, in a general fashion that pleasurable feelings cannot be produced by an object without or apart from affection or passionate longing for the object itself.[3] He says elsewhere, "Faith must be an affection directed to a particular object—from the fact of its being a particular quality of the soul, which is different from any merely selfish feeling as to that object being the means of attaining one's own interest (*hitasādhanatā*), and which yet produces as its effect a following of the object, etc . . . Thus we conclude that it is an affection and at the same time show that it is different from the feeling of promoting one's own interest (*hitasādhanatātbhinna*) "[4]

Faith or devotion considered from a psychological standpoint is an affection felt for an object which is loveable and reliable,—a

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the true identity with the supreme since this is recognized as the meaning of the Gītā."

[1] *Aph.*, 84. [2] *Aph.* 78: *Anindyayonyadhikriyate pāramparyāt sāmānyavat.*

[3] Under *Aph.* 2: *Viṣayajanyaprītir api rāgaṃ vinā na sambhavatīti.*

[4] Under *Aph.* 6. translated by Prof. Cowell.

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religious sentiment accompanied by joy which is a bye-product. Affection and joy are both subjective in the sense that they are related to the mind as an indwelling on the object with the consciousness of identity with it, and a pleasurable feeling. Both are feelings indeed, the difference being that affection has reference to an object, whereas pleasurable feelings or emotional outbursts result from the realization of a communion with the object. The object in the case of the highest faith is God or an Incarnation, while that of a lower form is a deity or personality other than God or His highest manifestation. The psychical element which lies at the foundation of religion is feeling. The basic factor of religion is neither volition nor cognition. It is not volition (*icchā*) because volition implies a desire to reach an object which is yet at a distance, whereas in the case of faith the object is already present in consciousness. Cognition is not necessarily the basic element of faith, since an intuitive vision of the supreme object of love is equally within the reach of the ignorant milkmaids.[1] Faith is innate in the sense that its various forms are generated in varying degrees from previous good works (*sukṛtija*), that is, spontaneously.[2] We have a direct perception of the object of faith, that is to say, the vision of the reality of life and of the whole of things comes to mind by way of a pure intuition (*pratyakṣa-gamya*).[3] Affection which is the *raison d'être* of faith is stirred up in the soul by the musical recitation of the divine names[4] or by the perception of providence, unlimited power and infinite beauty in God, the self-subsistent principle. We see in common life that the perception of beauty rouses affection for a young man in a girl's mind, and that the knowledge that nature is pitiless, limited, ugly, etc., causes distress of mind to living beings.[5] All these tantamount to saying that the religious impulse comes mainly from fear and wonder.

The superior worth of faith as a means of mukti.

The *Śāṇḍilya-sūtra* professes to be a dissertation on faith (*bhakti-jijñāsā*).[6] It postulates the want of faith (*abhakti*) as the cause of transmigration (*saṃsṛti*) of souls,[7] whereas the Vedāntist attributes mundane existence to ignorance (*ajñāna*). The power of emancipa-

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[1] *Aph* 1, 2, 3, 6, 7 together with the commentary. [2] *Aph.* 71.
[3] Under *Aph.* 15. [4] *Aph.* 57.
[5] *Aph.* 13 together with the commentary. [6] *Aph.* I. [7] *Aph.* 98.

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tion belongs to undeviating faith (*ananyabhakti*).[1] The superiority of faith is acknowledged as an established fact.[2] *Parā bhakti* begins where knowledge in the sense of understanding (*buddhi*) ends. Functions of the understanding cease altogether when the highest stage of faith is reached.[3] Faith is therefore not the same as knowledge in the above sense. The cognition of *Brahman* is one thing, and faith which is really an abiding in Him another.[4] Transcendental faith implies a consciousness or feeling of identity of the subject with the object intuited, attended by a thrill of joy.[5] The ecstatic mood arises consequent on the *scientia intuitiva* of the philosopher, or the revelation claimed by a saint inspired. The common feature of knowledge and faith is that both are innate faculties in the sense that none can make, unmake or alter them,[6] and that their highest object is given in intuition (*pratyakṣa-gamya*). The pathway to both is meditation, mystic or philosophic (*samādhi*).[7] It is fallacious to say that we know by faith, since cognition is the function of the understanding defined by the commentator as (a faculty by which we gain) certain knowledge of *Brahman*,[8] ancillary to faith. The philosophic cognition is noti ndispensable to *mukti*, because it is realizable through faith even by ignorant milkmaids.[9] Hearing, pondering, meditating, etc., are the various modes of understanding which, though not indispensable to the attainment of faith in its highest technical sense, may be resorted to as a means of purifying or confirming it.[10] The transcendental faith is rather an effect than a cause (*hetu*), inasmuch as it is just a consciousness or feeling of identity which presupposes that the object is already known. In the language of the commentator, "the previous cognition is auxiliary to faith in the sense that it brings faith as a resultant into play."[11] By concentration we are led, if we are divines or philosophers, to have an intuitive vision (*pratyakṣa-darśana*) of reality beyond which human cognition cannot go, and we have not yet attained *mukti*, that is, until we have realized the object by identi-

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[1] *Aph.* 3, 84. [2] *Aph.* 22.

[3] *Aph.* 96: *Ananyabhaktyātad buddhir buddhilayād atyantam.*

[4] *Aph.* 4. [5] *Aph.* 83, 6. [6] Under *Aph.* 7. [7] *Aph.* 19.

[8] Under *Aph.* 27: *Buddhir brahma-pramitiḥ.*

[9] *Aph.* 14. [10] *Aph.* 27.

[11] Under *Aph.* 15: "*Bhaktyupakāripūrvajñānam tat phalarūpabhaktipravartakam.*

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fying ourselves with it. Transcendental knowledge and transcendental faith are not actions (*karma*), since these are not attained by an effort of the will (*prayatna*).[1]

If this view be strictly adhered to, how can the *Sūtrakāra* or the commentator maintain that faith in varying degrees is *sukṛtija*—generated from previous good works, the actions of the past existence ?[2] Do they only mean that the utility of religious ceremonies and duties gone through in accordance with one's belief lies in keeping off hindrances to the spontaneous manifestation of faith, just in the same way that the various modes of understanding are practised as a means of purifying or confirming it ?[3] But is there a difference of kind between transcendental faith and the lower stages, psychologically considered ? Faith as a faculty of the internal sense must not be confounded with its exercises in the form of ceremonies and worship. They do not seem to commit themselves exactly to such a position as this. What they want us to understand with them is that the intuitive insight and the feeling of identity and the thrill of joy which follow as a consequence do not arise accidentally, as a result of the effort of the moment. These are realizable rather as the highest attainments of continued efforts of a person's whole existence,—a series of actions which go to build his character and prepare his soul for the realization of the highest aim. Looking from this point of view, the formal acts of worship, the performance of duties in accordance with one's beliefs, and the practice of the various modes of understanding are not useless, as all of them have their contribution towards building up of the highest spiritual self.

The place of the Śāṇḍilya-sūtra as a treatise on Bhakti in Indian literature.

It is reasonably claimed that this advanced theory of Hindu faith is in no way peculiar to our *Sūtra*.[4] The utmost that the *Sūtrakāra* has aimed at is to render definite what was tacitly implied in the teaching of his predecessors. The pedigree of his unique treatise on *Bhakti* connects it with literature of the past, the fact which goes to prove beyond a shadow of doubt that the Hindu faith is an uninterrupted process and growth.

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[1] *Aph.* 7. [2] *Aph.* 7.

[3] *Aph.* 27.

[4] *Aph.* 26: *Brahmakāṇḍaṃ tu bhaktau tasyānujñānāya sāmānyāt.*

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The fundamental basis of the Śūtra is the Bhagavad Gītā which is essentially a bhakti-grantha.

The previous developments here thought of can be clearly traced if not earlier, at least as far back as the *Upaniṣads* and *Forest-books* through the *Purāṇas* and Epics. Its fundamental basis is of course the *Bhagavad Gītā*, the most authoritative scripture of the Hindu faith. The *Gītā* professes to contain a genuine synthesis of sweet teachings of the *Upaniṣads*, or more accurately, a combination of speculative philosophy (*ānvikṣakī*), ways of life (*loka-yātrā*), and religion (*bhakti-yoga*). Let alone for the moment the question as to how far it has succeeded in establishing a harmonious relation between cognition, volition and feeling which are the basic psychological elements of the three main topics of Hinduism, viz. knowledge, action, faith, respectively. The *Gītā* must be judged mainly as a treatise on *bhakti* by virtue of the prominence accorded to the element of faith.[1] The historical accuracy of this general conclusion arrived at by Bankim Candra in his *Dharmatattva* as the ripe fruit of his searching analysis and penetrating insight cannot at all be doubted. By this significant observation he has convinced us at any rate that the teaching of the philosopher Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavad Gītā* is not inconsistent with the life-practice of Kṛṣṇa the worshipper described in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*.

The Bhakti-kāṇḍa is a final development of the Jñānakāṇḍa which is the presupposition of the Karmakāṇḍa.

It is therefore well said that the implication of the *Pūrva* or *Karma-kāṇḍa* is *the Uttara* or *Jñāna-kāṇḍa*. The former is a *Dharma-jijñāsā* which treats of the whole duty of men considered under its formal or practical aspect. The latter is a *Brahma-jijñāsā* or an investigation into the possibility of human knowledge with all its limitations. The knowledge-section should properly be designated the *Brahma-section*, being intended to provide certitude for cognition of the Absolute within and without, here and now. But it failing to lead us as far as the last reaches of human perfection which is spiritual, culminates necessarily in the *Bhakti-kāṇḍa*. The writers on faith, dissatisfied with the vanity of speculative philo-

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[1] *The Gītā*, VI. 47: *Śraddhāvān bhajate yo māṃ sa me yuktatamo mataḥ*. Cf. XII. 2. *Śraddhayā parayopetāste me yuktatama mataḥ*. Also, VI. 46–47.

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sophy to make a perceptual or a conceptual reconstruction of reality, urge all, irrespective of caste, sex and culture, earnestly to realize *Brahman* as known by a simple act of intuition or feelingly to adore the highest human manifestation of God in an *Avatāra*. They teach men to gain a direct perception of their highest spiritual existence within and without, to feel within themselves the bliss divine by the realization, conscious or unconscious, of the greatness, goodness, blessedness, grace, self-revealing power, etc., which belong to God alone. The predominance of faith which the *Sūtrakāra* has sought to establish is not in any way a departure from the conclusions of the teachers of old. The end of human activities is not mere knowledge which taken by itself is rather dry and barren, but joy divine attainable by an intense sympathy, intellectual or otherwise, with the whole of things. This is the sum and substance no doubt of "the Doctrine of Honey" (*Madhu-vidyā*) embodied in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, and this is the conclusion of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* which assigns unconditionally the highest place to the spiritual self (*ānandamaya ātmā*) rather than to the cognitive one (*vijñānamaya*). Thus it can be shown that development of the Hindu theory of faith is just a process of specialization which proceeded side by side with the development of Indian literature itself. In other words, the gradual unfolding of religious consciousness of the Hindus can be traced by the gradual separation of the texts themselves.

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THE GAUḌAPĀDA-KĀRIKĀ ON THE MĀṆḌŪKYA UPANIṢAD.

By VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

It was in July 1919 that, in order to prepare some lectures for my pupils in the Viśvabhāratī, Śāntiniketana, I had to read the *Upaniṣads* anew; and in doing so, when I began to study the *Gauḍapāda-Kārikā* on the *Māṇḍūkya* text, I was struck with its contents which were known to me before this in a quite different light. I found there something new which I never thought of finding in it. And here I desire to present in part what I found in the following pages.

The *Māṇḍūkya* is held to be one of the ten principal *Upaniṣads*. It is also popularly thought that the Ācārya Gauḍapāda, the '*Paramaguru*' of the great Vedantist Śaṅkarācārya, has commented upon it by his *Kārikās*, i.e. explanatory verses, the real name of which is *Āgamaśāstra*. This *Āgamaśāstra* is again believed to be a pure Vedantic work. Even renowned authors and teachers have taken it to be so. But all these views are to be either given up altogether or to be modified to a great extent. All these and similar other points have been thoroughly discussed in my main dissertation on these *Kārikās* which will, I hope, be shortly ready for the press under the name of "*The Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda.*"

The *Āgamaśāstra* is divided into four *Prakaraṇas* or 'Books.' In the first Book there is nothing particular to comment upon, but as regards the other three, I can in no way admit that what is treated and established therein is pure *Vedānta*. If it were so, we shall be obliged to say that the *Vedānta* which Gauḍapāda knew was quite different from that known to us until now. It is clear that in Books II and III the Ācārya has tried to bring Vedānta into harmony with Buddhism and has succeeded in doing so. I strongly believe that Buddhism did not spring up in the country all of a sudden. It must have been influenced by the *Upaniṣads* which preceded it. Consequently some of the Buddhist theories, such as the *Vijñānavāda* of the *Yogācāras*, and the *Śūnyavāda* of the *Mādhyamikas*, can be traced back to, and explained to some extent, by the Upaniṣadic texts, which deserve to be interpreted quite independently without paying any heed to the existing schools of

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interpretation. It is Gauḍapāda, and he alone, who discovered the true relation between the Vedantic and Buddhistic views. In Books II and III of his *Āgamaśāstra*, Gauḍapāda begins with *Vedānta* and concludes with Buddhism, showing thereby how the former leads to the latter. But he has devoted Book IV entirely to Buddhism, or, to be more particular, to *Yogācāra* and *Mādhyamika* schools. It is quite apparent from his *Āgamaśāstra* that he has freely used the principal Buddhist works, such as the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamaka-Kārikā* with the commentary by Candrakīrti, and Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*. Not only this. He has also employed identical words, even often quoting the same lines from different Buddhist works, though without mentioning his sources. From a perusal of the *Āgamaśāstra* it will also be evident that the real father of the present *Advaitavāda* is not the great Śaṅkarācārya, but Gauḍapāda, his *Paramaguru* who, on his own part, is again much indebted to the Buddhists. Details of all these things will be found in my forthcoming volume "*The Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda*" referred to. Here, however, I shall try to give only a short account of some of them confining myself to a very small number of *Kārikās*, contained mainly in Book IV.

I have already said that the fourth Book of the *Āgamaśāstra* is devoted entirely to Buddhist philosophy; nothing of *Vedānta* is to be found there, though it has been explained in Vedāntic light. This assertion can be proved from the very beginning of it. The first two *Kārikās* form what is known in Sanskrit literature as *Maṅgalācaraṇa*, 'Salutation' or 'Prayer for success,' etc. And the first of these two *Kārikās* runs as follows :—

ज्ञानेनाकाशकल्पेन धर्मान् यो गगनोपमान् ।
ज्ञेयाभिन्नेन सम्बुद्धस्तं वन्दे द्विपदां वरम् ॥

The author pays homage to द्विपदांवर 'the greatest of men,' the word द्विपद् (or द्विपद) lit. 'biped' meaning 'a man.' But who is the greatest of men referred to here? He cannot be any other than the Buddha. For it is the Buddha, and he alone, who is addressed by that phrase, as is evident throughout Buddhist literature, either in Pāli or Sanskrit. द्विपदां वर when compounded becomes द्विपद्वर, which is tantamount to द्विपदोत्तम in Sanskrit, and द्विपदुत्तम in Pāli And it is one of the synonyms for the Buddha,[1] and it is in.

[1] *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, Colombo, 1900, I; *Mahāsaddanīti*, Colombo, 1909; p. 60, l. 25.

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frequent use in literature (*Suttanipāta*, P. T. S. 83, 995, 998; *Samādhirāja*, B. T. S. p. 8). The word द्विपद्-अग्र, too, for the Buddha occurs in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (Memoir, Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 235) in the following phrase :—

"बुद्धं शरणं गच्छामि द्विपदानामग्रम् ।"

According to the commentator, Śaṅkara,[1] द्विपदां वर means पुरुषोत्तम i.e. नारायण. Says he "धर्मान् यः सम्बुद्धः सम्बुद्धवान् इत्ययमेव नारायणाख्यः .. द्विपदां वरं पुरुषाणां वरं प्रधानं पुरुषोत्तमम् इत्यभिप्रायः ।"

But even पुरुषोत्तम does not necessarily mean नारायण for it is also a well-known name of the Buddha as will be found in the *Mahāvastu* (Senart, Vol. II, pp. 194, 199, 232, 266; *Samādhirāja*, p. 3). The word नरोत्तम, too, is one of the name of the Buddha (*Ibid.*, p. 193; *Mahāvyutpatti*, Vol. I, 39, p. 2; *Samādhirāja*, pp. 8, 17, 18). It is also to be noted here that nowhere in Brāhmaṇic Sanskrit literature the word द्विपदोत्तम or a similar word compounded with द्विपद is to be found to mean नारायण. In the *Mahābhārata* (Vana, 57. 42) द्विपदांवर is used as an adjective of Nala.

The other words of the *Kārikā* will strongly support the view that the author means here the Buddha. The literal import of the verse is this :—

> "Who has perfectly understood the things (धर्म) which are like the sky (गगनोपम) through his knowledge (ज्ञान) which is not different from its object (ज्ञेयाभिन्न) and is also like the sky (आकाशकल्प), to him, to the greatest of men, I do homage."

Here are two points. First, ज्ञान is here said to be आकाशकल्प 'like the sky,' and again it is ज्ञेयाभिन्न 'not different from ज्ञेय 'knowable,' the object of knowledge; second, the things (धर्म) are likewise गगनोपम 'like the sky.'

Now, who is that person to whom there is no difference between ज्ञान and the ज्ञेय, and ज्ञान is आकाशकल्प? And what is really implied by the word धर्म which is also described as गगनोपम?

It is not a new thing to one knowing the Indian systems of philosophy that according to the Buddhists, or more particularly, according to one special sect or school of theirs, viz. the *Yogācāras*, there

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[1] In my opinion, as I have shown elsewhere, (*Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume*) this Śaṅkara cannot be identified with the great Śaṅkarācārya, the founder of the *Advaita* school of the *Vedānta* philosophy. See also Hermann Jacobi, *J.A.O.S.*, XXXIII, p. 52, note 2.

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is no difference whatever between ज्ञान (चित्त) and ज्ञेय, the ज्ञेय being nothing but ज्ञान, as there is no existence of external reality (बाह्यार्थ) just like in one's dream (स्वप्न).[1] This is a common point of controversy between the Buddhist and the Non-Buddhist philosophers in our country. This theory, the *Vijñānavāda*, has been discussed under the heading of '*Nirālambanavāda*' and attacked and refuted by Śabarasvāmin[2] and Kumārila.[3] It is needless to say that this *Vijñānavāda* of the *Yogācāras* originated, as the members of this sect would maintain, with the Buddha himself, who is saluted here in the first *Kārikā*.[4]

The word धर्म in the sense of a 'thing' or the 'object of knowledge'[5] is very well known in Buddhist literature, both in Pāli and in Sanskrit.[6] And evidently it is employed here in that meaning. But in the commentary which is wrongly ascribed to Śaṅkara, the word धर्म in this and several other *Kārikās* has been taken to mean आत्मन्. But this meaning is forced and far-fetched and thus cannot be accepted. In the whole range of Upaniṣadic literature धर्म is nowhere used in this sense; nor even in any of the *Kārikās* of the first three Books of the present work can one meet with that meaning. To imply आत्मन् the *Ācārya* in every case has used आत्मन् or जीव, and why should he all of a sudden in the last Book begin to employ the word धर्म to mean it? The word धर्म is used in the last Book not less than twenty times and every time it conveys the sense of a 'thing.' And though the commentator has tried his best to explain it as meaning 'soul' (आत्मन्), he has utterly failed in some cases where he has been compelled to accept the meaning of a 'thing.' For instance, in the commentary on the *Kārikā* IV. 54

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[1] For the detailed discussion see the *Sarvadarśana-Saṃgraha*, Bib. Ind. 1858. pp. 15–16.

[2] *Mīmāṃsādarśana* with Śabara's commentary, Bib. Ind. p. 8, l. 21.

[3] *Ślokavārtika*, Chaukhamba S. Series. pp. 217ff.

[4] I hope to show in a subsequent paper thatthe *Vijñānavāda* can be traced back to the *Upaniṣads*.

[5] That is, ज्ञेय, Pāli ञेय (*Abhidhānappa*. 784) or in the words of the *Naiyāyikas* प्रमेय. There are five *Ñeya-dhammas* in which everything of the world is included, viz.. *Sāṃkhāra, Vikāra, Lakkhaṇa, Paññatti*, and *Nibbāna*.

[6] For instance, "सर्वधर्मा अपि देवपुत्रा मायोपमाः स्वप्नोपमाः"– *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Pra.* p. 39; "पुनरपरं सुभूते तथागतेन सर्वधर्मा अकृता अकृता इत्यभिसम्बुद्धाः," सर्वधर्मेषु ज्ञानं प्रवृत्तम् ॥"—*Ibid.*, p. 275; see also pp. 278–279. Its use in that sense in Brahmanic literature is very rare. See *Katha Up.* I. 1. 21.

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("एवं न चित्तजा धर्माश्चित्तं वापि न धर्मजम्") धर्माः is explained not as आत्मानः, but बाह्यधर्माः i.e. बाह्यविषयाः 'external things.' And again in the *Kārikā* IV. 41, he interprets धर्मान् by saying clearly हस्त्यादीन् 'the elephants, etc.' See also the commentary IV. 99. Sometimes he does not explain the word at all, probably being unable to be consistent with his own fanciful meaning, i.e. आत्मन् (See commentary IV. 21, 33).[1] When the *Kārikā* IV. 6 is compared with *Kārikā* III. 20,[2] the reader will be convinced that the author, Gauḍapāda, has himself expressed in his own words that धर्म in this case is used only in the sense of a 'thing.' In explaining धर्म the commentator is so bewildered that he has once (III. 1) taken it to mean even a साधक 'one striving for success or final emancipation.'

Now, it is stated in the *Kārikā* that the *dharmas* are गगनोपम 'like the sky.' This is clearly the Buddhistic view. For according to them everything is like the sky. So it is stated in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* (p. 297): "एवमेव सुभूते सर्वधर्मा .. आकाशसमाः।" So in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* IX. 155:—

"सर्वमाकाशसङ्काशं परिगृह्णन्तु मद्विधाः।"[3]

One of the grounds[4] on which this theory is based is that the things are निःस्वभाव, i.e. without their *own* nature or condition or state of

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[1] Evidently धर्म here means nothing but 'a thing.'

[2] The *Kārikās* run:—

"अजातस्यैव धर्मस्य जातिमिच्छन्ति वादिनः.
अजातो ह्यमृतो धर्मो मर्त्यतां कथमेष्यति ॥ IV. 6.
अजातस्यैव भावस्य जातिमिच्छन्ति वादिनः।
अजातो ह्यमृतो भावो मर्त्यतां कथमेष्यति ॥" III. 20.

Here as regards the meanings, the words धर्म in the first *Kārikā* and भाव in the last are apparently one and the same, and we need not explain that भाव means here 'a thing.'

[3] And it is explained in its great *Tīkā Pañjikā* (Bib. Ind.) p. 592, by Prajñākaramati as follows:—

"आकाशसङ्काशं समारोपिततत्त्वशून्यत्वात् आकाशकल्पम्."

Mark here in this line the word आकाशकल्पम् and आकाशकल्पेन in this *Kārikā*.

[4] See *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, pp. 278–279. In the commentary on the *Kārikā* IV. 96, it is said in reference to the opening *Kārikā* (IV, 1) of this Book that ज्ञान is आकाशकल्प because it is असङ्ग 'having no relation (with the object)' there being nothing external. See the *Kārikā* IV. 72 with commentary. Cf. "एवं चतुष्कोटिविनिर्मुक्तम् आकाशवद् असङ्गम् अनास्पदम् (according to Tibetan) विश्वम् उत्पश्यामः।"—*Bodhicaryā. Pañj.* p. 359.

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being (स्वभाव).[1] And that which has not its own state of being is nothing but the sky and void (आकाश, शून्य).[2]

In the above *Kārikā* ज्ञान, too, is said to be like the sky (आकाशकल्प), and in fact it is so, for it is included in *dharmas* which are, as we have already seen, like the sky. This sky-likeness of things has again been propounded in the *Kārikā* IV. 91: "प्रकृत्याकाशवज् ज्ञेयाः सर्वे धर्मा अनादयः।"

The second *Kārikā* of the *Maṅgalācaraṇa* (IV. 2) runs:—

"अस्पर्शयोगो वै नाम सर्वसत्त्वसुखो हितः।
अविवादोऽविरुद्धश्च देशितस्तं नमाम्यहम्॥"

'I salute him who has taught the अस्पर्शयोग which conduces to happiness of all beings and is beneficial and free from dispute and opposition.'

But what is that अस्पर्शयोग and by whom has it been taught?,[3] There is no mention of it in the *Upaniṣads*—though the commentator says that it is well-known in them ("प्रसिद्धमुपनिषत्सु," III. 39);[4] nor can it be found in any of the Brāhmaṇic works, so far as I can now ascertain, which can be placed before the advent of the Buddha.

At first sight one may be tempted to refer it to what is said in the following *śloka* in Āryadeva's (2nd century A.D.) *Catuḥśatikā* (Memoirs, A.S.B., Vol. III, p. 507, *Sloka* 308):—

"न ह्यस्पर्शवतो नाम योगः स्पर्शवता सह।
रूपादीनामतो योगः सर्वथापि न युज्यते॥"

But in fact it cannot be so, अस्पर्शयोग and अस्पर्शवद्-योग are not the same. This *śloka* only says that the contact (योग) of a tangible thing (स्पर्शवत्) with an intangible one (अस्पर्शवत्) is not reasonable;

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[1] To this point (स्वभाव) a whole chapter has been devoted in the *Madhyamakavṛtti* XV, pp. 259-279.

[2] "अतोऽभिनिष्कृष्यमाणो निःस्वभावतया आकाशं शून्यमेव।"—*Bodhicaryā. Panj.*, p. 503. See also "एवं कराद्योऽपि विचारतो निःस्वभावा द्रष्टव्या इति। ततः कायोऽपि न परमार्थतःकश्चिदस्ति। .. अयं कायः पादपादाङ्गुलि ... शिरःकपालमात्रसमूहः। ... तत् कोऽत्र कायः। तस्य प्रत्यवेक्षमाणस्य भवति—आकाशसमोऽयं कायः। स आकाशवत् काये स्मृतिमुत्पादयति सर्वमेतद् आकाशमिति पश्यति। एवं विचार्यमाणो वस्तुतः शून्यस्वभावतया आकाशसङ्काशः कायः।" pp. 504-505.

[3] I construe the *Kārikā* taking येन as understood, thus differing a little from the commentator who says that it is अस्पर्शयोग that is saluted here.

[4] This also shows that the commentator cannot be identified with the great Śaṅkara, for he cannot say so.

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while the word अस्पर्शयोग conveys a particular kind of meditation or concentration as is evident also from the *Kārikā* III. 39 :

" अस्पर्शयोगो वै नाम दुर्दर्शः सर्वयोगिभिः ।
योगिनो बिभ्यति ह्यस्माद्भये भयदर्शिनः ॥ "

In the *Kārikā* III, 37, too, it has clearly been stated as समाधि 'concentration.' This concentration of mind is, I think, nothing but the ninth or the last of nine *dhyānas* or meditations called अनुपूर्वविहार, Pāli अनुपुब्बविहार 'successive states (of *dhyāna*)' which the Blessed One taught and which are found frequently in Buddhist texts.[1] These successive states are enumerated as follow :—

I. Four *Rūpa dhyānas*, i.e. the meditations the object of which is *rūpa* 'matter.'
   (1) The first stage of meditation (प्रथम ध्यान).
   (2) The second stage of meditation (द्वितीय ध्यान).
   (3) The third stage of meditation (तृतीय ध्यान).
   (4) The fourth stage of meditation (चतुर्थ ध्यान).

II. The Four *Arūpa dhyānas* termed—
   (5) The place of infinity of space (आकाशानन्त्यायतन, P. आकासानञ्चायतन).
   (6) The place of infinity of clear consciousness (विज्ञानानन्त्यायतन, P. विञ्ञाणञ्चायतन).
   (7) The place of nothingness (आकिञ्चन्यायतन, P. आकिञ्चञ्ञायतन).
   (8) The place neither of conciousness, nor of unconsciousness (नैवसंज्ञानासंज्ञायतन, P. नेवसञ्ञानासञ्ञायतन).
   (9) And the cessation or complete restriction of consciousness and sensation (संज्ञावेदयितनिरोध, P. सञ्ञावेदयितनिरोध).

As, in this last stage of meditation or योग, not only sensation or consciousness but also all the mental properties (चेतसिका धम्मा) headed by contact (फस्स, skt. स्पर्श)[2] together with the mind (चित्त) itself are restricted or suppressed, it is called अस्पर्शयोग, i.e. the योग in which there is no स्पर्श. The word स्पर्श used here implies also the other mental properties of which स्पर्श is the first. The cessation of वेदना is possible, only when स्पर्श ccases, as has been clearly shown in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, P. T. S. Vol. IV, p. 220 (=XXXVI. 15, 4):

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[1] " नव यिमे भिक्खवे अनुपुब्बविहारा ।.. .. नव यिमे भिक्खवे अनुपुब्ब विहारसमापत्तियो देसिस्सामि. तं सुनाथ । "—*Aṅguttaranikāya*, Vol. IV, pp. 410–448.

[2] " फस्सो वेदना सञ्ञा चेतना..चेतसिका सब्बचित्तसाधारणा नाम । "—*Abhidhammattha saṅgaha*, II, I, ff. (Colombo, 1898, p. 27, 41).

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"फस्ससमुदया वेदनासमुदयो, फस्सनिरोधा वेदनानिरोधो।" स्पर्श is the cause of वेदना, so when there is स्पर्श there is वेदना, and there is no वेदना where there is no स्पर्श.

The fact that in this state of निरोध, mind and its properties (चित्त and चेतसिक धम्मs) completely cease to work is mentioned by Buddhaghoṣa very clearly in his *Visuddhimagga*, (Saddharmaprakāśaka Press, Ceylon, 1914), p. 552.[1]

In the present *Kārikā* (IV, 2) this योग is described as conducing to happiness (सर्वसत्त्वसुख). So it is said also in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, Vol. IV, p. 228 (=XXXVI, 19, 20), that the highest bliss or pleasure is felt in the *Saññāvedayitanirodha* (or the *Sammāvedayitanirodha* of the Chinese Version).[2]

That this is very difficult to realize (दुर्दर्श) as is said in the *Kārikā* III. 39, does not require any comment. In fact, in Buddhist works, too, this योग or निरोध is described by the same word, दुर्दर्श, Pali दुद्दस.[3]

It is further stated in the present *Kārikā*, that *Yogins*, or rather untrained ones, shrink back from it, magnifying fear where in reality there is no fear:—"योगिनो बिभ्यति ह्यस्माद्भये भयदर्शिनः।" But what is the cause of their fear here? The commentator has rightly explained it saying:—"आत्मनाशरूपमिमं योगं मन्यमाना भयं कुर्वन्ति,"—the so-called *Yogins* think that it will annihilate the very self of which they are so fond, and so they are frightened. Indeed, there is hardly any difference between a *Yogin* in this state and a dead person, their respiration being completely stopped.[4] So when the Blessed One entered this state, i.e. *Saññāvedayitanirodha* before his *parinibbāna*, Ānanda took him to be dead. But the venerable

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[1] It says "का निरोधसमापत्तीति? या अनुपुब्बनिरोधवसेन चित्तचेतसिकानं धम्मानं अप्पवत्ति।" See also "सञ्ञावेदयितनिरोधं समापन्नस्स सञ्ञा च वेदना च निरुद्धा होन्ति। खीणासवस्स भिक्खुनो रागो निरुद्धो होति दोसो निरुद्धो होति मोहो निरुद्धो होति।"—*Saṃyutta-nikāya*, P. T. S. Vol. IV. p. 217 (=XXXVI, 11, 5).

[2] "इधानन्द भिक्खु सब्बसो नेवसञ्ञानासञ्ञायतनं समतिक्कम्म सञ्ञावेदयितनिरोधं उपसम्पज्ज विहरति। इदं खो आनन्द एतन्हा सुखा अञ्ञं सुखं अभिक्कन्ततरं च पणीततरं च।" See also the next paragraph (21) for the reply to a question raised here. Cf. *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* P. T. S. Vol. IV, pp. 414–418 (=XXXIV, 2-3): किं पनेत्थ (i.e. in निब्बान) आवुसो सारिपुत्त सुखं यदेत्थ नत्थि वेदयितन्ति। एतदेव खेत्थ आवुसो सुखं यदेत्थ नत्थि वेदयितं।"

[3] *Majjhima-Nikāya*, P. T. S. Vol. I, p. 167.

[4] From the fourth *dhyāna* respiration of a *Yogin* stops. See *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, Vol. IV, p. 217 (=XXXVI. II. 5, etc.).

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Anuruddha Thera said to him that that was not the case, the Blessed One only having entered the stage of the *dhyāna*, called *Saññā-vedayitanirodha*. After a short time, however, He passed away.[1] It is, therefore, quite natural that an untrained *Yogin* should be afraid of it, as of death.

Yet, there is a real difference between death and असम्प्रज्ञयोग or सञ्ज्ञावेदयितनिरोध, and Buddhaghoṣa has explained it in his *Visuddhi-magga* (p. 558) by quoting a passage from the *Suttapiṭaka*. It says that all the conditions in both of them are one and the same, excepting that in the latter the heat of the body is not extinguished, that life does not come to an end, and that the organs of sense are not destroyed, while in the former all these are annihilated.

As we have already seen, this योग has been taught by the Buddha. It cannot be denied that up to the eighth of these successive states of *dhyāna* (अनुपूर्वविहार), viz. 'neither consciousness nor unconsciousness' (*Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana*) there is nothing particularly Buddhistic. For, it is evident from Buddhist literature, both Pāli and Sanskrit, that the Buddha's teacher, Āḷāra Kālāma (Kālāpa), a *Brāhmaṇa*, taught him the seventh stage, 'the state of nothingness'; and then the other teacher, also a *Brāhmaṇa*, Uddaka (Skt., Rudraka) Rāmaputta, taught him the eighth stage, the state of 'neither consciousness-nor-unconsciousness' (*Nevasaññānāsa-ññāyatana*).[2] The Buddha was, however, not satisfied with what he had from those teachers, and he started thereupon to seek after a still higher state and succeeded in realizing it. It is this state which is called सञ्ज्ञावेदयितनिरोध or briefly निरोध. निरोध is almost the same as निर्वान, the difference between them being very little. It seems that in the words of Brāhmaṇic philosophy निरोध is जीवन्मुक्ति while निर्वान is विदेह मुक्ति.

This निरोध also appears to be what is called असम्प्रज्ञात समाधि in the *Yogasūtras* of Patañjali (1, 2, 18, 51 with the Scholiast Vyāsa). But this mere fact cannot be advanced as a proof of its Brāhmaṇic origin; for as recent researches[3] show, the date of the *Yogasūtras*

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[1] *Mahāparinibbānasutta* VI, 8–9 (=*Dīgha.*, P. T. S. p. 158).

[2] *Majjhima*, Vol. I, pp. 165–166 (*Ariyapari-yesanasutta*, I. 3. 6); *Lalitavistara*, Lefmann, Vol. I, pp. 238–239, 243–244; *Buddhacarita*, Cowell, XIII, 63, 83; Kern's *Manual of Buddhism*, 1896, p. 55. [Were they Brahmins? Ed.]

[3] J. H. Woods: *Yoga-System of Patañjali*, Harvard Oriental Series 17, Introduction, p. xvii.

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in its present form being placed between 300 A.D. and 500 A.D., it is in no way impossible that the Brāhmaṇic school of *Yoga* might have adopted it from the Buddhists. And again, if the author of the *Kārikā*, Gauḍapāda, had only meant here the असम्प्रज्ञात समाधि as is described in the *Yogasūtras*, he would have certainly used this word itself and not अस्पर्शयोग which is nowhere found in any Brāhmaṇic work. On the other hand, references from Buddhist works have already been given with regard to the use of the word अस्पर्शयोग. Moreover, there is no mention whatever in the *Yogasūtras* or in any other work as to the author of the असम्प्रज्ञात समाधि to whom Gauḍapāda would pay his homage, while, as has been seen above, the अस्पर्शयोग was taught by the Buddha.

There is one thing more which suggests that the अस्पर्शयोग is not originally taught in the Brāhmaṇic system of *Yoga*. It is said in the *Kārikā* (IV. 2) that this *Yoga* is अविवाद 'not disputed' and अविरुद्ध 'not opposed.'[1] It is implied from these two words that, in acceptance of the अस्पर्शयोग by the Vedāntins among whom the author himself is included, there cannot be raised any dispute, for there is nothing to be opposed even from their own point of view.

Thus it is perfectly clear from what we have seen above in regard to the second *Kārikā* that the real instructor of the अस्पर्शयोग who is saluted here by Gauḍapāda is no other than the Buddha.

By using not less than six times the word *Buddha* in this Book of his *Kārikās* Gauḍapāda tells us in the clearest possible terms that the doctrine propounded by him is of the Buddha, 'the Enlightened One.' Let us quote here a few lines :—

"एवं हि सर्वथा बुद्धैरजातिः परिदीपिता।" IV. 19.

"जातिस्तु देशिता बुद्धैरजातेस्त्रसतां सदा।" IV. 42.[2]

The word सम्बुद्ध in the first *Kārikā* deserves to be mentioned here, and the Appendix giving a list of the words, apparently Buddhistic and used here in Book IV exactly in the same sense may also be consulted in regard thereto.

So far the first two *Kārikās* are thus discussed. Let us now see

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[1] Cf. IV. 5.

[2] See also : "विषयः स हि बुद्धानाम्," IV. 80; "सदा बुद्धैः प्रकीर्तितम्," IV. 88; "क्रमते न हि बुद्धस्य ज्ञानम्," "नैतद् बुद्धेन भाषितम्," IV. 99. The word बुद्ध has been used twice over (IV. 92, 98), but in different sense ; it does not affect the main contention.

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what the *Ācārya* says in his last two *Kārikās*, the first of which runs as follows :—

"क्रमते न हि बुद्धस्य ज्ञानं धर्मेषु तायिनः ।
सर्वे धर्मास्तथा ज्ञानं नैतद् बुद्धेन भाषितम् ॥" IV. 99.

It means that according to *tāyin* Buddha, ज्ञान 'knowledge' does not approach things (धर्म), i.e. it does not relate itself to its object (see IV. 72, 96); for things and knowledge—these have not been told by the Buddha.

As has already been shown in the very beginning (IV. 1) both ज्ञान and ज्ञेय 'knowledge and knowable' are like the sky (आकाशकल्प) and there cannot be any relation between them. Moreover, according to the *Mādhyamikas*, with regard to the supreme truth (परमार्थ) the Buddha has said nothing, not uttered a single syllable. He has thus not said anything of धर्म and ज्ञान. Nāgārjuna says :—

"सर्वोपलम्भोपशमः प्रपञ्चोपशमः शिवः ।
न क्वचित् कस्यचित् कश्चिद् धर्मो बुद्धेन देशितः ॥"

Mūlamadhyamaka-Kārikā. XX. 25.

Candrakīrti, the commentator, quotes here from the *Tathāgataguhyasūtra* :—

"यां च रात्रिं शान्तमते तथागतोऽनुत्तरां सम्यक् सम्बोधिमभिसम्बुद्धो यां च रात्रिमुपादाय परिनिर्वास्यति अत्रान्तरे तथागतेन एकमप्यक्षरं नोदाहृतं न व्याहृतं नापि प्रव्याहरति नापि प्रव्याहरिष्यति ।"

Here, too, the name of the Enlightened One 'Buddha' is clearly stated. And it is to be noted that though the commentator, Śaṅkara, has all along tried his utmost to take the word to mean a ब्रह्मविद् 'Knower of *Brahman*,' and to explain the whole thing in the Vedāntic light, he seems compelled to admit that there is here a reference to the 'Enlightened One' and the Buddhistic views. He says—

'ज्ञान-ज्ञेय-ज्ञाट-रहितं परमार्थतत्त्वम् अद्वयम्; एतन्न बुद्धेन भाषितं यद्यपि बाह्यार्थनिराकारणं ज्ञानमात्रकल्पना च अद्वयवस्तुसामीप्यमुक्तम् ।"

It is to be observed here that as a matter of fact the supreme reality according to the *Mādhyamikas* is free from ज्ञान-ज्ञेय-ज्ञाट 'Knowledge—Knowable—Knower.'[1]

The word तायिन् in the *Kārikā* deserves to be noticed here special-

[1] Lois de la Vallée Poussin: *J.R.A.S.* 1920, p. 140.

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ly. It is a non-Brāhmaṇic word being frequently found in Buddhist and Jain works,[1] chiefly in the former.[2]

In the last *Kārikā* of his work the *Ācārya* pays homage to the highest truth to be realized, i.e. to *Nirvāṇa* :—

"दुर्दर्शमतिगम्भीरमजं साम्यं विशारदम् ।
बुद्धा पदमनानात्वं नमस्कुर्मो यथाबलम् ॥"

IV. 100.

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[1] For instance, (A) in Buddhist Sanskrit:

"वर्तितं विरजं चक्रं लोकनाथेन तायिना ।"

Lalitavistara, Lefmann, p. 421.

"अनुमोदे च तायिनाम् ।"

Bodhicaryāvatāra, III. 2.

"सा कथं पूर्वतायिनाम् ।"

Ibid. V. 9.

See also *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, Bib. Budh. pp. 25, 57, 67, etc.

(B) In Jain Works:

(1) Sanskrit: Hemcandra's *Yogaśāstra*, Bib. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 1, 47.

(2) Prakrit: *Daśavaikālika* (Devachand Lalbhai Jain Pustakoddhāra, No. 47), p. 115.

It is to be noted that Vācaspatimiśra has used the word just at the beginning of his *Tātparyaṭīkā* ("अक्षपादाय तायिने").

[2] For the meaning of this word see Poussin:, Foot-notes, *Bodhicaryāvatāra-Pañjikā*, Bib. Ind. p. 75, and *J.R.A.S.* 1920, p. 140, where the discussion on it by the various scholars have been referred to. See also Morris, *J.P.T.S.*, 1891–1893, p. 53. The following lines deserve to be added hereto in this connection :—

(α) "पूर्वतायिनाम् पूर्वमभिसम्बुद्धानां भगवताम् (=बुद्धानाम्) ।"

Bodhicar. Pañjikā, p 100.

(β) "तायिनाम् इति स्वाधिगतमार्गदेशकानाम् । यदुक्तम्—तायः खदृष्टमार्गोक्तिरिति । तद् विद्यते येषामिति । अथवा तायः सन्तानार्थः, आसंसारम् अप्रतिष्ठितनिर्वाणतया अवस्थायिनाम् ।"

(γ) "तायी सकलसुरासुरमनुजतिरश्चां पालकः ।"

Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra*, Bib. Ind., p. 2.

(δ) "त्रायन्ते आत्मानं परमुभयं चेति त्रातारः ।"

Haribhadra's *Daśavaikālika* already alluded to.

It is evident that Burnouf is supported by the Jain writers, too, in his explanation of the word as त्रायिन् which is given as one of the names of the Buddha in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, *A.S.B.*, I. 14. Cf. also the word तायक in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra-Sūtra*, ed. Sylvain Lévi, XVII., 31, p. 124. Here it is an adjective of धर्म. Professor Sylvain Lévi notes that in the Chinese Version in the verse and the commentary as well it is omitted. But he remarks later on in his translation (p. 214) that the Tibetan version '*gduṅ-byed*' (གདུང་བྱེད) clearly shows here the reading to be तापक and so he translates it by 'Qui

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'Having understood that पद (condition) which is difficult to be seen, very deep, even, clear, and free from variety, we salute it to the best of our power (बल).'

That the author salutes here निर्वाण and not ब्रह्मन् can easily be known from some of the words, employed in the stanza, which in Buddhistic literature have a special significance.

The word पद is a name for निर्वाण in Buddhistic works (*Abhidhānappadīpikā*, 8, 819). But though it cannot be taken as a peculiarity in that literature (for in Brāhmaṇic literature, too, the word is used in the same sense, i.e. मुक्ति, see *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* 3. 7–9; *Gītā*, 2. 51, 15. 4),[1] its two ephithets दुर्दर्श and अतिगम्भीर incline us to assign to it the meaning of निर्वाण. In Buddhist literature सुदुर्दृश, Pali सुदुद्दस is an epithet of or a synonym for निर्वाण (*Abhidhānap.* p. 7); while in the *Upaniṣads* we do not come across such an use of the word, excepting once in the *Kaṭha* 2. 12 ("तं दुर्दर्शं गूढमनुप्रविष्टम्.."). Even there the word दुर्दर्श is not an adjective of निर्वाण or मोक्ष but of आत्मन् of which nothing is said in the last Book of the *Kārikās*. On the other hand, both the words गम्भीर and दुर्दृश (Pali दुद्दस), दुर्दर्श being simply a different form of the latter, are two adjectives of धर्म or निर्वाण found frequently used in Buddhist works, in Sanskrit and in Pali (*Lalitavistara*, Lemann, pp. 392, 395, 397: "गम्भीरो दुर्दृशो मम," 436; *Mahāvagga* I. 5, 2, 8: "अयं धम्मो गम्भीरो दुद्दसो"; *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, p. 341: "निर्वाणस्य विगमस्य एतदधिवचनं यदुत गम्भीरमिति").

The word बल, too, in the compound does not seem to refer to one's ordinary power or energy, for it would not then serve any useful purpose and as such would become superfluous. So it means here the five *balas* enumerated in Buddhism, viz. श्रद्धाबल, वीर्य०, स्मृति०, समाधि० and प्रज्ञा०, faith, energy, recollection, contemplation, and

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éclaire' 'which gives light.' Compare here the other reading of the *Kārikā* (IV. 99) तापिन्. The commentary runs here: "तापि(य)नः तापोऽ(तायोऽ)स्तीति तापी(यी) सन्तानवतो निरन्तरस्याकाशकल्पस्येत्यर्थः पूजयतः, प्रज्ञावतो वा।" It implies that the commentator himself was not certain of the meaning. His first meaning (i.e. सन्तानवान्) corresponds to one of those (अथवा तायः सन्तानार्थः) given in *Bodhi. Pañjikā* quoted above. It follows from what we learn in the Tibetan text that the Sanskrit तायिन् and Pali तादि are quite different words and cannot be connected with each other. The true rendering into Tibetan of तायिन् is, however, '*Skyob. pa*' (སྐྱོབ་པ) the Sanskrit equivalent of which is nothing but त्रायिन् (*Journal Asiatique*, 1912, p. 243).

[1] See *Māṇḍūkya Kārikā* I. 15; IV. 78, 85, 100.

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wisdom, respectively (*Dharma-Saṃgraha* XLVIII. p. 46). And so it is implied here that the author intends to realize निर्वाण by the exercise of five-fold power without which there is no hope of success.

We have considered the beginning and the end of the fourth Book of Gauḍapāda's *Āgamaśāstra*; and now we shall try to see as briefly as possible what the author has said in the main body of this writing.

The main subject of this Book is the theory of अजाति 'absence of birth or production'; in other words, there is nothing about which it can be said that it has taken its birth or that it is produced. At the very outset of the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa which is based on the *Upaniṣads*, it is stated (I, I. 2) that everything is produced from *Brahman*. And in order to support this view, it is needless to quote here anything from the *Upaniṣads* which are full of such expressions. For instance, "यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जातानि..तद् ब्रह्म." *Taitti. Up.*, III. 1, 1. The authors of the different schools of Indian philosophy are also of the opinion that things are 'born,' i.e. produced and they have their cause (हेतु), they themselves being effect (फल) thereof. But it is the Buddhists who hold quite a different point of view emphatically denying the 'birth' (जाति) of anything in the world. The first word of Nāgarjuna in his *Mūalmadhyamaka-Kārikā* begins with "अनिरोधमनुत्पादम्" 'there is neither उत्पाद[1] nor निरोध.' And this अनुत्पाद or अजाति has been thoroughly discussed and established in that work as in others. Let us quote here only a few lines from the above book together with Candrakīrtti's commentary (*Madhy.* I. p. 12).

"इदानीम्..उत्पादप्रतिषेधेन निरोधप्रतिषेधसौकर्यं मन्यमान आचार्यः प्रथममेव उत्पादप्रतिषेधमारभते।

उत्पादो हि परैः कल्प्यमानः स्वतो वा परिकल्प्येत, परतः उभयतः अहेतुतो वा परिकल्प्येत। सर्वथा च नोपपद्यत इति निश्चित्याह—

'न स्वतो नापि परतो न द्वाभ्यां नाप्यहेतुतः।
उत्पन्ना जातु विद्यन्ते भावाः क्वचन केचन॥'"

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[1] For the order of these two words see Candrakīrtti (Bib. Bud. p. 12): "अत्र च निरोधस्य पूर्वं प्रतिषेधः उत्पादनिरोधयोः पौर्वापर्यावस्थायाः सिद्ध्यभावं द्योतयितुम्। वक्ष्यति हि 'पूर्वं जातिर्यदि भवेज्जरामरणमुत्तरम्..'" (XI. 3, p. 221). Our author Gauḍapāda, too, has followed the same order in his well-known *Kārikā* III. 32: "न निरोधो न चोत्पत्तिः" etc. on which there is much to be said.

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"Now the *Ācārya* thinking the facility in refuting *nirodha* after *utpāda* is refuted begins first with the refutation of the latter.

Utpāda of a thing may be supposed by the opponents from a cause which may be either it itself (स्व) or something other than it (पर) or from both (उभय), or again, from one which is no cause at all (अहेतु). But in neither way it can be justified. So he (the *Ācārya*) says:—

'Nowhere and never are such things as are produced either from themselves or from some other things or from both, or from what is no cause at all.' "

Gauḍapāda has done the same thing using mostly the same arguments, even the same words and sometimes even quoting the same verses from different Buddhist works without mentioning the sources. Compare here the following line of Gauḍapāda IV. 22 with the above *Kārikā* ("न स्वतो नापि परतः..") Nāgārjuna: "स्वतो वा परतो वापि न किञ्चिद् वस्तु जायते।" See also Nāgārjuna (*Madhy.* XXI. 13, p. 421): "न स्वतो जायते भावः परतो नैव जायते..।"

The *Ācārya* begins the discussion as follows:—

"भूतस्य जातिमिच्छन्ति वादिनः केचिदेव हि।
अभूतस्यापरे धीरा विवदन्तः परस्परम्॥" IV. 3.

There are two classes of teachers, one[1] holding the सत्कार्यवाद or 'the doctrine of actual existence of an effect in its cause' and the other[2] असत्कार्यवाद or 'the doctrine of the actual non-existence of an effect in its cause.' These two views are here referred to. And so it is said that there are some disputants who desire 'production' (जाति) of that which is already existent (भूत) while others hold it to be of that which is non-existent (अभूत); and thus both the parties dispute with each other.

Then he proceeds in the next *Kārikā* to tell us the doctrine of the Buddhists who subscribe to neither of the above two views asserting absolute 'Non-becoming' (अजाति) of things:—

"भूतं न जायते किञ्चिद् अभूतं नैव जायते।
विवदन्तोऽद्वया ह्येवमजातिं ख्यापयन्ति ते॥" IV. 4.

'That which is already existent (भूत) does not become (जायते), and that which is non-existent (अभूत) does not also become; dis-

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[1] *Viz.* the followers of the systems of *Sāṅkhya* and *Vedānta.* See *Sāṅkhya-Kārikā* IX with Gauḍapāda and Vācaspati and *Vedāntasūtras* III, I. 16–8 with Śaṅkara.

[2] The *Naiyāyikas* and *Vaiśeṣikas.*

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puting (or discussing) thus, the followers of *Advaya Vāda* assert the doctrine of "absolute Non-becoming."

In the second half of the above *Kārikā* विवदन्तो द्वयाः is taken as विवदन्तः + द्वयाः by the commentators Śaṅkara and others. But truly speaking, it must be explained as विवदन्तः + अद्वयाः. That the former explanation is utterly wrong will be perfectly clear to any one, when one sees that the two classes of the teachers alluded hereto by the word द्वय do not assert अजाति, but, on the contrary, strongly hold the theory of जाति as is evident in the preceding *Kārikā* (IV. 3).[1]

The real fact is that having referred to the two doctrines of some teachers in the *Kārikā*, IV. 3, the author mentions here the views of some other teachers whom he designates as अद्वयाः, i.e. those who do not hold the doctrine of द्वय 'two.'

As regards the wording of the last portion of this *Kārikā* (IV. 4): "अभूतं नैव जायते," compare "नाभूतो नाम जायते," *Catuḥśatikā* XV. 349 (Memoirs A.S.B. Vol. III, No. 8, p. 513). It may be noted here that in this book, too, the doctrine of अजाति has fully been discussed by the author Āryadeva, and the commentator, Candrakīrti, as well.

In the next *Kārikā* (IV. 5) quoted below, the author accepts the अजाति doctrine propounded by them, saying that he expresses his approval of it, for he does not see any use of disputing them and invites all to listen to him as to why the view cannot be disputed:

"खाप्यमानामजातिं तैरनुमोदामहे वयम् ।
विवदामो न तैः सार्धमविवादं निबोधत ॥"

Now, here the question is: who are these *Advayas* or *Advayavādins* who propounded the doctrine of अजाति? Obviously the Advaitins or Vedantists of Śaṅkara's school are not meant here, for as has already been said, they do not hold the अजातिवाद. The *Upaniṣads* avowedly declare the origin or जाति of the world to have proceeded from *Brahman* which Śaṅkara does not deny.[2] So the teachers referred hereto can nowise be other than the Buddhists. It is well known even to an ordinary reader of Sanskrit that *Advayavādin* is one of the names of the Buddha (*Amara*, I, I. 14: *Mahāvyutpatti*,

[1] Śaṅkarācārya, the great commentator of *Brahma-Sūtras* can never explain the verse in that way, and so he cannot be identified with Śaṅkara, the author of the commentary on the *Māṇḍūkya* and its *Kārikās*.

[2] In Supreme Truth (परमार्थ सत्य), however, it is denied to exist. But in this respect Śaṅkara merely subscribes to Buddhist views just as Gauḍapāda does.

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Memoirs, A.S.B. p. 2), and so we see in the *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell and Neil, p. 95)[1] :—बुद्धानां भगवतां महाकारुणिकानाम्..अद्वयवादिनाम्।"

But why are the Buddhas and consequently their followers called *Advayavādins* ? The answer is to be found in Buddhist works. As regards the nature of a thing there are two extreme views, some holding, 'it is' (अस्ति) and others 'it is not' (नास्ति). The Buddha however, did not subscribe to either of them and hence he is called *Advayavādin*. This is supported by a number of passages in both Sanskrit and Pāli works on Buddhism.[2]

Thus the *Ācārya*, Gauḍapāda, introducing his readers to the doctrine of अजाति proceeds until the end of his book to offer various arguments in support, which have thoroughly been dealt with in my

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[1] In the *Index of Words*, p. 672, the word *Advaitavādin* as an epithet of Buddha has been misprinted. As the facts go to show, there is a marked difference between the terms अद्वैतवाद् and अद्वयवाद्. अद्वैतवाद् literally means 'Non-two-ness' (Non-difference, i.e. Non-difference between or identity of *Jīva* and *Brahman*), while अद्वय implies 'Non-two,' i.e. neither of two extreme views as described in the following paragraph. अद्वयवादिन् the Tibetan equivalent of which is *gñes. su. med. pa. gsuṅ. ba* (གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པ་གསུང་བ), and Chinese *pu-êrh-yü* (不二語) is misunderstood in the *Sanskrit-Tibetan-English-Vocabulary* (Memoir, A.S.B. p. 2), for the word cannot mean "not doubtful in his command" as it is explained there.

[2] Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamaka-Kārikā* (Bib. Bud.) XV. 7, p. 269:

(i) "कात्यायनाववादे चास्तीति नास्तीति चोभयम्।
प्रतिषिध्यं भगवता भावाभावविभाविना॥"

(ii) यद् भूयसा कात्यायनायं लोकोऽस्तितां वाभिनिविष्टो नास्तितां च तेन न परिमुच्यते।
—*Ārya Kātyāyannāvavāda*, *Ibid.*, p. 269.

(iii) द्वयनिस्सितो खो अयं कच्चान लोको येभुय्येन अत्थितं च नत्थितं च।" *Saṃyuttanikāya*, XII. 15. 4–5, P.T.S., Vol. II, p. 17.

See *Laṅkāvatāra*, B.T.S., p. 56; *Samādhiraja*, B.T.S., p. 30. For a detailed discussion readers are referred to *Mādhyamikavṛtti*, p. 267.

En passant it may be observed here that the origin of the name, *Mādhyamika*, for this doctrine is that the Buddha rejecting both the paths or views, existence and non-existence adopted a middle one. So it is said in *Saṃyuttanikāya* XII. 15, 7 (P.T.S. Part II, p. 17) "सब्बं अत्थीति खो कच्चायन अयं एको अन्तो नत्थीति अयं दुतियो अन्तो। एते ते कच्चायन उभो अन्ते अनुपगम्म मज्झेन तथागतो धम्मं देसेति।"

Candrakīrtti, *Mādhya.* p. 276: "भावाभावदर्शनद्वयप्रसङ्गो यावत् तावत् संसार इत्यवेत्य सुसुचुभिरेतद्दर्शनद्वयनिरासेन सद्भिः मध्यमा प्रतिपद् भावनीया॥" See the whole of the *Prakaraṇa* XV. As the *Mādhyamikas* followed this मध्यमा प्रतिपद् 'middle

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main treatise, *Gauḍapāda's Āgamaśāstra.* I may, however, only say here that these arguments are purely Buddhistic.

Poussin's paper (*J.R.A.S.* 1910, pp. 134-140) dealing with the wording of the *Kārikās* will also convince the reader to a great extent about their Buddhistic character. Those who regard the fourth Book of the *Āgamaśāstra* as a Vedāntic treatise will be surprised to learn that none will be able to find out in it even once the use of such important words in Vedantism as ब्रह्मन् and आत्मन्.

Now, we shall try to see how the author of the *Āgamaśāstra* has tried to bring about the reconciliation of the views of the Vedāntists and the Buddhists.

According to our author there are four states of चित्त 'mind' which are looked upon as impediments to the attainment of योग or समाधि'. They are as follows: लय 'that which causes mental inactivity, corresponding to the मूढ 'infatuated' state of mind in *Yoga* philosophy (Vyāsa on *Yogasūtra* I, I.); विक्षेप 'distraction,' corresponding to विक्षिप्त 'distracted' state. (*Ibid*); कषाय 'attachment to worldly objects' and रसास्वाद 'perception of pleasure in practising योग or समाधि.'[1] When all these defects are avoided, the wavering चित्त

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path' rejecting both the extreme views, existence and non-existence, they were called *Mādhyamikas.* Therefore, the following statement of Mādhavācārya (*Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha*, Bib. Ind. p. 15) regarding their name is not satisfactory and appears to be fanciful or imaginary: "गुरूक्तस्याङ्गीकरणादु उत्तमाः पर्यनुयोगस्याकरणात् अधमाश्च। अतस्तेषां माध्यमिका इति प्रसिद्धिः।" 'These are excellent in assenting to that which the religious teacher announces, and defective in interrogative, whence their conventional designation of *Mādhyamikas.*' —Cowell. See Waddell's *Buddhism in Tibet*, pp. 11, 125.

[1] See III. 44, 45. For the full explanation of these terms see the commentary as well as the *Vedāntasāra* with *Ṭīkās*, Jacob, Nirṇayasāgara, 1894, 32, pp. 60-62. In passing one thing is to be noted here. On this point Gauḍapāda's first *Kārikā* (III. 44) runs thus :—

"लये सम्बोधयेच्चित्तं विक्षिप्तं शमयेत् पुनः।
सकषायं विजानीयात् समप्राप्तं न चालयेत्॥"

Compare it with the following two lines of Asaṅga quoted from his *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, XV. 9-10 :—

"लीनं चित्तस्य गृह्णीयादु उद्धतं शमयेत् पुनः।"
"शमप्राप्तमुपेक्षेत तस्मिन्नालम्बने पुनः॥"

Mark the wording and specially "विक्षिप्तं शमयेत् पुनः" of the first and "उद्धतं शमयेत् पुनः" of the second; also समप्राप्तं न चालयेत् of the first, and शमप्राप्तमुपेक्षेत of the second. The reading समप्राप्तम् of Gauḍapāda here is found actually to be शमप्राप्तम् in the *Vedāntasāra* referred to above (Jacob, p. 62) where the entire

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becomes firm, and it should be then so fixed that in that stage it remains absolutely one in itself, there being no relation whatever between it and its object. Now in regard to this state of the चित्त, the *Ācārya* proceeds to say :—

"यदा न लीयते चित्तं न च विक्षिप्यते पुनः ।
अनिङ्गनमनाभासं सम्पन्नं ब्रह्म तत् तदा ॥" III. 46.

'When the चित्त does not fall into a state of oblivion,[1] nor again is distracted, nor is unsteady, nor has any sense-image (आभास),[2] then that चित्त becomes ब्रह्मन्.'

Again,

"लीयते हि सुषुप्ते तत् निगृहीतं न लीयते ।
तदेव निर्भयं ब्रह्म ज्ञानालोकं समन्ततः ॥" III. 35.

'It (i.e. the चित्त or मनस्)[3] falls into oblivion in deep sleep, but it does not do so when it is suppressed (निगृहीत = निरुद्ध), and verily this (suppressed चित्त) is ब्रह्मन्, in which there is no fear, and which is made completely manifest by knowledge.'[4]

It is perfectly clear that Gauḍapāda's ब्रह्मन् is nothing but the चित्त or मनस् in its certain state, i.e. when it is completely suppressed; while according to the Vedāntists ब्रह्मन् is something above, and other than the चित्त or मनस्. The *Upaniṣads* say :—

"एतस्माज्जायते प्राणो मनः सर्वेन्द्रियाणि च ॥"

Muṇḍaka, II. 1. 3.

'From this (*Brahman*) are produced breath, mind and all the organs.'

"यन्मनसा न मनुते येनाहुर्मनो मतम् ।
तदेव ब्रह्म त्वं विद्धि नेदं यदिदमुपासते ॥" *Ibid.* I. 5.

Kārikā is quoted. The second half of the *Kārikā* is read there as "सकषायं विजानीच्छमप्राप्तं (= ०नीयात् + शमप्राप्तं) न चालयेत् ।"

[1] That is, when it is not in the state called मूढ़ 'infatuated,' or in other words, when it is free from sleep and dream as well. See III. 36: "अनिद्रम्," and "अस्वप्नम् ।"

[2] On this word see *Bodhisaryāvatāra*, Bib. Ind. V. 36: "आभासमात्रं दृष्ट्वा च" the *Pañjikā* explains: "प्रतिच्छायामात्रं गृहीत्वा ।" *Sikṣāsamuccaya*, Bib. Budh. p. 129: "सन्त्यनाभासगताः सत्त्वा ये मम चक्षुष आभासं नागच्छन्ति ।"

[3] तत् in the text refers to मनस् in the preceding *Kārikā*.

[4] This state of the चित्त has again been stated later on as the object to be realized by Buddhas (IV. 80).

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'Know that which does not think by मनस्, but by which, as they say, the मनस् is thought, as ब्रह्मन् and not this which they worship.'

It goes without saying that in these and such other Upaniṣadic passages ब्रह्मन् is quite different from the मनस् and thus they can in no way be identified with each other.

In regard to this, the following line of the commentator deserves to be quoted :—" चित्तस्य निश्चला चलनवर्जिता ब्रह्मस्वरूपैव तदा स्थितिः ॥" IV. 80 See also the comm. on IV. 29, 77.

That ब्रह्मन् is exactly चित्त in a particular state is also met with at least in one place in Buddhist literature and it is this :—

" सहापि वाक्छरीराभ्यां मन्दचित्तेर्न तत्फलम् ।
यत् पटोरेककस्यापि चित्तस्य ब्रह्मतादिकम् ॥"

Bodhicaryāvatāra, V. 15.

'A slowly moving one, in spite of his having speech and body, cannot succeed so well as the clever चित्त, in spite of being alone does in attaining the state of ब्रह्मन्, etc.'[1]

It is to be noted in the above verse that the manner in which the ब्रह्मता of the चित्त is here stated clearly suggests that this view was generally known amongst the Buddhist teachers at least not later than the seventh century A.D.

That the अमनीभाव of मनस् (II. 31), 'the state of becoming non-mind of mind' i.e. the state of mind having no perception whatever' is ब्रह्म or मोक्ष is found frequently in later *Upaniṣads*.[2] The verse quoted below is from the *Maitrī Up.* 6. 34. (Bib. Ind. p. 179) :

" लयविक्षेपरहितं मनः कृत्वा सुनिश्चितम् ।
यदा यात्यमनीभावं तदा तत् परमं पदम् ॥
तावन्मनो निरोद्धव्यं हृदि यावत् क्षयं गतम् ।
एतज् ज्ञानं च मोक्षं च शेषान्ये ग्रन्थविस्तराः ॥"

'Having made the mind perfectly motionless and free from sleep and agitation,—when he passes into state where the mind itself vanishes, then that is the highest place.'

'So long is the mind to be suppressed until it becomes lost in the

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[1] Prajñākaramati explains it thus :—" वचनकायसहितस्यापि चित्तस्य कुशलपक्षे मन्दप्रचारस्य न तादृशं फलमुपजायते यादृशं ध्यानादिविषये पटुप्रवृत्तेरेकाकिनोऽपि चित्तस्य फलं ब्रह्मभूयादिकम् ।"

[2] See *Laṅkāvatāra*, B.T.S. p. 125: " विकल्पकस्य मनोविज्ञानस्य व्यावृत्तिर्निर्वाणम् ।" Against this see Śaṅkara's Comm. *Bṛhad. Up.* 4. 3. 7 (Ānandāśrama 1st. ed. pp. 549 ff.).

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heart; this is knowledge and this is liberation; all the rest is but book-prolixity.'—Cowell. See *Brahmabindu Up.* 1–8; *Nādabindu Up.* 47.[1]

The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* has an unique place in Vedāntic literature. But truly speaking, it does not present a *pure* Vedantic view, for it will occur to a careful reader that there is strong admixture of the *Vijñānavāda* of the *Yogācāras* and the *Vedāntavāda* of the *Advaitins*, sometimes the former predominating much more than the latter. According to the author of this work just like the *Yogācāras* everything owes its existence to the स्पन्द 'vibration' of the mind (चित्त) and the creation (सृष्टि) of the Universe is nothing but the vibrations of the mind. स्पन्द 'vibration' means the activity of the mind to represent its object. And so when there is no vibration of mind, when it is completely free of vibration of any kind (निःस्पन्द) then, 'flashes or shines from it the eternal *Brahman*.'[2]

जीव,[3] चित्, आत्मन्, ब्रह्मन्, शून्य, नैरात्म्य[4] etc. are only different names of चित्त. They are imagined by the authors of *Śāstras* only in order to supply some technical expressions required by them.[5] The author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* says further that ब्रह्म is identical with निर्वाण or

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1 "यन्मनस्त्रिजगत्सृष्टिस्थितिव्यसनकर्मकृत् ।
तन्मनो विलयं याति तद् विष्णोः परमं पदम् ॥"
Maṇḍalabrāhmaṇopaniṣad, Bib. Sans. Mysore, 1900, p. 12.

The following from *Kaṭha Up.* (II. 3. 10) points to that state of mind:—
"यदा पञ्चावतिष्ठन्ते ज्ञानानि मनसा सह ।
बुद्धिश्च न विचेष्टते तामाहुः परमां गतिम् ॥"

So the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* II. I. 19:
"मनो निर्विषयं युक्त्वा ततः किञ्चन न स्मरेत् ।
पदं तत् परमं विष्णोर्मनो यत्र प्रसीदति ॥"
"युक्त्वा समाधाय," "प्रसीदति उपशाम्यति,"—Śrīdhara.

2 "स्पन्दास्पन्दस्वभावं हि चिन्मात्रमिह विद्यते ।
खे वात इव, तत्स्पन्दात् सोल्लासं शान्तमन्यथा ॥
चित्त्वं (चित्तं ?) चित्तं भावितं सत् स्पन्द इत्युच्यते बुधैः ।
दृश्यत्वाभावितं चैतदस्पन्दनमिति स्मृतम् ॥
स्पन्दात् स्फुरति चित्सर्गो निःस्पन्दाद् ब्रह्म शाश्वतम् ॥"
Yogavāsiṣṭha, Nirṇayasāgara, III. 67. 6–8.

3 Vide *Ibid.*, III, 96, 56, 66, 73; 64, 31; 65. 3; IV. 35. 20–23, 54. 20.

4 *Ibid.* III. 66. 14.

5 "शास्त्र संव्यवहारार्थं तस्यास्य विततात्मतेः ।
चिद्ब्रह्मात्मेति नामानि कल्पितानि कृतात्मभिः ॥" *Ibid.* III. 122. 35.

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मुक्ति (III. 9. 25)[1] and this निर्वाण or मुक्ति is मनोविलय (III. 97. 10.) 'disappearance or destruction of mind,' in other words, the अमनीभाव of मनस् described above. So it follows that in the opinion of the author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, too, ब्रह्मन् is identical with चित्त when it is destroyed, i.e. completely suppressed.[2]

This identification of ब्रह्मन् with चित्त is the reconciliation of *Vedānta* and *Vijñānavāda* which has played a great part in later Vedāntism and which is found in different Brāhmaṇic works including the *Purāṇas*.[3]

APPENDIX

Buddhist Words in the *Agamaśāstra*, Book IV.

(The figures refer to the *Kārikās*).

1. अग्रयाण or अग्रयान, 90. It means महायान्. See *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, III. 1, V. 61; *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, p. 83; *Samādhirāja*, Rajendralal Mitra's *Buddhist Manuscripts from Nepal*, p. 229; *Lalitavistara*, Lefmann, p. 438. The commentator has wrongly explained it as 'प्रथमतः' 'first.'

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[1] मनःपरिक्षय (III. 116. 10), मनोनाश (III. 95. 35–36), and मनःप्रशमन (III. 122, 27) are its different expressions.

[2] It appears from the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* that what is dealt with in it is not *pure* आर्ष 'derived from *Ṛṣis*, but पौरुष 'derived from men.' Yet, the author says. that it deserves to be accepted, for what is reasonable is to be accepted even from a child, but that which is not reasonable should be rejected though it might be uttered by *Brahman*, the creator. That man is certainly not wise who rejecting the beautiful water of the Ganges flowing before him drinks from a well, thinking only that it belongs to his father :—

"अपि पौरुषमादेयं शास्त्रं चेद् युक्तिबोधकम् ।
अन्यत् त्वार्षमपि त्याज्यं भाव्यं न्यायैकसेविना ॥
युक्तियुक्तमुपादेयं वचनं बालकादपि ।
अन्यत् तृणमिव त्याज्यमप्युक्तं पद्मयोनिना ॥
योऽस्मत्तातस्य कूपोऽयमिति कौपं पिबत्यपः ।
त्यक्त्वा गाङ्गं पुरस्थं तं को न शास्त्यतिगर्हितम् ॥"

Yogavāsiṣṭha, II. 18. 2–4.

[3] See *Viṣṇupurāṇa* II. 12, 37–45. The 42nd *śloka* runs thus :—

"तस्मान् न विज्ञानमृतेऽस्ति किञ्चित्
क्वचित् कदाचिद् द्विज वस्तुजातम् ॥
विज्ञानमेकं निजकर्मभेद
विभिन्नचित्तैर्बहुधाभ्युपेतम् ॥"

The secret is that this *Vijñāna* of the *Yogācāras* is, in the *Purāṇas*, *Vāsudeva*, or Supreme God, or in other words, *Brahman* of the Vedantists.

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2. अध्वन्[1] 'time,' 27.
3. देशित[2] 'instructed' or 'preached,' 2, 42.
4. निर्मितक[3] 'created by one's supernatural power,' 70.
5. परमार्थ (सत्य)[4] 'transcendental truth,' 73, 74.
6. परिदीपक[5] 'one that illustrates or explains,' 21; परिदीपित 'explained' 19.
7. प्रज्ञप्ति 'Manifestation or making known,' 24, 25.
8. भेदनिम्न[6] 'descending to difference,' 4.
9. लौकिक 'worldly,' 87.
10. लोकोत्तर 'transcending the world,' 88.
11. संवृति 'Empirical (truth),' 57, 74.

Besides, द्विपदुवर, धर्म, बुद्ध, तायिन्, and सम्बुद्ध have already been discussed.

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[1] This word in the sense of 'time' is also found in the *Yogasūtra*, IV. 12; but it seems to have been borrowed from the Buddhists.

[2] In Brāhmaṇic literature we have (उप-) दिष्ट In later works, however, the word is again used.

[3] निर्मितक or निर्मितकजीव is often quoted in Buddhist works. See *Āryagaganagañjasūtra*, quoted in the *Sikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 270; *Āryaratnakūṭasūtra*, quoted in the *Mādhyamikavṛtti*, p. 338; *Āryasamādhirāja*, *Ibid.*, p. 33; Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamaka-Kārikā* XVII. 31, 32. Cf. निर्माणकाय. निर्माण and निर्माणकाय are also found in the *Yogasūtra* and the *Ṭīkā* of its commentary by Vyāsa (IV. 4). The use of निर् + √मा in this particular sense can, however, be traced back to Upaniṣadic texts: "स्वयं विहृत्य स्वयं निर्माय." *Bṛhad. Up.* 4. 3. 9; "कामं कामं ....निर्मिमाणः," *Kaṭha Up.* 5. 8.

[4] Cf. the two truths held by them, viz. परमार्थ and संवृति.

[5] In Brāhmaṇic literature they are प्रकाशक and प्रकाशित respectively.

[6] The words निम्न, प्रवण, and प्राग्भार (Pali निन्न, पोण and पब्भार respectively) as the second member of a compound are generally met with in Buddhist literature, though it cannot be denied that they are found also in the *Yogasūtras* and its commentary (IV. 21, 6).

P. S. I am glad to note here that the words विवदन्तोद्वया (Ānandāśrama ed.) in IV. 4 referred to above (pp. 453-454) are actually explained as विवदन्तः + अद्वयाः in the commentary as edited by Maheśachandra Pāla in Bengali Character (Calcutta). अद्वयाः is also interpreted there as अद्वैतिनः. The MS. *Ka* of Ānandāśrama ed. has the same reading.

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THE TRADITIONAL AUTHOR OF THE VEDĀNTA SŪTRAS—BĀDARĀYAṆA OR KṚṢṆA DVAIPĀYAṆA ?

By V. V. MIRASHI, M.A.

The *Vedānta Sūtras* or *Brahma Sūtras* as they are called occupy a most important place in the development of the *Vedānta* philosophy. For over two thousand years they have been regarded as one of the three authoritative works on *Vedānta* or the *Prasthānatrayī* as they are collectively called (the other two being the *Upaniṣads* and the *Bhagavadgītā*) and as such claimed the veneration of all orthodox Hindus. Every great teacher or *ācārya*, who aspired to be the founder of a new philosophical system had to satisfactorily explain these three works and to evolve his system out of them, before he could convince others of its truth. Hence the founders of all the four principal systems of *Vedānta*, viz. Śaṇkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva and Vallabha, have written their *Bhāṣyas* or great commentaries on these *Sūtras* and each has tried with more or less success to show that his system is the one meant by the *sūtrakāra*. The *Sūtras* being very concisely worded, ambiguity is the rule rather than the exception in their case and this has given their commentators ample scope for the exercise of their ingenuity. Even modern criticism has not gone farther than making a few guesses as to their true meaning.

Unlike later *Sūtras* and *Kārikās* the *Venānta Sūtras* do not even name their author; still from time immemorial they have been ascribed to Bādarāyaṇa. But Bādarāyaṇa is himself quoted in the *Sūtras*,[1] as holding certain views which led Colebrook to suppose that

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1 तदुपर्यपि बादरायणः संभवात् । I, 3, 26.
भावं तु बादरायणोऽस्ति हि । I, 3, 33.
पूर्वं तु बादरायणो हेतुव्यपदेशात् । III, 2, 41.
पुरुषार्थोऽतः शब्दादिति बादरायणः । III, 4, 1.
अधिकोपदेशात्तु बादरायणस्यैवं तद्दर्शनात् । III, 4. 8.
अनुष्ठेयं बादरायणः साम्यश्रुतेः । III, 4, 19.
अप्रतीकालंबनान्नयतीति बादरायण उभयथा च दोषात्तत्क्रतुश्च । IV, 3, 15.
एवमप्युपन्यासात्पूर्वभावादविरोधं बादरायणः । IV, 4. 7.
द्वादशाहवदुभयविधं बादरायणोऽतः । IV, 4, 12.

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these *Sūtras* must have been reduced to writing by the pupils of Bādarāyaṇa. But such cases where the author is named and referred to in the third person are by no means rare in Sanskrit literature. Thus Jaimini, the author of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*, is quoted in the third person in his own work.[1] Again the *Vedānta Sūtras* quote Jaimini, the author of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā Sūtras*,[2] while these latter, as remarked by Prof. Max Müller, return the compliment by referring to Bādarāyaṇa by name. Probably both the *Pūrva* and *Uttara Mīmāṃsās* were recast several times before they came down to us in their present form. Prof. Max Müller is nearer the truth when he says—"we must learn to look on Bādarāyaṇa, Jaimini, Kapila and similar names as eponymous heroes of different philosophies, so that at whatever time these systems were reduced to the form of *Sūtras* certain opinions could be called by their names."[3]

A tradition, which seems to have been very ancient and can be traced back at least a thousand years identifies this Bādarāyaṇa

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It is noteworthy that all these *Sūtras* except two, viz. पुरुषार्थोऽतः शब्दात् and अप्रतीकालंबनात्, etc., come at the end of their respective *adhikaraṇas* and state the *Siddhānta* view. As regards पुरुषार्थोऽतः शब्दात्, etc., which comes at the beginning of the fourth *pāda* of the third *adhyāya*, Śaṅkara says—सिद्धान्तेनैव तावदुपक्रमते पुरुषार्थोऽत इति। The *Sūtra* अप्रतीकालंबनात्, etc., is construed by Rāmānuja who adopts the reading उभयथा च दोषात् as stating the *Siddhānta* view and not as beginning a new *adhikaraṇa* as Śaṅkara does. Many of the above *Sūtras* controvert the view of Jaimini, the reputed author of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*.

1 कर्माण्यपि जैमिनिः फलार्थत्वात्। पू. मी. III, 1, 4.

2 Cf. वे. सू.—

साक्षादप्यविरोधं जैमिनिः। I, 2, 28.
संपत्तेरिति जैमिनिस्तथा हि दर्शयति। I, 2, 31.
मध्वादिष्वसंभवादनधिकारं जैमिनिः। I, 3, 31.
अन्यार्थं तु जैमिनिः प्रश्नव्याख्यानाभ्यामपि चैवमेके। I, 4, 18.
धर्मं जैमिनिरत एव। III, 2, 40.
परामर्शं जैमिनिरचोदनाचापवदति हि। III, 4, 18.
तद्भूतस्य तु नातद्भावो जैमिनिरपि नियमात्तद्रूपाभावेभ्यः। III, 4, 40.
परं जैमिनिर्मुख्यत्वात्। IV, 3, 2.

Also cf. पूर्वमीमांसा—

औत्पत्तिकस्तु शब्दस्यार्थेन संबन्धस्तस्य ज्ञानमुपदेशोऽव्यतिरेकश्चार्थेऽनुपलब्धे तत्प्रमाणं बादरायणस्यानपेक्षत्वात्।

3 *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, p. 120 (collected works of Max Müller XIX).

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with Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyaṇa Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara and Satyavatī and the reputed author of the *Mahābhārata*. Prof. Max Müller pointed out that Pāṇini knew of a Parāśara as the author of the *Bhikṣusūtras*[1] and Vācaspati Miśra identifies these *Bhikṣusūtras* with the present *Vedānta Sūtras* when these latter were ascribed to Vyāsa.

All the commentators on the *Vedānta Sūtras*, however, with the single exception of the great Śaṅkara identify Bādarāyaṇa with Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyaṇa Vyāsa. Thus Rāmānuja at the beginning of his *Bhāṣya* refers to the teaching of the *Vedānta Sūtras* as "nectar in the form of the words of the son of Parāśara (i.e. Vyāsa) churned out of the milky ocean of the *Upaniṣads*."[2] Again when he has to comment on the उत्पत्त्यसंभवाधिकरण (वे. सू II, 2, 42–45) which had been interpreted by Śaṅkara as refuting the *Pañcarātra* doctrine of the production of the individual soul from *Brahman*, Rāmānuja, himself an advocate of the *Pañcarātra* doctrine, skilfully brings forward this identity of Bādarāyaṇa and Vyāsa to support his view that the *Sūtras* in question defend the *Pañcarātra* system. How could the author of the *Sūtras*, he argues, refute the *Pañcarātra* system when he has taken great care to establish it in another work of his, viz. the *Mahābhārata*.[3] This argument is evidently based on the supposed identity of the authors of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Vedānta Sūtras*. In this view Rāmānuja does not stand alone. He has been followed by almost all the later writers. Thus though, as will be presently shown, Śaṅkara makes a clear distinction between Bādarāyaṇa and Vyāsa, his commentators are all in favour of this identification.[4] Nay, this tradition was so wide spread that we find it

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[1] पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः । Pāṇini IV, 3, 10.

[2] पाराशर्यवचःसुधासुपनिषद्दुग्धाब्धिमध्योद्धृतां, संसाराग्निविदीपनव्यपगतप्राणात्मसंजीविनीम् । पूर्वाचार्यसुरक्षितां वङ्गमतिव्याघातदूरस्थितां, आनीतां तु निजाक्षरैः सुमनसो भीमाः पिबन्त्वन्वहम् ॥

[3] Cf. also तथा हि सूत्रकारेण वेदान्तन्यायाभिधायीनि सूत्राण्यभिधाय वेदोपबृंहणाय भारतसंहितां शतसाहस्रिकां कुर्वता मोक्षधर्मे ज्ञानकाण्डेऽभिहितम् ।

Ramanuja's Com. on विप्रतिषेधाच्च

[4] Cf. आनंदगिरी—

श्रीमद्व्यासपयोनिधिर्निधिरसौ सत्सूक्तिपंक्तिस्फुरन्मुक्तानामनवद्यहृद्यविपुलप्रद्योतिविद्यामणिः ।
क्षान्तिः शान्तिधृती दयेति सरितामेकान्तविश्रान्तिभूर्भूयान्नः सततं मुनीन्द्रमकरश्रेणीश्रयः श्रेयसे ॥

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referred to even in non-philosophical literature. Thus Jagannāth Pandit, the author of the well-known treatise on rhetoric, in one passage speaks of the author of the *Vedānta Sūtras* as Bādarāyaṇa and in another as Vyāsa.[1] Coming to recent times Mr. Tilak elaborately tried to prove in his *Gītārahasya* that the author of the last recension of the *Bhagavadgītā* wrote also the *Vedānta Sūtras*.[2] His argument briefly stated is as follows. The *Vedānta Sūtras* in many places refer to a *Smṛti* in support of their argumentation. All the *Bhāṣyakāras* are agreed that the *Sūtrakāra* in such places refers to certain passages in the *Bhagavadgītā* and this seems to be beyond doubt at least in the case of the following two passages :—

1. अपि च स्मर्यते। वे. सू. II, 3, 45 refers to *Gītā* XV, ममैवांशो जीवलोके जीवभूतः सनातनः। etc.
2. योगिनः प्रति च स्मर्यते। *Vedānta Sūtras* IV, 2, 21 refers to *Gītā* VIII, 23 यत्र काले त्वनावृत्तिमावृत्तिं चैव योगिनः।

The *Bhagavadgītā*, one would, therefore, argue, is earlier than the *Vedānta Sūtras*. But in one passage the *Bhagavadgītā* seems to refer to the *Vedānta Sūtras*.

ऋषिभिर्बहुधा गीतं छंदोभिर्विविधैः पृथक्।
ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव हेतुमद्भिर्विनिश्चितैः॥ XIII. 4.

Here all the commentators, except Śaṅkara, take the word ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैः to refer to the *Vedānta Sūtras*.[3] Mr. Tilak also thinks that this is the right view and he comes to the conclusion that Bādarāyaṇa is but another name for Vyāsa and that as both the *Gītā* and the

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भामती—

ब्रह्मसूत्रकृते तस्मै वेदव्यासाय वेधसे। ज्ञानशक्त्यवताराय नमो भगवतो हरेः॥

रत्नप्रभा—

श्रीशंकरं भाष्यकृतं प्रणम्य व्यासं हरिं सूत्रकृतं च वक्ष्मि। etc.

1 शब्दादेव प्रमित इति सूचितमुत्तरमीमांसाकारैः बादरायणचरणैः। P. 117.
शब्दादेव प्रमित इति सूचितमुत्तरमीमांसाकारैः व्यासचरणैः। P. 401.

Rasagaṅgādhar (Nirnayasagar ed.).

2 Tilak's *Gītārahasya* (First Marathi Ed. pp 531–2).

3 Thus Śaṅkara says—ब्रह्मणः सूचकानि वाक्यानि ब्रह्मसूत्राणि तैः पद्यते गम्यते ज्ञायते ब्रह्म तानि पदानि उच्यन्ते। "आत्मेत्येवोपासीत" इत्यादिभिर्हि ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैरात्मा ज्ञायते।

Rāmānuja—ब्रह्मप्रतिपादनसूत्राख्यैः पदैः शारीरकसूत्रैः हेतुमद्भिः.....। विनिश्चितैर्निर्णयान्तैः न वियदश्रुतेः" इत्यारभ्य क्षेत्रप्रकारनिर्णय उक्तः॥

Madhva—ब्रह्मसूत्राणि शारीरकम्।

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Vedānta Sūtras must have undergone several recensions it is not difficult to account for their mutual quotation.

This tradition, however, which identifies Bādarāyaṇa, the author of the *Vedānta Sūtras*, with Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyaṇa Vyāsa, the author of the *Mahābhārata*, does not seem to have been current at the time of Śaṅkara. A careful student of the *Śaṅkarabhāṣya* cannot but be struck by the fact that Śaṅkara everywhere makes a distinction between the two. When he has to refer to the *Sūtrakāra* he uses the word "*ācārya*"[1] but nowhere refers to his authorship of the *Bhagavadgītā*, or of the *Mahābhārata*. Similarly when in one passage he speaks of the sage Apāntaratamas[2] who appeared on the earth as Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyaṇa, he makes no reference to his authorship of the *Vedānta Sūtras* Again in many places in his *Bhāṣya* he quotes passages from the *Gītā* and the *Mahābhārata* as referred to by the *Sūtrakāra* by the word स्मृति to strengthen his own arguments. This would have been impossible, had Śaṅkara believed in the identification—for he would thus be making the author support his arguments by what he had said on another occasion. All this goes to prove that the tradition that identified the authors of the *Sūtras* and the Epic was not current in the age of Śaṅkara.[3]

We have again seen above that Śaṅkara does not take the word ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैः in the well-known verse from the *Bhagavadgītā* to refer to the *Vedānta Sūtras*. And this seems to be right view. It seems that in ancient times each important Vedic school had a separate collection of *Vedānta Sūtras* which harmonised the teaching of its *Upaniṣad* with that of the other schools. The *Vedānta Sūtras* which have came down to us seem to have belonged at first to a school of the *Sāmaveda*; for it is otherwise impossible, as Dr. Thibaut observes, to account for the fact that in the first three *pādas* of the first *adhyāya* they explain ambiguous passages from the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* just in the same order in which they occur in that *Upaniṣad*, passages from other *Upaniṣads* being introduced only

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[1] प्रतिपादयिष्यति चाचार्यः संसारस्यानादित्वं "उपपद्यते चाप्युपलभ्यते च" इति। P. 261;

also परैरुपक्षिप्तान्विलक्षणत्वादीन् दोषान् पर्यहार्षीदाचार्यः। P. 410.

Śaṅkara-bhāṣya (Nirnayasagar ed.).

[2] तथा ह्यपान्तरतमा नाम वेदाचार्यः पुराणर्षिर्विष्णुनियोगात्कलिद्वापरयोः कृष्णद्वैपायनः संबभूवेति स्मरन्ति। P. 732.

[3] Vide K. T. Telang's article in the *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.* 1885.

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occasionally in connection with a point arising in the discussion Later on these *Vedānta Sūtras* of the छंदोग School seem to have superseded less perfect works in the same field and were thus acknowledged to have general authority just as the grammar of Pāṇini superseded other works on the same subject. The *Gītā* seems to refer by the word ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैः to some of these *Vedānta Sūtras* which were current in its days and not necessarily to those that have come down to us: for as we shall see below, they belong to a later age.

The *Bhagavadgītā* in its present form must have been current long before Buddhism became a power in the land and came into conflict with the Vedic religion. One cannot otherwise explain why the *Gītā* is so silent about the doctrine of the Buddha. Like the *Upaniṣads*, the *Gītā* inveighs against ritualism[1] in the second *adhyāya* while it criticises in equally scathing terms[2] the *Lokāyatikas* or materialists of India who denied the existence of God. But nowhere in the *Gītā* do we find the slightest reference to any Buddhist doctrine—a fact which is hard to explain if Buddhism was flourishing at the time of the *Gītā*. The *Vedānta Sūtras*, on the other hand, state and refute in the second *pāda* of the second *adhyāya*, the views of two Buddhistic philosophical schools, the *Sautrāntikas* or Representationists and the *Vijñānavādins* or subjective Idealists from which it is evident that the Buddhist system was flourishing at the time of the *Sūtrakāra*.

Secondly, the *Bhagavadgītā*, from very early times has been regarded as a text-book of the *Bhāgavata* doctrine. In one place it refers to Vāsudeva as the Supreme God.[3] But nowhere does it mention, the doctrine of the four *Vyūhas* which seems to have been a

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[1] यावानर्थ उदपाने सर्वतः संप्लुतोदके। तावान् सर्वेषु वेदेषु ब्राह्मणस्य विजानतः।

[2] असत्यमप्रतिष्ठं ते जगदाहुरनीश्वरम्। अपरस्परसंभूतं किमन्यत्कामहैतुकम्।
एतां दृष्टिमवष्टभ्य नष्टात्मानोऽल्पबुद्धयः। प्रभवन्त्युग्रकर्माणः क्षयाय जगतोऽहिताः।

.. ..

इदमद्य मया लब्धमिमं प्राप्स्ये मनोरथम्। इदमस्तीदमपि मे भविष्यति पुनर्धनम्।
असौ मया हतः शत्रुर्हनिष्ये चापरानपि। ईश्वरोऽहमहं भोगी सिद्धोऽहं बलवान् सुखी।
आढ्योऽभिजनवानस्मि कोऽन्योऽस्ति सदृशो मया। यक्ष्ये दास्यामि मोदिष्य इत्यज्ञानविमोहिताः॥

तानहं द्विषतः क्रूरान् संसारेषु नराधमान्।
क्षिपाम्यजस्रमशुभानासुरीष्वेव योनिषु॥ *Gītā* XVI, 8-19.

[3] बहूनां जन्मनामन्ते ज्ञानवान्मां प्रपद्यते।
'वासुदेवः सर्वमिति' स महात्मा सुदुर्लभः॥ VII, 19.

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later development of the *Pañcarātra* system, which evolved out of the *Bhāgavata* doctrine. The author of the *Vedānta Sūtras* on the other hand, although he quotes the *Bhagavadgītā* in some places in support of his system, strongly criticises the doctrine of the four *Vyūhas* in the last *adhikaraṇa*[1] of the second *pāda* of the second *adhyāya*. The *Vedānta Sūtras*, therefore, must have been composed after the *Bhagavadgītā* took its present form.

We have so far seen that the tradition that identified the author of the *Vedānta Sūtras* and the *Gītā* could have no foundation in fact and was not current in the age of Śaṅkara. We are next confronted by the question—How did it get current ?

We have seen above that the *Vedānta Sūtras* gradually superseded other *Sūtra* works of their type and were acknowledged to have general authority in all Vedic schools. Later on with the *Upaniṣads* and the *Gītā* they formed a triad of authoritative works on the *Vedānta* (प्रस्थानत्रयी)—which was supposed to set forth a consistent philosophical system. When after the age of Śaṅkara, the *Pañcarātra* system found its most able advocates in the Vaiṣṇava thinkers of the South, this tradition seems to have originated. From very ancient times Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyaṇa Vyāsa had been regarded as a mythical personage who was even credited with the expansion of one *Veda* into four and later on it became a fashion to ascribe to him any new *Purāṇa* if the real author wanted to secure recognition and reverence for his work. Vyāsa is thus supposed to be the author of eighteen *Purāṇas*, most of which are later than the beginning of the Christian era. It was therefore quite easy to identify him with the author of the *Vedānta Sūtras* especially when the latter was looked upon with equal veneration[2] and the identification was favoured by the traditionary consistency of the doctrine

[1] I do not agree with Dr. Thibaut who takes the उत्पत्त्यसंभवाधिकरण as defending the *Pañcarātra* system. My reasons briefly stated are—(1) In विज्ञानादिभावे वा तदप्रतिषेधः। 'विज्ञानादिभावे वा' seems to refer to another possible hypothesis of the objector; (2) तत् in the same *sūtra* is taken by Dr. Thibaut to mean the *Pañcarātra* system; but nowhere in the *Vedānta Sūtras* do we meet with a similar use of the word. (3) विप्रतिषेधाच्च। This is clearly intended to refute an objection cf. विप्रतिषेधाच्चासमञ्जसम्। II, 2, 10. Again मध्व reads the same *sūtra* as विप्रतिषेधाच्चासमञ्जसम् and takes it as refuting the शाक्तमत.

[2] Cf.—अचतुर्वदनो ब्रह्मा द्विबाहुरपरो हरिः। अभाललोचनः शंभुर्भगवान् बादरायणः। quoted as a पौराणिक पद्य by Jagannath in रसगंगाधर, p. 439 (Nirnay. ed.).

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set forth in the *Bhagavadgītā* with that of the *Vedānta Sūtras.* We have seen how Rāmānuja makes skilful use of this identification to turn what is evidently a refutation of the *Pañcarātra* system into its defence. Once the tradition got current, later Vedantists even of Śaṅkara's school, who lacked all critical spirit, must have indiscriminately followed it.

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RELIGION AND BELIEF IN THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA.

By Narayan Chandra Bannerjee, M.A.

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya which is a treatise on the art of government written most probably in the fourth century B.C., gives us some information on popular religion, rites and beliefs, which however scanty is highly interesting as holding before us a picture of the religious aspect of social life in Northern India, at the same time revealing to us the state of the popular mind.

As a writer on polity Kauṭilya was hardly concerned with the merits of the higher systems of faith or of schools of philosophy, but as a practical statesman his main interest had to be concentrated upon the life of the people at large, which came under the scope of his work on the art of government. Consequently we need not be surprised if we find in the *Arthaśāstra* mere incidental mention of the *Sāṅkhya*, the *Yoga* and the *Lokāyata* as typical illustrations of what he calls *Ānvīkṣakī* or speculative philosophy (साङ्ख्ययोगो लोकायतं चेत्यान्वीक्षकी। *Ar. Śā.* p. 6). It must however be said to the credit of Kauṭilya that among the innumerable writers on polity he was one of the foremost to assign to Metaphysics its proper place and value it as a foundation of all sciences. Of *Ānvīkṣakī*, we have but little information in the *Arthaśāstra*, and it is beyond the scope of this essay to dwell on it at large. Of *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* we have hardly any detail, while of *Lokāyata* we know absolutely nothing.[1]

As regards the Buddhists, and the Ājīvikas, the chief among the anti-Vedic and anti-Brāhmaṇical mendicant orders Kauṭilya's attitude is naively hostile, though he makes some exceptions in the case of the *Siddha Tāpasas*, of whom we shall have to speak in detail later on. This unfriendliness towards these orders is merely the reflection of the popular attitude which is also to be found in so many other older works.

The Buddhists and the Ājīvikas are, we find, referred to in one solitary passage in the chapter on "*Prakīrṇakam*," where we are told that a man who fed "*vṛṣala prabrajitas*" like the Śākyas or the

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[1] The subject has been studied by my friend Dr. B. M. Barua, whose views are incorporated in his *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*.

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Ājīvikas, in connection with sacrifices or on the occasion of offering oblations to his ancestors, was liable to a fine of 100 *paṇas* ("शाक्याजीवकादीन् दृषलप्रव्रजितान् देवपितृकार्येषु भोजयतः शतो दण्डः" p. 199). This together with other regulations directed towards the *Pāṣaṇḍas* goes to show the attitude of the Government towards the sectaries. The Government tried to suppress them as will appear from the fact that they were not allowed to live in villages (their place being near the cremation ground पाषण्ड चण्डालानां श्मशानान्तेवासः।) or organize their *Saṅghas* ("वाणप्रस्थादन्यः प्रव्रजितभावः सजातादन्यः सङ्घः-सामुत्थायकादन्यः समयानुवन्धो वानास्य जनपदमुपनिवेशेत" p. 48).

While this information as regards the principal philosophical schools, is undoubtedly scanty, the *Arthaśāstra* throws a flood of light on the popular religion of the day, and affords a picture which is really interesting to all students of sociology and of comparative religion. Not only do we find the worship of a large number of gods and goddesses, of demons and evil spirits, but we meet with quaint ceremonies and beliefs, which have their survivals even in our own days. Of these gods and goddesses some were undoubtedly Vedic while others had recently come into vogue. In the former class are mentioned the names of Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Savitā, Agni, Soma, Aditi, Anumati, Sarasvatī, and some others. Indra seems to have retained his place of eminence among the celestial gods. In times of draught Indra as *Sacīnātha* was invoked to give rain (p. 206, l. 10), while he was worshipped in connection with the *Aindrāvārhaspatya* ceremony, to give a son to a barren woman, or to improve the quality of the child in the womb. Yama retained his place as the ruler of the departed, while Varuṇa remained the chastiser of evil deeds and tendencies in men.

Apart from these we have some very interesting details about some of the later gods. Thus in connection with the necessary arrangements in a newly made town or fort Kauṭilya mentions some of the deities whose worship was supposed to bring peace and prosperity to the new city and to the community dwelling therein. They are Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta, Vaijayanta, Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, Aśvi, Śrī, and Madirā (अपराजिताप्रतिहतजयन्तवैजयन्त कोष्टकान् शिववैश्रवणाश्विश्रीमदिराग्रहं च पुरमध्ये कारयेत्।). Temples in honour of these were erected in the city (e.g. within the fortress). The names of the first four are to be found also in the Jaina *Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra*, but we have no details either in this work or in the *Arthaśāstra*, as to the special

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significance of their worship. The names, however, are very suggestive. Aparājita and Apratihata mean—'unbeaten by enemies.' Jayanta and Vaijayanta similarly mean 'victorious in battle,' and we may take them as gods presiding over victory in war. Along with these were Śiva (meaning 'blessing or good') whose votaries are so numerous in present day India, Vaiśravaṇa (known in Pāli literature as Vessavana) or Kuvera, the guardian deity presiding over wealth and whose propitiation brought wealth and riches to the invoker, the Aśvins—the divine physicians, who retained their place in public veneration owing to their medical skill, Śrī or Lakṣmī—the goddess of plenty and of good luck, who has got her votaries ever since the latter half of the Vedic period, being first mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*Satapatha. Br.* Book, XI, 4-3. See. *Buddhist India*, pp. 217-220) and lastly Madirā, who from the context seems to have been one of the deities who had a place in the centre of the city. In later periods this goddess was identified with the great goddess or Durgā. In those days she probably presided over festivities and hence her name is identical with Madirā or wine which was so largely used in those days.

Next to these we have mention of the deities presiding over the four quarters (यथादिशम् च दिग्देवताः) who had their temples in suitable places. The four city gates were dedicated to four gods, e.g.: Brahmā, Indra, Yama, and Senāpati (ब्रह्मेन्द्रयाम्यसैनापत्यानिद्वाराणिः .....) and inside the fortress a temple was built in honour of the goddess Kumārī.

In all cities moreover, temples seem to have been erected and dedicated to their special presiding deities, or to the gods presiding over the fortunes of the royal family (ततः परम् नगरराजदेवताः.....).

Villages too seem to have had their own gods, and the *Arthaśāstra* contains more than one reference to these village gods. Thus in one place we are told that the properties belonging to the village gods are to be managed by the village elders. In another place Kauṭilya refers to the custom of dedicating bulls to the local village gods (pp. 48, 171, and 172 ग्रामदेवद्रपाः.....p. 172).

Families too had their own gods presiding over their households or their fields.

Most of the gods and goddesses mentioned above had separate places of worship allotted to them and had properties attached to them for the maintenance of these shrines. In the days of the

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Arthaśāstra a special officer called *Devatādhyakṣa* supervised these things.

Images seem to have existed, though we have no details, but we have at least two references to images of gods (दैवतप्रतिमानां च गमने द्विगुणः स्मृतः ॥ p.234, l. 15; "देवध्वजप्रतिमाभिर्वा" p. 400, l. 19).

Other objects of veneration included the presiding deities of rivers, mountains and sacred trees. In the very interesting chapter on *Upanipātapratīkāra*, we hear of *Nadī-pūjā* on *Parva* days to avert floods. (पर्वसु च नदीपूजाः कारयेत्). The worship of the Ganges is specially mentioned. *Parvata pūjā* also is repeatedly mentioned in the same chapter (pp. 206 and 208 पर्वसु च पर्वतपूजाः कारयेत्).

Next to the worship of these deities we must mention the propitiation of demons, ghosts, and even of animals. to ward off danger or mischief. In Kauṭilya's days the demon-cult existed well developed, and in the chapter on *Aupaniṣadikan* among the *asuras* we find mention of the names of Vali Vairocana, Samvara, Bhandirapaka, Naraka, and Kumbha and many others (pp. 417–419). The worship of ghosts generally took place on new moon days to drive them off from horses and elephants (कृष्णसन्धिषु भुतेज्याः see p. 185, l. 9 and p. 139, l. 6).

Of animal worship we have reference to that (*pūjā*) of snakes, rats, crocodiles, and tigers. All these took place on new or full moon days. The worship of snakes deserves special mention and we have numerous references to it. Thus in the chapter on *Koṣābhisaṃharaṇam*, which describes artifices for replenishing the exhausted royal treasury we are told that hollow images of snakes and serpents were made and real snakes put there to induce people to pay something in the name of the snake god (p. 263)

Reverence was moreover paid to sacred trees and *caityas*. As to the *caityas* they were probably raised mounds, or were associated with some trees or other shrines. They were probably survivals from some older indigenous cult and were regarded as the seats of demons or wicked spirits. In the chapter on *Upanipātapratīkāra* we have directions for the worship of these *Caityas* on *Parva* days to ward off fear from demons. From the little details we have we know further that the spirits residing there were propitiated by offerings of flags, umbrellas, and other things. And goats were sacrificed to them (पर्वसुच वितर्दिछत्रोल्लोपिका हस्तपताकाच्छागोपहारैः चैत्यपूजाः कारयेत्। p. 208). The *caityas* were protected by the government and injury to them was punished (p. 197); for instance, compare.

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सीमवृक्षेषु चैत्येषु द्रुमेष्वालक्षितेषु ।
त एव द्विगुणा दण्डाः कार्याराजवनेषु च ॥

Belief in demons, ghosts or evil spirits seem to have had a hold on the popular mind. Demons are mentioned in many places and in the chapter on *Upanipātapratīkāra* we are told that *Atharvaveda* priests were employed to drive them off. The belief in demons moreover was utilised by the unscrupulous rulers of the day to exact money from the credulous population (p. 242).

Such being the state of popular mind, there was no lack of belief in supernatural powers, in miracles or in the efficacy of magical incantations or prayers.

Belief in supernatural powers is reflected in innumerable references to the credulity of the public in the power of *Siddhas*, *Tāpasas*, *Jaṭilas* and *Muṇḍas*, who were supposed to live for months without taking anything, who could bring fortune to their votaries, ward off public and private evils, or presage future happenings. Some of these pretended to know incantations or charms which would readily open closed doors, induce love in women or heal fresh wounds. It is needless to mention that from these people were recruited the large number of spies who were employed in detecting criminals.

Along with this belief in prayers and incantations was very common. All sorts of national calamities like pestilence, famine, or epidemic, were supposed to have been due to the wrath of the gods and apart from the practical measures taken by the Government, *Siddhas*, *Tāpasas*, and men supposed to be well versed in *Atharvaveda* rites were employed to avert them and Kauṭilya himself was a believer in the efficacy of such prayers.

Of such ceremonies, we may mention incantations and prayers for rains (p. 206), the ceremony of *Mahākacchapa Vardhanam* (prayers for rain on the bank of a river? वर्षावग्रहे शचीनाथगङ्गापर्वतमहाकच्छपपूजाः कारयेत् ।), penances and expiatory ceremonies, undertaken by the *Siddhas* and *Tāpasas* to save the people from the ravages of pestilences (औषधैश्चिकित्सकाः शान्तिप्रायश्चित्तैर्वासिद्धतापसाः). On *Parva* days fire itself was worshipped to free villages and towns from its ravages (बलिहोमस्वस्तिवाचनैः पर्वसु चाग्निपूजाः कारयेत् ॥). Those resorted to in connection with pestilences, are more interesting. We are told that on such occasions, not only oblations were to be offered to the gods, and the ceremony of *Mahākacchavardhana* performed, but cows were milked in the cremation ground, the trunks of corpses were burnt

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तीर्थाभिषेचनम महाकच्छवर्धनम् गवाम् श्मशानावदोहनम् कवन्धदहनं देवरात्रिम् च कारयेत् p. 206) and nights were spent in prayer to the gods.

Other mystic performances were undertaken with express objects in view, e.g. to bring wealth and riches, to induce love in women or cause the birth of a son. The last but one Book of the *Arthaśāstra* solely devoted to the description of secret means and contrivances, gives us much more information on this point. There we do find not only the mention of medicine and poisons for injuring enemies, but recipes and formulae, for causing blindness, dumbness, deafness, consumption or leprosy. Apart from these some formulae and processes are mentioned which would enable men to fast for a month, to walk over great distances or cause invisibility or make them immune from fatigue or fire. These were mainly the work of *Siddhas* and *Tāpasas* who were highly honoured and were even maintained by kings.

Most of these were performed in *caitya* places or in the cremation ground. The details moreover show a belief in the efficacy of secret formulae and in the peculiar powers residing in certain articles or combinations. Occultic powers are attributed to certain parts of the human body as also to the skull of low caste people dying unnatural death. Value is attached to the cremation ground and to the offering of wine and animal sacrifice. All these seem to give a tinge and smell of the Tantraic cult to these performances undertaken for similar purposes. We cannot however at present decide as to whether these were later developments in the hands of the Atharvavedic priests or imitations of or borrowings from some older local cult. Anyhow all these evidences go to prove that a cult later on elaborated into the *Tantra* (as far as its practical side was concerned) was fairly on its way to development.

Side by side with these, many of the Vedic sacrifices retained their existence. This is proved by references to the ceremonies of *Kṣapana*, *Abhiṣeka*, the performance of *Rājasūya* and the *Kratus* and furthermore by the regulation of the earnings of the priests engaged therein (p. 186).

Both in connection with the Vedic religion and with the popular faith certain days came to be regarded with special veneration. Apart from the *Parva* days, sacred *Tithis* are mentioned. On these days the people observed holidays, and workmen seem to have stopped work unless paid extra wages (p. 114).

Fairs and festivals were regularly held. Apart from the non-

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religious gathering for amusement, religious assemblages and gatherings were very common. Of such festivals we hear of the *Pancarātra* (see p. 147, l. 1), *utsavas*, *yātrās*, and *samājas*. The people joined in these gatherings and spent their time in merry-making and prayer. Dramatic performances were held. Wine drinking was one of the accessaries to the amusement of the occasion and the Government gave four days free license to manufacture wine. Special gatherings for prayer on occasions of famines and pestilence too are mentioned (p. 206 देवरात्रि)

Belief in the influence of stars and planets too had a firm hold on the popular mind. In the chapter on *Sītādhyakṣa* we are told of the influence of Bṛhaspati and Śukra on the growth of corn. Kings held with reverence and awe the conjunction of the moon with the stars of their birth and liberated prisoners on those days बन्धनागारे च बालवृद्धव्याधितानाथानाम् च जातनक्षत्रपौर्णमासीषु विसर्गः p. 146. Kauṭilya himself was not a believer in such great influence of stars and he enumerates too much faith in the influence of stars as one of the detriments to gain and prosperity (लाभविघ्नः.....मङ्गल तिथिनक्षत्रेष्टित्वम्..... p. 346). He himself scoffs at such people having too much faith in stars in the following verse[1] :—

नक्षत्रमतिपृच्छन्तम् बालमर्थोऽतिवर्तते ।
अर्थोह्यर्थस्य नक्षत्रम् किम् करिष्यन्ति तारकाः ॥

The people however believed in these things and a large number of men earned their livelihood by means of palmistry, the study of bodily signs (*Aṅgavidyā*), the reading of omens and augury (*Antaracakra*). Kings and rich men consulted astrologers (*Mauhūrtika*), prophets foretelling the future (*Kārtantika*), readers of signs (*Naimittika* p, 208). Belief in *leger-de-main*, mysticism, magic, and sorcery (*Jambhaka Vidyā*, *Pracchanna Vidyā*, *Māyāgatām*) was deep rooted in the minds of the people. The votaries of these too were freely consulted and employed by men of all classes.

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[1] Practically the same verse in Pāli occurs at the end of the Nakkhattajātaka.

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Philology.

President:

Dr. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B.A., Ph.D., *Bar-at-Law*.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS:

ON THE FUTURE OF LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN INDIA.

Gentlemen,

At the very last moment I learnt to my great regret that Prof. R. L. Turner of the Benares Hindu University, who had been elected to preside over this our section to-day, had been prevented by illness from coming over to Calcutta to attend our Conference. Hence it is that you see me before you here, taking his place. He certainly had a message to give to us and as he has entrusted it to my care I shall of course incorporate it with my own remarks. Luckily it happens that he and I are of one opinion in this matter and in his letter to me conveying to me his wishes I was glad indeed to find that our views on the subject of this address coincide in most points.

The history of the growth of the modern Science of Language in Europe begins practically in this very city of Calcutta in the year 1786 when Sir William Jones laid the foundation of the Asiatic Society. To him "the heaped treasures of Oriental learning made as urgent an appeal as the hoarded wealth of the Mogul Empire did to the merchant adventurers of the Company."[1] The idea of Sir William Jones to start the Asiatic Society was due, in part at any rate, to the great fellow-countrymen of the worthy President of our Conference, I mean Anquetil du Perron, whose monumental work, the *Zend Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre*, published in 1771, was so violently and, as it now appears, unfairly criticised by Sir William.[2] The work of Anquetil has been amply justified and has borne rich harvest in the course of the generations that have followed him. And the institution founded by Sir William Jones too has produced fruit exceeding rich and has done more than any single body in drawing together into bonds of true affection and admiration the East and the West.

In 1855 a small work by a German scholar, H. Steinthal, dealing with the mutual relations of logic, psychology and grammar, gave an entirely new direction to the Science of Linguistics in Europe. It

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[1] Dunn, *Poets of John Company*, Introduction.

[2] I am indebted to Dr. J. J. Modi of Bombay for drawing my attention, *as a Parsi*, to this point.

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pointed out for the first time in clear terms that when we deal with languages we have to take into consideration not merely the set of sounds produced, but the speaker as well. In other words, mere physiology of the vocal organs would not be enough to explain linguistic growth or decay, but psychology formed a far more important factor. This new point of view was not looked upon favourably by the older "Philologists" of that day. But gradually and surely the new view gained the day and to-day the science of Linguistics in Europe is the direct offspring of the ideas started by the once newfangled *Junggrammatiker*, as the upholders of Steinthal's teaching were named. The biggest names of the last generation, many happily still living, were in their early youth eager *Junggrammatiker* themselves. I have only to mention the names of Whitney, Brugmann, Meillet, Bréal and Paul in support of my statement.

In our country the scientific study of language has had a hoary and a glorious past. The first analysis of Sanskrit was made in the Vedic Age itself when the *saṃhitā*-text was turned into the *pada*-text. The *Prātiśākhyas*, almost equally hoary in their age, are works on phonetics which point to a long preceding activity in this line of research. Their conclusions are of great value even now owing to their great accuracy and the thoroughly scientific manner in which they treated the whole subject. Yāska and Pāṇini stand out as the greatest names in linguistics in ancient India. And in the mediaeval times we get another great name, that of the encyclopaedic Hemacandra.

In India to-day we have both the streams, the Eastern as well as the Western, joining together. We have inherited the vast treasures of our own past and we have now at our command the best results of critical scholarship of the West. The Western influence in the Science of Linguistics began to be felt in this country about the same time as the *Junggrammatiker* were beginning their activity over there. Our first and greatest worker in this field was Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar. Happily he is still living to inspire us with his presence and he has been directly or indirectly the *guru* of most of our workers in this line. His *Wilson Philological Lectures* of 1877 might be called the first great "philological" work produced in India. For nearly forty years he was practically the only Indian in the field of pure linguistics. By far the largest amount of spade-work was done during that period by Westerners,—Hoernle, Beames, Grierson and by a host of Missionaries. Our best thanks go out to these

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"foreigners" who worked for us—foreign only in their bodies but not in their spirit, for in that they have been "of one skin" with ourselves.

It was, however, only since 1908 that the Government of India definitely started the scheme of "the Oriental Scholarships," tenable at European Universities, and thus laid the foundation of real critical linguistic research in India. The late Dr. T. K. Laddu was the first Indian to win this honour, and Dr. Prabhu Datta Sastri and myself were the next two. Every year since then two Indians have gone abroad to study under Western scholars the methods of research and of modern linguistics. Few as their numbers have been, death has already claimed some very promising ones from among them—Laddu, Ghate and Todar Mall, for instance. These young scholars have learnt their linguistics under the best available teachers among the *Junggrammatiker* and indeed may claim to be the inheritors of both the traditions of the East as well as of the West. Indeed, they might with reason call themselves "the *Junggrammatiker* of India." They begin under the best of auspices because they can most reasonably be expected to fulfil the double qualification needed by an Oriental scholar, as laid down by Schlegel—reverence for Eastern traditions and at the same time the critical view-point of the West.

Following in the footsteps of our Masters—both Eastern and Western—our task in many respects appears formidable. But because we have "freely received" we might be expected to "freely give" as well. I can here merely indicate, in their broad aspects only a few of the important lines along which we best could work with credit to our land as well as to our teachers.

1. *Study of the Sanskrit language in all stages of its growth.* This seems to be a mere platitude to utter. But I wish to point out one serious defect which tends to become more and more apparent with the passing of time. Our scholars who take up "Philology" as their subject have a tendency to confine themselves to the Vedic alone. Even the language of the *Brāhmaṇas* and of the Epics is hardly ever touched; and the "classical" Sanskrit is practically neglected.

2. Closely connected with the study of Sanskrit is *the study of another ancient group of languages,* "for the purposes of comparison." The Iranian languages offer a most excellent companion group to

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Sanskrit and if the Hindus and the Parsis studied *both* the groups together the results would be very valuable indeed. In European Universities "Philology" could not be thought of apart from Latin and Greek. In this country we must build up the tradition that Indo-European Linguistics, at any rate, should be studied principally with the help of Sanskrit and Avesta.[1]

Similar remarks might be made with reference to the Dravidian and the Semitic languages, but I content myself with their bare mention.

3. A study of what might be called the "middle epoch" in the language history of our country—*a study of the mediaeval languages of India, the Prākrits*—is what one would consider naturally as the next step. A long interval has passed since Pischel's great *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen* and it is time that an *Indian* undertook that kind of work. Similar work might be done for Pahlavi and Pāzand.[2]

4. The next step is *a scientific study of the modern Vernaculars of India.* Of course both the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian are to be included, and I would also like to add Persian as well, because it has been the language of our cultured classes during the seven centuries and more of Islamic influence. Besides this, Persian even more than Arabic, represents to the Moslem all that is best in their contribution to India's greatness, while to the Parsi it has the deepest of associations. Quite apart from this, the linguistic history of Persia has a unique value to a student of languages, because that country has been the meeting ground of two distinct types of language and culture—the Aryan and the Semitic. As regards the modern Vernaculars of our country I would suggest a division of the whole country into "linguistic provinces," each to work out the details of its own language and dialects. The results might be put together and correlated by a central body. But I anticipate.

5. A study of the languages alone apart from the culture and history of the people which they reflect is like looking at a dissected corpse and not at the living human being. A good student of linguistics must also *study anthropological and other kindred data.*

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[1] Of course I include Old Persian here.

[2] I am informed by Dr. Modi that an exhaustive Pahlavi and Pāzand Dictionary is being compiled at Bombay by Mr. B. N. Dhabhar.

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Language is a *human* institution and it must be studied as such. And this brings me to the next item, viz.,

6. *The study of languages in their psychological aspect.* This branch of our work is yet young, even among our Teachers in Europe. I refer specially to Semasiology, which throws a flood of light on ancient cultural history, quite apart from its being of absorbing interest in itself. There is another aspect of this question I would desire to call your attention to. When we deal with the problems of *Urgeschichte* or "primitive" culture we get together merely a list of words from various languages—say, names of plants, animals, metals, implements, relationships, arms, etc., etc. In short, we deal with more *words*. It seems to me that much may be learnt by turning to the immense wealth of grammatical forms which all our Indo-European languages show in their early stages The bewildering variety of tenses and moods in the Veda, the subtleties in the use of the *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*, the mixing up of the cases, the uses of the various particles, to mention only a few aspects of the language, would teach us a great deal about the level of the *mental* and *moral* culture reached by our ancestors. Our *Urgeschichte* at present looks mainly to the *material* side.

7. *A study of comparative religion and mythology* is also an essential part of our work. All literatures have had their roots in religion and the history of most languages shows that a religious book has "set the standard" for succeeding ages in matters of literary style and expression. I have but to mention the Vedas, the Bible in England and in Germany, and the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulsi in support of this statement. Religion has been the mainspring and fountain of all great literatures and a study of comparative religions is of essential importance in our work.

I could add many another heading as useful to our work but let those already given suffice. To achieve or even to attempt all this we need workers and ever more workers. India is rapidly coming into her own. We, who, for some reason or other, cannot take part in active political work, have no reason to be idle. We must also do our share in the nation-building going on all around us. Let our offering to the New India—rejuvenated and greater than of yore—be our work along the lines I have tried to sketch out roughly above.

One point more and I have done. We are doing some work along

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these lines already. But even the few workers that are in the field are mostly working unknown to each other. It is of the greatest importance that all work should be co-ordinated and as far as possible systematically arranged. For this purpose a *Linguistic Society of India* is very essential, a Society which could authoritatively conduct the work especially of investigating our Vernaculars. And if at all such a Society comes into being it should have its own Journal, say a quarterly, to the pages of which all workers would be welcome contributors. But we have at present no time to put it to this Conference, neither is it expedient at present to spring this new idea upon our other colleagues. For though all would agree upon it as a "pious wish," to be expressed and then forgotten, the great practical difficulty of money would come in. I have, indeed, been thinking of this ever since the first Oriental Conference at Poona in 1919, and I am glad to announce that Dr. P. D. Gune of the Fergusson College, Poona, and Prof R. L. Turner have expressed their full agreement with this idea and have promised co-operation. In the meanwhile, as a practicable way out of the difficulty, I approached our Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who, readily as ever, came to my help. He has authorised me to say that he would set apart one volume of the Calcutta University *Journal of Letters* each year (and we have at least four volumes per year) for Linguistics. This would give us roughly three hundred printed pages which a good quarterly journal can manage to fill in one year. Let us be content with this modest beginning and convey our best thanks to Sir Asutosh. And I need hardly add that I will be only too delighted "to edit" that volume, in other words, receive all contributions to it. The printing can begin only after a sufficient number of articles have been received.

In the end let us close on a note of hope. The task we have got to perform is great indeed but we can work together for the common goal. And let us hope that our efforts during the interval before the next Conference at Madras will show some very tangible results and that the *Linguistic Society of India* might be born in that great city when next we meet there.

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THE LOSS OF VOWEL-ALTERNATION IN INDO-ARYAN.

By R. L. Turner.

M. Meillet in a chapter on the alternations or ablaut of the Indo-European languages makes the following remark: "Vowel-alternations are the only ones normally used by Indo-European morphology." He then gives an example from Semitic of the use of vowel-alternation in grammatical formation, taking the Arabic root *qtl* and its many forms differentiated by a change of vowel: *qatala, yaqtulu, qutila, yuqtalu, qātala, yuqātilu, qūtila, yuqātalu, qatlun, qātilun*, etc. He then proceeds: "Indo-European employs its vowels in the same way. A root or suffix is never characterized by its vowels, but only by its consonants or sonants. The vocalism indicates simply and solely the type of formation."[1]

We have in India a great number of languages which are the direct descendants or transformations of Indo-European. Yet unlike their parent language they do not possess as an integral part of their grammatical structure this alternation of vowels. The modern Indian root is for the most part characterized not only by its consonants but also by its particular vowel: that is to say, it has a fixed form which does not alter to express grammatical relationship. This grammatical relationship is expressed by suffixes and auxiliary words which leave the root unchanged.

Thus in the Hindī noun *kuttā* we may say that we have the root *kutt-* and the suffix *-ā*. It is this suffix alone which changes its form: *kutt-ē, kutt-õ*. Compare this with the Sanskrit word for 'dog,' *śvan-*, Here there are five different forms of the root: *śvā, śvān-am, śvan. śva-bhiḥ, śun-aḥ*. In the older language of the Veda such nouns were very common. But in Hindī all nouns are of the type of *kuttā* with a base or root that is unchangeable.

The same holds broadly true of the Hindī verb (with a few sporadic exceptions, like the opposition of root between *karnā* and *kiyā*, and one regular type of formation, the causative, of which we shall speak later). Thus e.g. we have Hindī *bharnā, bhartā, bharũgā, bharā. bharkē, bharānā, bharwānā*, in all of which the root *bhar-* is

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[1] *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues I.E.*, p. 133.

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unchangeable. Compared with this what variety of root-form there is in the Sanskrit *bhar-ati*, *bhṛ-taḥ*, *bhār-ayati*, *bhr-iyatē*, *bu-bhūr-ṣati*.

It will be interesting to discover whether we can assign any cause to this disappearance of a particular means of grammatical formation, so intimately connected with the whole language in every type of word and form.

Speaking of the profound change that was effected in the grammatical structure of the Indo-European languages by the loss of noun-inflexion, M. Meillet in one of his latest books writes: "A material fact helped in the reduction of inflexion; the elements which characterized inflexion were chiefly to be found at the end of the Indo-European word; now, that end-syllable is generally pronounced feebly and tends to get shorter or even to disappear. The characterizing elements of inflexion alter, then, or are effaced, in the course of the development of the Indo-European languages. This circumstance, purely phonetic in character, and quite independent of the meaning which had to be expressed, has acted in the same direction as the tendency towards normalisation inherent in all morphology and as the difficulty felt by new populations in assimilating a complicated grammar." [1]

It will be seen that a similar cause, as purely phonetic, contributed to the loss of vowel-alternations in the Indo-Aryan languages, in conjunction doubtless with the other two causes mentioned by M. Meillet, the tendency towards normalisation and the learning of the language by a new population.

The vowel-alternations of Indo-European were maintained more or less intact in Sanskrit and particularly in the language of its earliest monument, the *Ṛgveda*. There were changes and innovations; but the system remained as an integral part of grammatical formation, as the two examples already given sufficiently show. I do not propose to discuss here in detail the fate of the Indo-European system of ablaut in Sanskrit, but to consider only its chief line of development. Some series of alternations, from one cause or another, were not perceived any longer (in the consciousness of the speakers) to form component parts of a settled system, and these comparatively early in the history of the Indo-

[1] *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, p. 201.

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Aryan languages ceased to have much significance as grammatical formatives. Such for example were the alternations in *jan-ayati* : *jā-taḥ* : *ja-jñ-uḥ*, or *dīrgh-aḥ* : *drāgh-īyān*, or *pā-tum* : *pī-taḥ*, etc.[1] These will not now be considered. Other alternations however were still felt to form part of a system, which retained sufficient vigour to extend its operations as a grammatical formative even beyond its original boundaries, so that to-day in a language so thoroughly normalised as Hindī it can still be seen in the opposition between certain simple and causative verbs such as *khulnā* : *khōlna*, *ṭūṭnā* : *tōṛnā*, *kaṭnā* : *kāṭnā*. For these have not been entirely ousted by the newer formations in *-ānā*, which leave the root untouched if the vowel is short or shorten it if the vowel is long : *carnā* : *carānā*, *karnā* : *karānā*, *ghūmnā* : *ghumānā*. It is these alternations whose history I propose briefly to follow here.

One of the most characteristic features of Indo-European ablaut is the alternation of the vowels *e* and *o* Aryan, in changing every *e* and *o* to *a*, destroyed this alternation. In Sanskrit I.-E. *e o a* > *a*, *ei oi ai* > *ē*, *eu ou au* > *ō*, *ē ō ā* > *ā*, *ēi ōi āi* > *ai*, *ēu ōu āu* > *au*. Six sounds in Sanskrit take the place of eighteen in Indo-European.

This left Sanskrit with the following regular vowel-alternations :—

a : *ā* :—*sarati sārayati* ; *padam pādaḥ* ; *apaḥ apāṁsi*.
i : *ē* : *ai* :—*riktaḥ rēcayati araik* ; *sakhibhiḥ sakhē* (*sakhāyam*).
u : *ō* : *au* :—*stutaḥ*, *stōṣyati*, *stauti* ; *bhānuḥ*, *bhānōḥ*, *bhānau*.
ṛ : *ar* : *ār* :—*kṛtaḥ*, *karōti*, *kārayati* ; *pitṛ*, *pitaram*, *tvatpitāraḥ*.

These correspondences were perceived as a system and were so noted by Indian grammarians even before the time of Pāṇini,[2] and the terms guṇa and vṛddhi are of course familiar to all students of Sanskrit grammar. These correspondences are found not only in words handed down from Indo-European, but also in new derivatives such as the Vedic *aurṇanābhá-* from *ūrṇanābhi-*, *sōṣupyatē* from *svapiti*. In two classes of derivation in particular was the use of these alternations extended : firstly in the formation of the causative, where the root had guṇa : e.g.

karōti kārayati, tanōti tānayati, labhatē lābhayati.
limpati lēpayati, chinatti chēdayati.
ruṣyati rōsayati, lubhyati lōbhayati.

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[1] Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, §§ 54–58.
[2] Wackernagel, op. cit., § 54.

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Secondly in noun-derivatives (particularly those of Whitney's secondary derivation) by means of vṛddhi: e.g.

aśvinau āśvinaḥ, samrāṭ sāmrājyaḥ
virāṭ vairājaḥ, śīrṣa sairṣaḥ.
pṛthivī pārthivaḥ.
sukṛtam saukṛtyam, ūrṇā aurṇaḥ.

Even these few examples show that this form of derivation has been carried far beyond the Indo-European

Meanwhile, however, the sounds of Indo-Aryan had not reached a state of equilibrium and changes, even at the time of the *Ṛgveda*, were in process, which were still further to interfere with the system of vowel-alternations. These changes were for the most part common to the many forms of the language known to us by the names of Pāli and Prākrit.

Skt. *ai*, *au* became *ē*, *ō*, thus reducing the members of each series to two only, namely *a* : *ā*, *i* : *ē*, *u* : *ō*.

Another change, that of *ṛ* to *i*, *u* or *a* (according to dialect and surrounding sounds) still more profoundly affected the last series. In place of *ṛ* : *ar* : *ār* we now have *i*, *u* or *a* : *ar* : *ār*; or in the case of the two last members where *r* was followed by a consonant, *a* plus a double consonant. Thus

Sanskrit	*kṛtaḥ*	*karōti*	*kārayati*	*kartum*	became
Pāli	*katō*	*karōti*	*kārēti*	*kattuṁ*	or
Prākrit	*kidō*	*karēdi*	*kārēdi*	*kattuṁ*.	

In such series regularity can no longer be perceived by the speakers and we find either one form is generalised (the most common procedure), e.g. Pkt. *karidum* : *karēdi* replaces *kattuṁ*; or that on the models still in existence of *a* : *ā*, *i* : *ē*, *u* : *ō* from the *i*, *u*, *a* stage new guṇa forms are created. Thus we find

vaṭa-	(*vṛta-*)	giving	birth	to	*vāṭi-*
bhaṭa-	(*bhṛta-*)	,,	,,	,,	*bhāṭa-*
giha-	(*gṛha-*)	,,	,,	,,	*gēha-*
giṇhaī	(*gṛhṇāti*)	,,	,,	,,	*geṇhaï*
sphuṭa-	(**sphṛta-*)	,,	,,	,,	*sphōṭayati*.[1]

Another sound-change of this period still further disturbed these series. In closed syllables, i.e. when followed by two or more consonants, a long vowel was shortened. This led to the loss of all

[1] Turner, *Gujarātī Phonology*, § 14.

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distinction between *a* and *ā* in closed syllables, e.g. *candraḥ* and *cāndraḥ* must both appear as *candō*.

Thus the only regular series left in the Prākrit stage are :

a : *ā* in open syllables only.
i : *ĕ*
u : *ŏ*

Now since a large number of verbs have their root-syllables open, this change did not affect largely the formation of the causative by means of guṇa. The contrast between *marēdi mārēdi, caraï cārēi* remained unaffected. But the case of nouns was different as shown by the fate of *candraḥ cāndraḥ*, and wherever the syllable was closed distinction between *a* and *ā* was lost; and the series *a*, *ā* could no longer be utilized as a noun-formative. And since *a* (< IE· *a*, *e* and *o*) was by far the most common vowel in the language, this change struck a great blow at the use of guṇa (vṛddhi) as a noun-formative.

The two chief changes of the modern period of most of the Indo-Aryan languages were the coalescing of vowels left in contact by the Prākrit loss of intervocalic stops, and the compensatory lengthening of a short vowel before a simplified consonant group. Both these changes further attacked the system of vowel-alternation, but particularly the latter. For where Prākrit still maintained the alternation *a* : *ā* in words of the type *tappai* : *tāvēi*, the modern languages lost it, e.g. Gujarātī *tāpvũ* : *tāvvũ*, and substituted a consonant-alternation The rarer *i* : *e*, *u* : *o* series might still exist combined or not with the newer consonant-alternation, e.g. Guj. *ṭuṭvũ* : *tōḍvũ*. And since a great number of modern intransitive verbs are based on the *-ya-* class of Sanskrit, the series *a* : *ā* was greatly disturbed. It might have been altogether replaced by a consonant-alternation (for the creation of forms like Marāṭhi *gaḍṇẽ* : Skt. *garta-*[1] and perhaps the ancestors of Hindī *bēcnā* : *biknā* testify to the life of this kind of consonant-alternation). But another method of analogical formation intervened, namely that which formed causatives of the type of Guj. *tapāvvũ* in place of *tāvvũ* : *tāpvũ*. Here owing to the action of another sound-change, perhaps due to stress-accent, the role of the alternation *a* : *ā* has been reversed, *a* now characterising the causative and *ā* the intransitive.

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[1] Bloch, *La formation de la langue marathe*, p. 122.

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But for long the opposition of *a* : *ā* must have remained active, for it led to the formation of new intransitive verbs with *a* opposed to transitives with *ā*,

e.g.	Guj.	*paḷvũ*	be nourished	: *pāḷvũ*	nourish
	Mar.	*kaṭṇẽ*	be cut	: *kāṭṇẽ*	cut
	H.	*bandhnā*	be tied	: *bãdhnā*	tie.

This has been extended even to other vowels, e.g. in the Kheri District (Awadhī) *khĩcab* be dragged : *khĩcab* drag.[1]

But from Pāli times another causative suffix had been gaining ground, namely *-āpaya-*. The need for this was felt not only because of the increasing disappearance of the opposition *a* : *ā*, but also because the causatives of Sanskrit had come to be used more and more as simple transitive verbs. E.g. *bandhayati* tended to replace *badhnāti bandhati* as the simple verb, while the new **bandhāpayati* formed the causative. Similarly *karēi* : *kārāvēi*. A somewhat similar process can be seen in the assumption by the so-called double causatives in *-wā-* of Hindī of the functions of the simple causative in *-ā-*.

Lastly in at least one language, Marāṭhī, the long vowels of interior syllables tended to be reduced. Thus for Sanskrit *prasārayati*, where in other languages the *ā* is maintained, Marāṭhī has *pasarṇẽ* not distinguished in any way from *pasarṇẽ* < Skt. *prasarati*. Whether my theory,[2] denied by M. J. Bloch,[3] is correct or not, namely that *ā* remained even in interior syllables when it bore the stress accent developed out of the I.-A. tone, yet the fact remains that *ā* in interior syllables is still found in certain classes of words and that there is hesitation between *ā* and *a* even in some verbs, *upăjṇẽ*, *ujărṇẽ*, etc. But the clear-cut distinction between *a* for intransitives and *ā* for transitives has been blurred and it is only in uncompounded verbs in Marāṭhī that the old opposition is maintained. Even here the distinction of meaning is sometimes lost: e.g. both *carṇẽ* and *cārṇẽ* are both transitive and intransitive.[4]

But while the old Indo-European vowel-alternation has maintained itself, albeit much reduced in scope, as a grammatical formative in the verb, it has ceased to have any significance in the formation of

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[1] Communicated by Mr. Baburam Saksena, M.A.
[2] *J.R.A.S.* 1916, p. 203ff. [3] Bloch, op. cit., p. x.
[4] Bloch, op. cit., p. 66.

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the noun. It is true that a considerable number of Sanskrit words, which are derivatives with vṛddhi, survive in modern Indian. But they have either replaced the original, as e.g *kauṣṭha-* (Hindī *kōṛh*) has replaced *kuṣṭha-*, or *paustaka-* (H. *pōthā*) *pustaka-*, or *mauktika-* (Guj. *mōtī*) *muktā*, or **paityа-* (H. *pēt*) *piṭa-*. Or else they are felt as no longer belonging to their originals, as e.g. Nepāli *mōl* price (*maulya-*) : *mulo* radish (*mūla-*), *tilo* sesamum (*tila-*) : *tēl* oil (*taila-*).

It appears then that the destruction of the Indo-European system of vowel-alternation as an active grammatical formative has been due largely, if not entirely, due to various changes which over a period of many centuries disturbed the symmetry of that system and often destroyed it.

This view gains support from the fact that in one language at least the remains of this system have been maintained as an active method of derivation not only for verbs but also for nouns. That language is Sindhī. And it is just in this language that one of the disturbing sound-changes did not occur. Sindhī still distinguishes Sanskrit shorts and longs even when they precede two consonants.

In the Prākrit from which Sindhī is descended long vowels could not have been shortened before a consonant group; on the other hand double consonants have been simplified in Sindhī without lengthening the preceding vowel. Thus we have

rāti	(*rātriḥ*)	but	*akhi*	(*akṣi*)
ãḍo	(*āntram*)	,,	*kaṃḍo*	(*kaṇṭakaḥ*)
kāṭhu	(*kāṣṭham*)	,,	*hathu*	(*hastaḥ*)
pāto	(*prāptaḥ*)	,,	*sambati*	(*sampattiḥ*).

In this way pairs such as Skt. *candraḥ* : *cāndraḥ* are distinguished as *caṇḍu* : *cãḍo*. Similarly

pasũ	(*parśu-*)	:	*pāso*	(*pārśva-*)
makhī	(*makṣikā*)	:	*mākhī*	(*mākṣika-*)
adhu	(*ardha-*)	:	*ādho*	(*ārdha-*)
kaṇḍo	(*kaṇṭaka*)	:	*kãḍo*	(*kāṇṭaka-*)
ḍabhu	(*darbha-*)	:	*ḍābho*	(*dārbha-*).

The survival of the common opposition *a* : *ā* in closed syllables as a grammatical formative has preserved the same opposition in open syllables for the same use:

sahuro	(*śvaśura-*)	:	*sāhuro*	(*śvāśura-*)
jaü	(*yava-*)	:	*jāo*	(*yāvaka-*)
gaũ	(*gava-*)	:	*gāo*	(*gāva-*);

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as well as the less common *i* : *e*, *u* : *o*.

wija	(*vidyā-*)	:	*weju*	(*vaidya-*)
sigho	(*śīghra-*)	:	*seghu*	(*śaighra-*)
sĩaru	(*śivala-*)	:	*sëaru*	(*śaivala-*)
usa	(*uṣman-*)	:	*oso*	(*auṣmya-*)
kukuṛu	(*kukkuṭa-*)	:	*kokuṛo*	(*kaukkuṭa-*)
uṭhu	(*uṣṭra-*)	:	*oṭho*	(*auṣṭra-*)
muṅu	(*mudga-*)	:	*moṅo*	(*maudga-*)
suṭu	(*sūtra-*)	:	*soṭo*	(*sautra-*)
puṭu	(*putra-*)	:	*poṭo*	(*pautra-*)
una	(*ūrṇā*)	:	*ono*	(*aurṇa-*).

That this opposition has been, and may perhaps still be, an active principle in word formation in Sindhī is shown by such recent creations as

geṇhū	beside	*giṇhaṇu*
desu	,,	*disaṇu*
wesāro	,,	*wisāraṇu*
sebo	,,	*sibaṇu*
nepāju	,,	*nipājaṇu*
oṭhi	,,	*uṭhaṇu*
mõjho	,,	*mũjhaṇu*
ghomi	,,	*ghumaṇu*
ḍodhi	,,	*ḍudhu.*

Sindhī then supports our view that the disappearance of a most essential principle of grammatical formation, which affected the whole structure of the language, was due to certain particular causes, in the shape of sound-changes, external to the structure of the language itself.

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A NOTE ON THE GUTTURAL ख् (*kh*) SOUND OF THE CEREBRAL SIBILANT ष् (*ṣ*).

By N. B. Divatia.

The cerebral sibilant ष् (*ṣ*) of Sanskrit turns into the dental स् (*s*) in the Prākrits generally. Only the Magadhī changes it to the palatal श् (*ś*), when not forming part of a conjunct. Curiously enough, this intermediate evolution is ignored by some of the modern Indian vernaculars, and the guttural hard aspirate ख् (*kh*) takes the place of the cerebral sibilant ष् (*ṣ*) most prominently in Hindī and in several words in Gujarātī. Thus, भाषा (Skr.) is भाखा in Hindī; पुरुष is पुरुख; वर्षा (the rainy season) is वर्खा; and so forth.[1]

The following instances in Gujarāti will prove interesting विषम् (Skr.) < विख (G.); उषा (Skr.) < ऊखा (G.); श्लेष्मा (Skr.) < श्लेखम (G.); हर्षः (Skr.) < हरख (G.); घोषयति (Skr.) < गोखे (छे) (G.), i.e. commits to memory by repeating aloud; वर्षम् (Skr.) < वरख (in a limited circle) and optionally वरस; वृषभः (Skr.) < वरख (the zodiacal sign *Taurus*); वेष (Skr.) < भेख (G.); संतोष (Skr. causal) < संतोख (G.); संतोषः (Skr.) < संतोक (G. proper name; by change of ख to क).

In rare cases the palatal श् (*ś*) becomes ख् (*kh*); e.g. दंशः (Skr.) डंख (G.); also डंखवुं, the verb.

Nay, not only is this phonetic change prevalent in these vernaculars, but in old writing, ख् (*kh*) and ष् (*ṣ*) are freely interchanged, so much so that ष् is written where we should never expect any thing but ख् (*kh*): e.g. सुष for सुखः

Cf. also हा एकलडी मद्निरधार
किम उवेषिसि करुणासार ॥
(Nemi-nātha, *Cutuṣpadikā*; V.S. 1356).

उवेषिसि here stands for उवेखिसि—उवेक्खसि—उपेक्षसे. This is similar to the writing of य् for ज् in old Gujarāti MSS.; e.g.

करु बोल ये(=जे) तुह्मनि कह्या
(*Vimala-prabandha*, VII, 7.)

नीर विद्रणउं यशूं(=जसूं) निवांण
(Ibid., VII, 4.

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1 Bhāndārkar, *Wilson Philological Lectures*, p. 189, and Beames, *Comparative Grammar*, Vol. I, pp. 261–262.

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This practice has resulted in a deal of confusion. But what we are here concerned with is the phonetic change of ष् (*ṣ*) to ख् (*kh*) as in the words noted above. As hinted already this disregard of the phonetics of Prākrits stimulates curiosity and provokes inquiry; and an explanation is available in the fact that this ख् (*kh*) sound of ष् (*ṣ*) is a very old one, dating at least as far back as the traditions and practice of the *Mādhyandinī śākhā* of the *White Yajurveda*. The followers of this *śākhā* will recite सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपाद् as सहस्रशीर्खा पुरुखः etc.

This Vedic practice being prevalent even now, it is conceivable that the vocality peculiar to this *śākhā* adhered to certain classes who either came in contact with the followers of that *śākhā* or possessed that peculiar vocal-tendency. This may explain the ignoring of the Prākrit phonetic evolution by the modern vernaculars which change the ष् (*ṣ*) to ख् (*kh*).

But a further inquiry suggests itself in this connection. Whence and why did the *Mādhyandinas* bring this ख् (*kh*) sound for ष् (*ṣ*)? The *Śukla Yajuḥ-Prātiśākhya* will not help us, for according to it (Adhyāya I, sūtra 67, षटौ मूर्धनि) ष (*ṣ*) is recognized as a cerebral. And no wonder, for the *Prātiśākhya* covers and deals with the phonetics common to all the *śākhās*,[1] whereas this ख् (*kh*) sound of ष् (*ṣ*) is

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[1] The following extract from the *Bhāṣya* by Anantadeva Yājñika on *Pratijñā Sūtra*, II. 1, will bear me out:—

यथेते संस्काराः प्रातिशाख्ये निबद्धा भवेयुस्तदा सर्वेषां काण्वादीनामपि स्फुरितरोऽपि तेषां पृथगुपदेशो युक्त इति। ननु प्रातिशाख्यस्यान्वर्थसंज्ञाकरणेन प्रतिशाखं भिन्नत्वात् कथं तेषां धर्मेप्राप्तिरिति चेन्नैतदेवम्। यतः प्रतिपञ्चदशशाखायां भिन्नानि प्रातिशाख्यानि नोपदिष्टानि किंतु श्रौतस्मार्तसूत्रवत् प्रातिशाख्यसूत्रमपि पञ्चदशशाखासाधारणं समाम्नातम्। * * * * प्रतिशाखास्तु भवं प्रातिशाख्यमिति संभवाभिप्रायेण बहुवचनान्तयोगेनापि निर्वाहः इत्यास्तां तावत्॥ See also the *Bhāṣya* on III. 6, which has:—अन्ये विस्तरशः स्वरसंस्काराः पञ्चदशशाखासाधारणेन प्रातिशाख्ये उपनिबद्धाः॥ Thus we are told that the *Prātiśākhya* deals with features common to all the fifteen *śākhās* whereas the *Pratijñā Sūtra* has for its subject the traditions of the single *śākhā*, viz. the *Mādhyandinī*.

The fact that *Yajuḥ-Prātiśākhya*, VIII. 29 speaks of certain phonetic features as not recognized by the *Mādhyandinas* does not clash with the general nature of the *Prātiśākhya* as embracing all the *śākhās*, for such special variations can, not improperly, be noticed in a general treatise. Nay, they would rather serve as evidence in support of the view that the *Prātiśākhyas* deal with features common to all the *śākhās*.

Max Müller seems to hold a different view. He says: "They (i.e. the *Prāti-*

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confined to the single *śākhā* of the *Mādhyandinas*. We must therefore look to the literature peculiar to this *śākhā* for enlightenment in this case, and we find it in the *Pratijñā Sūtra, Keśava-śikṣā and Laghu-Mādhyandinī-śikṣā.*[1] These prescribe the pronunciation of ष् (*ṣ*) as ख् (*kh*) under certain conditions, viz. plain ष् (*ṣ*), or, if part of a conjunct, then conjoined with any consonant other than the letters of the टवर्ग (cerebrals).

Now the question is, why should only the Mādhyandinas pronounce the ष् (*ṣ*) as ख् (*kh*)? What could have been the causes operating on their vocality which differentiated them in this respect from the followers of the other Vedas as also from those of their own Veda, but belonging to other *śākhās*? Was it any contact with peoples of the tract wherein they settled that determined this vocality? We have really no means of knowing, for no other peoples or languages in India of the times appear to have possessed such a peculiarity. Did they, then, bring this vocal peculiarity of theirs from their distant home left long long ages ago, i.e. to speak more accurately, did they carry on this vocal tradition of their ancient forefathers who possessed it in their distant and ancient home,

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śākhyas) all belong not to one of the four Vedas in general, but to one *śākhā* of each of them. *Prātiśākhya* therefore, does not mean, as has been supposed, a treatise on the phonetic peculiarities of each Veda, but a collection of phonetic rules peculiar to one of the different branches of the four Vedas." (*History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, Chap. I, p. 119). In view of the facts stated by me above, the correctness of this view may be questioned.

[1] Dr. Keilhorn describes the *Keśava-śikṣā* thus:—

"The *Kesava Sīksha* belongs to the *Mādhyandina śākhā* of the *Yajurveda* It treats, like the *Pratijñā-Sūtra*, 9, 27, of the pronunciations of the letters व्, य्, ष् (to be pronounced as ख्, e.g. द्रषे = द्रखे), र् (to be pronounced as रे, e.g. दर्शत = दरेशत)"; and so forth.

I quote the pertinent passage here:—

षः खट्टुम्टते च ॥ Sūtra 9 of *Keśava Sīkṣā*.

(*Sīkṣā-saṃgraha*, Benares Sanskrit Series, p. 140). Keśava expands this *Sūtra* in his versified *Sīkṣā*; (see footnote 1 of next page).

Laghu Mādhyandinī Sīkṣā has:—

षकारस्य खकारः स्याट् टुकयोगे तु नो भवेत् ॥ १ ॥ (*Sīkṣā-saṃgraha*, p. 114).

The *Pratijña-Sūtra* tells us:—

ऋषो मूर्धन्योष्मणोऽसंयुक्तस्य टुम्टते संयुक्तस्य च खकारोच्चारणम् ॥ etc., *Sukla-Yajuḥ-Prātiśākhya*, p. 423 (Benares Sanskrit Series), i.e. the cerebral sibilant, viz. ष् (*ṣ*) when not in a conjunct, and also when forming part of a conjunct with any consonant other than ट्, ठ्, ड्, ढ्, ण्, should be pronounced as ख् (*kh*).

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wherever it was? "Yes," I say, for I am inclined to accept this theory for a twofold reason.

First: as the *Pratijñā Śūtra* tells us further, this ख् (*kh*) sound is to be used only when reciting the *mantras*, performing sacrifices, making incantations, etc., while the sound to be adopted when interpreting the *mantras* is the original one, i.e. ष् (*ṣ*).[1] This would indicate that even the followers of the *Mādhyandinī śākhā* adopted what is called the natural sound, viz. ष् (*ṣ*) like all their neighbours and friends, the cerebral of the popular vogue, except when they repeated the *mantras* in connection with their rituals; and then they stuck to what their forefathers brought with them from a distant land and distant times, viz. the ख् (*kh*) sound.

Secondly: that this old sound, ख् (*kh*) was an old inheritance is visible from a comparison with the equivalents of the Sanskrit word अष्ट (*aṣṭa*) in other branches of the Old Aryan stock. These are:—

Grk. ὀκτώ, Lat. *octo*, Ir. *ocht*. D. *acht*, Ger. *acht*, Sc. *aucht*, Eng. *eight*, ME. *eiht*, North. *ahte*, AS. *eahta*, OS. *ahto*. Goth. *ahtau*.

We see, in this series of words, three symbols, (1) *k*, (2) *ch*, and (3) *h*; being represented (1) by Grk., ὀκτώ, (2) by Ger. *acht*, and (3) by the Goth. *ahtau*; (1) is like the Skr. sound क् (*k*), (2) very much like the Skr. ख् (*kh*), and (3) according to Brugmann (*Comparative Grammar*, Vol. I, § 25, p. 28), also like Skr. ख् (*kh*), because he says it is like the German *ch*. A proper look into their relative positions will suggest the theory that at some unknown period the Old Aryan had the ख् (*kh*) sound (अष्ट *akhṭa*), which, on the one hand shed the aspirate

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[1] अध्ययनादिकर्मस्वर्थवेलायां प्रकृत्या ॥ II. 12.

(*Pratijñā Sūtra* in *Śukla-Yajuḥ-Prātiśākhya*, etc., p. 425, Benares Sanskṛt series). i.e. these *ādeśas* come in when अध्ययन (recitation) and such ceremonies are to be performed; अर्थवेलायां (तु) (when interpreting the *mantras*), they remain in the original state (प्रकृत्या).

अयमुच्चारणविशेषः अध्ययने ब्रह्मयज्ञे, तदादिषु कर्मसु पारायणादिषु। अर्थविचारे तु ये वर्णास्त एव, न तु अर्थभेदः ॥ (Commentator's gloss as given by Weber under *sūtra* 21, p. 86 of his book on *Pratijñā Sūtra*.)

Cf. also Keśavas versified *Śikṣā*:—

असंयुक्तस्य मूर्धन्योष्मणः खोच्चारणं मतम्।
टुरुटते संयुक्तस्यापि (? संयुतस्यापि) कस्य योगे ष एव हि ॥
छन्दसीत्येव खोच्चारो लोके प्रकृतिरिष्यते ॥ १५ ॥ (*Śikṣā-saṃgraha*, p. 151).

Keśava's distinction between छन्दसि and लोके would indicate that अर्थवेला of the *Pratijñā Śūtra* recognized the लौकिक pronunciation.

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factor ह् (*h*) and left क् (*k*) as a precipitate in the Grk. and Lat. equivalents, and, on the other, in the group represented by Gothic and German, retained the ख् (*kh*) sound. The *gh* in English *eight*, though silent at present, indicates a pronounced soft guttural aspirate at some stage, and it is but the guttural hard aspirate ख् (*kh*) softened, which incidentally supports the existence of the ख् (*kh*) sound in अष्ट (*aṣṭa*) at some stage. The only way in which it is possible to account for *k* in Grk. and Lat., the घ् (*gh*) in English, and the *ch* (=ख्, *kh*) in Modern German as also the *h* (ख्) in Gothic is to accept this theory of the ख् (*kh*) sound in अष्ट (*aṣṭa*) in the Old Aryan at a very early stage.

True, the tradition of the Mādhyandinas would (by the distinct exclusion, टुनृते) deny the guttural sound to the ष् (*ṣ*) in अष्ट (*aṣṭa*). Nevertheless I postulate an अख्ट (*akhṭa*) in the Old Aryan because the ख् (*kh*) and क् (*k*) in the Western branch cannot be explained by anything but an original ख् (*kh*). This original sound must evidently have been discarded at a later or an earlier stage, no one can tell when, in the case of conjuncts with cerebrals and the ख् sound retained for simple ष् (*ṣ*) and ष् (*ṣ*) conjoined with any other consonant. In the case of अष्ट (*aṣṭa*) the क् (*k*) in the Lat. and Grk. equivalents and the *h* (ख्, *kh*) in the Gothic unite in pointing to a ख् (*kh*) as the only possible antecedent common to both the evolutes क् (*k*) and ख् (*kh*).

It may be asked if ष् (*ṣ*) was sounded as ख् (*kh*) as well as ष (*ṣ*) in Old Aryan, how was it possible for one and the same sound-symbol to represent two such widely different sounds? How could one and the same basis supply two such widely different results? The answer is simple. We know as a fact that the Mādhyandinīyas pronounced ष् (*ṣ*) as ख् (*kh*) in certain cases and as merely cerebral ष् (*ṣ*) in the rest (and also the followers of other *śākhās* and other *Vedas* had the cerebral sound only). If this was so at that period, what could have prevented such an apparently anomalous phenomenon from existing at the earliest stages? We could as well shift the state of things back to the Old Aryan period. Nor, after all, are the ष् (*ṣ*) and ख् (*kh*) sounds so wide apart. As Beames (Vol I, p. 262) suggests, the origin of the custom of sounding ष् (*ṣ*) as ख् (*kh*) lay probably in the connection between the sibilants and ह् (*h*) which latter was hardened into ख् (*kh*) as in Persian, e.g. सुश्रवस् (Skr.), *Khusraw* (Pers.). The circumstance that Gothic symbolizes the

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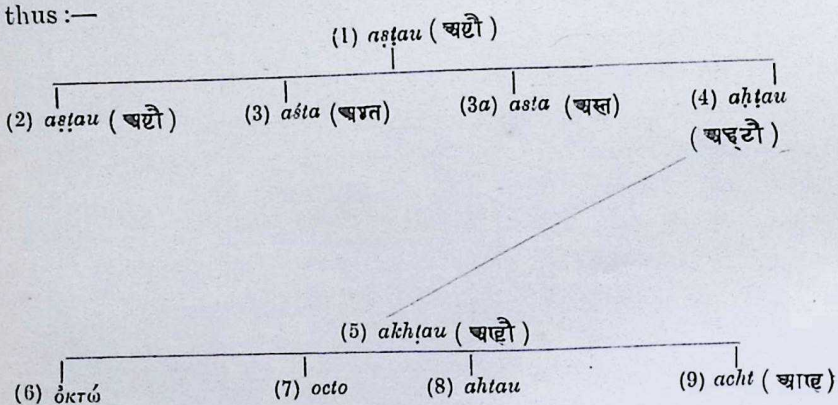
quasi-guttural sound in *aḥtau* by an *h* lends support to this theory to some extent.[1] If, then, this theory is accepted— and really it deserves great weight as full of suggestiveness,—the relative position of all the sounds evolved from ष (*ṣ*) may have to be slightly revised. The revision may be represented in the form of a genealogical tree, thus :—



(1) Old Aryan form.
(2) Skr. Vedic, and then classical form.
(3) Avestaic form.
(3*a*) Armenian, Albanian, etc.
(4) This is simply an *interim* phonetic step leading to the form with ह् hardened into ख् (अख्टौ).
(5) Old Aryan ; alternative to (2) ; each (2) and (5) being sectional in scope and usage and collateral in grade.
(6) Greek.
(7) Latin.
(8) Gothic.
(9) German.

NOTES :—(*a*) The above tree bears principally on (2) and (5) as alternatives ; the others, (3), (3*a*), are side-branches not affecting

[1] The close relation of ख् and ष्, initially phonetic and eventually symbolic, receives a significant light from the fact that the Gujrāti symbol for *kh*, viz. ખ્, is very probably a graphical evolute of the symbol for *ṣ*, viz. ष, ષ (Guj.) ; the slanting stroke being converted into a dot and a horizontal stroke in the cursory style of writing ; thus :—ષ—ખ્. The modern Kāithi script also has its ष् (*ṣ*) written thus :— ખ્, and its ख (*kh*) thus :—ખ્, (Vide *The Palaeography of India* by Pandit Gaurisankar Ojha (Hindī), pl^a^te No. 78). This is also significant.

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the allocation of (2) and (5) and, through the latter, of (6), (7), (8) and (9).

(*b*) The ख् (*kh*) in Germ. *acht* is a direct descendant from the Old Aryan (अष्ट=*akhṭa*), through some one of the other dialects now extinct, and in a way collateral with the Gothic, *ahtau*. I base this conclusion on the strength of Max Muller's views expressed in his *Science of Language*, Vol. I, p. 216.[1]

(*c*) I may observe that Brugmann (*Comparative Grammar*, Vol. I, §§ 77, 85, 181, 381) posits a conjectural original, **ok̂tṓu̯*, **ok̂tṓ*, in the Indo-Germanic parental language, wherein the sound of *k̂* is palatal-like (अ^चौ—ओचो). In view of the fact that the Grk. and Lat. evolutes have a क् (*k*) and the Gothic and German evolutes have an *h* and *ch*, both equivalent to a ख् (*kh*), and also considering the ख् sound of ष् in general, distinctly indicated by the Mādhyandinī tradition, I venture to give preference to my conjectural original viz. अष्टौ (*akhṭau*).

It may be objected that by positing a parental अष्टौ (*akhṭau*), the श् (*ś*) in Av. and स् (*s*) in other languages will remain unaccounted for. My answer is that अष्ट (*akhṭa*) as well as अष्ट (*aṣṭa*)—alternatively—are to be posited as parental of which the former will account for Grk., Lat., Goth., Germ., and the latter will account for the Av. अश्त (*aśta*) and the अस्त (*asta*) of Arm., Alb., etc., as also for the अष्ट (Vedic, Mādhyandina, and classical Skr.). That such alternation is possible is accepted by Brugmann himself (Vol. I, § 380, pp. 286–287).[2] What

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[1] I quote Max Müller (*The Science of Language*, I, p. 216):—

"Gothic is but one of the numerous dialects of the German race; other dialects became the feeders of the literary languages of the British Isles, of Holland, Frisia and of Low and High Germany, others became extinct, and others rolled on from century to century unheeded, and without ever producing any literature at all. It is because Gothic is the only one of these parallel dialects that can be traced back to the fourth century, whereas the others disappear from our sight in the seventh, that it has been mistaken for the original source of all Teutonic speech."

[2] Brugmann says:—

"Indg. *k̂*, *k̂h*, *ĝ*, *ĝh*, usually appear in Greek, Italic, Keltic, and Germanic as explosives or as sounds, for which explosives are to be presupposed as the immediately previous stage, whereas in Aryan, Armenian, Balto-Slavic, and Albanian they usually appear as spirants (in Armenian at the same time as affricatae) or their continuations.

"It is possible and not improbable, that this diversity reflects a primitive

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Brugmann says of the palatal explosives and spirants may equally well be said of ख् and ष्.

I must add that in as much as *aṣṭa* (अष्ट), even in the Mādhyandina Skr., retains the sibilant sound, there is no infringement here of the general principle that the so-called *palatals*, the throat-sounds, *k kh* of the *centum*-group of languages are seen as sibilants in the *śatem*-group. But when we come to the *kh* sound of ष् (*ṣ*) in the case of the pure ष् or ष् joined with a non-cerebral consonant in the Mādhyandina Skr., we are faced with an apparent breach of that principle. I cannot get hold of instances of this latter kind spread over both the groups (*śatem* and *centum*) ; if an instance of the kind could be found the fact itself would have shown that an exception existed. But even without it this very fact of the Mādhyandina Skr. possessing of *kh* sound of ष् must be regarded as furnishing an exception.

However, we find a few instances where the ष (*ṣ*). pure, of the Indian Skr. has a *kh*-like sound in one, at least, of the Western branches of the original Aryan. Thus, स्नुषा (*snuṣā*) Skr. (=a daughter-in-law) appears as *snŭcha* in Slav. ; similarly यूष (*yūṣa*) Skr. (=soup, broth) is *jucha* in Slav.[1] Brugmann (I, § 27, p. 30) tells us that Slav. *ch.* is a sound resembling the *ch* in German *ach*, i.e. akin to *kh* (ख्) in Skr.[2] These instances are very significant. One need not tremble at the presence of a (*kh*) sound in a *śatem* language like those of the Slavic groups. For just as Skr. a *śatem* language

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Idg. difference of articulation, that the original explosives were spoken with a spirantal colouring (as affricatae ?) in one portion of the Idg. parent-language, while they remained pure in the other. This dialectical difference was then transmitted to the individual developments."

(*Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages*, translated by R. Seymour Conway and W. H. D. Rouse, Vol. I, § 380, pp. 286–7.)

[1] Vide Brugmann, *Comparative Grammar*, Vol. I, § 588, p. 443.

[2] Dr. O. Pistold, himself a Czecho-Slovak, and a good student of Comparative Philology tells me that Slav. *ch* is not quite equivalent to the German *ch* ; and that "it is rather a sound which may be compared with the Sanskrit *visarga*, but never sonant, always mute." He sounded the *ch* in *snucha* and it fell on my ears like a deep *h* occupying a step between the Skr. ह् and the Persian or Arabic (*kh*).(=German *ch* or Goth. *h*). Thus there are gradual shadings off from ह् (Skr.) to ख् (Skr.) thus:—ष् changed to ह्—ह् (Skr.), Slav. *ch* (=*h* like a non-sonant *visarga*), *h* (Goth.)=Arabic *kh*, Germ. *ch* (=Goth. *h*) and finally ख् (Skr.). The fact that Slav. *ch* is spelt with a *c* in it may, nevertheless, support Brugmann's appreciation of the sound.

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presents a *kh* sound in the Mādhyandina practice, or as Lat. (a *centum* language) shows an (*s*) sound in *jūs*, (for Skr. यूष), the Slav. (a *śatem* language) possesses a (*kh*) sound in *snŭcha* and *jucha*; call it exceptional or whatever you like. It has, nevertheless, a clear bearing on the double nature of the sound of ष् (*ṣ*) in the parent language.

I might add, as an equally suggestive instance, the case of ष ष् (Skr.), changing its second ष् to *k* and *h* (= ख्) in Lat. *sex*, Grk. ἕξ (**sueks*), Goth. *saihs* and O.H.G. *seks*.

The Laghu Mādhyandinīya Śikṣā lays down, in addition to the उन्नते of the *Pratijñā Sūtra*, a further exception to the rule about the ख् (*kh*) sound of ष् (*ṣ*). It is that in the case of the conjunct क् (*k*) + ष् (*ṣ*) = क्ष् (*kṣ*) the sound of ष् (*ṣ*) shall not be ख् (*kh*) but ष् (*ṣ*). And no wonder, for it would be physically impossible to pronounce क् (*k*) + ष् (*ṣ*) as क (*k*) + ख (*kh*) and yet retain the original sound of क्ष (*kṣ*). (The explanation quoted from a gloss by Paṇḍit Jugalkiśor Pāṭhak in his *Tippaṇī*[1] to the *Pratijñā Sūtra*, that because क्ष् (*kṣ*) is one of the letters of the alphabet, and, as such is a synthetic whole incapable of separating its components, artificial as it may appear at first sight, implies nothing more than the fact noted by me just now). However, what shall we say about the change of क्ष् (*kṣ*) to क्ख् (*kkh*) in the Prākrits? (क्षः खः क्वचित्तु क्क्षौ) *Si. He.*, VIII. ii. 3 supplemented by VIII. ii. 89 and 90. It may be explained in one of two ways:—

(*a*) The ष् (*ṣ*) element in the क्ष् (*kṣ*) by its inherent ख् (*kh*) sound evolves the क्ख् (*kkh*);

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[1] अत्रापि कश्चिद्विशेष उक्तो लघुमाध्यंदिनीयशिक्षायाम्। षकारस्य खकारः स्याट्टुकयोगे तु नो भवेत्। टवर्गयुक्तस्योदाहरणं भाष्ये प्रोक्तं ककारयुक्तोदाहरणं तु क्षकाराक्षरे षकारयुक्तमुच्चारणीयम्। अवयवसंभवनेऽपि माटकादौ गणनादेकवर्णत्वादवयवविभागाभावे न खकारोच्चारणं भवति। ककारयोगे खकारोच्चारणाभाव इति नियमस्तु न १६। ४५। शुष्क्राय च। इत्यादौ विपरीतसंयोगे ककारयोगेऽपि खकारोच्चारणसत्वात्॥ Pandit Jugalkiśor Pāṭhak's *tippaṇī* to the *Pratijñā Sūtra* p. 425 of the *Śukla-Yajuḥ-Prātiśākhya*, etc., which include *Pratijñā Sūtra*, Benares Sanskrt Series).

Weber, in his book on the *Pratijñā Sūtra* at p. 85, gives

(19) क्षकारे षकारवत्

and (20) ककारयोगे खकारोच्चारणाभाव इति नियमस्तु न।

as *Sūtras* in the main text, but notes that they are probably the remarks of the Commentators; and so they obviously are. See also Keśava's versified *Śikṣā* कस्य योगे ष एव हि॥ १४॥

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or (*b*) The ष् (*ṣ*) element gets aspirated into ह् (as it does in many forms, e.g. छण्णः < कण्हो,, छण्णा < तण्हा) and it then aspirates the क् (*k*) into ख् (*kh*) thus ultimately (under *Si. He.*, VIII. ii. 89, अनादौ शेषादेशयोर्द्वित्वम् and VIII. ii. 90, द्वितीतुर्ययोरुपरि पूर्वः) giving क्ख् (*kkh*).

Considering the fact that the Prākrits did not possess the ख् sound of ष् but turned every ष् (*ṣ*) to स् (*s*), and that even in the Mādhyandina tradition क्ष् (*kṣ*) retains the ष् (*ṣ*) sound, the former hypothesis, (*a*), would seem untenable. And yet, the latter hypothesis, (*b*), plausible as it is, has in it the element of elaboration which renders it also doubtful. However, this is merely an incidental question and need not be gone into further in this inquiry.

To conclude, the following broad conclusions may be summarized from the whole discussion :—

(*a*) The change of ष् (*ṣ*) to ख् (*kh*) is independent of the Prākrits and is a direct process between Sanskrit and some of the modern Indian vernaculars, pre-eminently Hindī, and in select words in Gujarātī. Of course, I have in view the Prākrits of India which appeared in clearly-defined shape at a comparatively late period. Otherwise the Prākritising process and tendency are a constant factor in linguistic evolution from ancient times, and the variants of ष् as ख् and ष् in pre-Vedic period is a feature of that Prākritization.

(*b*) This change results from the old practice of pronouncing ह् (*ṣ*) as ख् (*kh*) when it is simple, or, if in a conjunct, when conjoined with any consonant other than the टवर्ग sounds,—the practice followed by persons belonging to the *Mādhyandinī śākhā* of the *White Yajurveda*, a practice dating from Vedic times as noted in the *Pratijñā Sūtra* and certain *Śikṣās* of the *Mādhyandinī śākhā*.

(*c*) This ख् (*kh*) sound of ष् (*ṣ*) must have come down from pre-Vedic times, the Old Aryan must have got it, as is indicated by the instance of अष्ट (*aṣṭa*) and its equivalents in the Western branch, represented by क् (*k*) in Grk. and Lat. ὀκτώ and *octo*, ख् (*kh*) in German *acht* and Sc. and Ir., घ् in English *eight* (the *gh*, here though silent now, must have existed at some stage as a sounded letter), and also ह् (*kh*) in Goth. *ahtau* ;

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and (*d*) While Brugmann posits a conjectural original, * *ok̂tṓu̯* (or *ok̂tṓ*)—pronounced very nearly as आ^ऊ ओऊ—, I posit a conjectural original अह्टौ (*akhṭau*) ; and the principle underlying the Mādhyandinī tradition goes to support the original अह्टौ, (not in अष्ट itself, but by the possibility of the gutturalisation of the cerebral).

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SOME SINHALESE WORDS TRACED.

By Charandas Chatterjee, M.A.

In this paper an attempt has been made to trace the origin of a few Sinhalese words, through the ancient inscriptional as well as the Sanskritic dialects. These words which are five in number, are taken to be typical of the Sinhalese language. They are (1) *mama* (මම) I; (2) *api* (අපි), we; (3) *topi* (තොපි), you (plu.); (4) *kohomada* (කොහොමද) how: and (5) *karāva* (කරාව), fisherman. It will further be the object of this paper to ascertain whether this line of investigation will yield us any reliable data to prove the authenticity of the tradition that Ceylon was colonised by a prince from Rāḍha and that the forefathers of the Sinhalese nobility were emigrants from Vaṅga.

(1) *mama* (මම).

This word in Sinhalese means "I," and though it appears to be the very same in form as the genitive singular of Skt. *asmad* and of Pali and Pr. *amha*, it differs from them in meaning. The word *ahaṁ* has changed variously in the various dialects of India, as evidenced by the forms *hāmi*, *āmi*, *hām*, *ham*, *mui*. But it has not changed into *mama*, which form is not to be met with, in any dialect of India, whether colloquial or literary. How then shall we account for the origin of *mama* of the Sinhalese and, how shall we establish its relation to the ancient dialects of India?

I am afraid that literatures either modern or ancient will help us very little in this piece of linguistic research. But if we take the help of the different dialects which are to be met with in the epigraphic records of the great Mauryan Emperor Aśoka, they may at least furnish us with some clue to the origin of this important word of the Sinhalese language.

We come across forms like *mamayā* in the Kalsi, Dhauli and Jaugada versions of Aśokan edicts for *mayā* of Girnar and *maya* of Shahbazgarhi and Manshera in such passages as *se mamayā bahu kayāne kaṭe* and *se mamayā hevaṃ kaṭe*, in Rock Edicts V and VI respectively. Again we come across forms like *mamāye*[1] and *mami-*

[1] Dhauli:—*devānaṁ p(i)y.....a . (vi) g . n(a) ma(m)ā(ye) huvevū ti asvasevu ca.*

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yāye[1] in the Dhauli and the Jaugada versions of the Kalinga Separate Edicts, *mamāye* at Bairat[2] and *hamiyāye* at Bhabra.[3] From these references two things are easily discernible :—(1) the addition of an extra and unnecessary *ma* at the beginning of the instrumental forms *mamāye, mamiyāye*, and (2) *ha* and *ma* are interchangeable. The different forms for *ahaṁ* which we generally come across in the Aśokan edicts are *hakaṁ*,[4] *ahaṃ*,[5] *haka*,[6] *haṁ*[7] and even *aṁ*,[8] but surely it is not *mama*. That *ha* and *ma* are interchangeable appears also from *hamā* of Bhabra[9] used for *mama* (genitive). We have also noticed the change of *mamiyāye* into *hamiyāye*[10] and even in the modern Hindusthani, we always find *hami, ham*, etc. But in the mouth of the Sinhalese *ha* yielded to *ma*, so that instead of pronouncing *ham, ama, aṁ*, etc., they invariably uttered them as *mama*. Such substitution of *ma* for *ha* is peculiar even in some spoken languages of India and we know that the people of Orissa and the Bengalis of the Chittagong district, instead of saying *hāmi, hām* or even *āmi* soften the sound into *mui* and it is quite natural that the Sinhalese people should turn *ham* or *am* of the ancient

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[1] Jaugada :—*lājā hevaṁ ichati anuvigi(n)a heyu mamiyāye asvasevu ca.* (Kalinga, Separate II).

[2] Bairat :—*āṁ mamayā Sa(ṁ)ghe upayāte bāḍha c — —*

[3] Bhabra :—*e cu kho bhaṁte hamiyāye diseyā hevaṁ sadhaṁme cilaṭhitīke alahāmi hakaṁ taṁ vatave.*

[4] Dhauli :—*aṁ (ki) (chi da)(kh)ā(mi) hakaṁ taṁ ichāmi* ; Jaugada—*aṁ kich(i) dakhāmi ha(k)aṁ taṁ ichāmi* (Kalinga, Separate I) ; Dhauli—*anane eta(k)ena hakaṁ* ; Jaugada—*anan(e) etakena hakaṁ* (Kalinga, Separate II). Also cf. *hakaṁ taṁ vatave* of Bhabra, etc., etc.

[5] Shahbazgarhi :—*yaṁ pi (ca) kici mukhato aṇapayami (aham da)pakaṁ va śravakaṁ va*, etc. ; Manshera :—*yaṁ pi kici mukhati aṇapemi ahaṁ*, etc. ; also *savratra ca janasa athra karomi ahaṁ* (R.E., VI).

[6] Bairat (M.R.E., I.) :—*devānaṁ piye āha sāti vasān(i) ya haka upāsake n . . bāḍham.*

[7] Cf. Kalinga, Separate Edicts, Nos. I and II.

[8] Maski :—*(d)ev(ā)na(ṁ) piyasa Asok(a)sa . . . . . dh t . . (ni) vasāni (ya)ṁ aṁ sumi buṁ(pā)sake.*

[9] Bhabra :—*vidite ve bhaṁte āvatake hamā budhasi dhaṁmasi saṁghasīti gatave caṁ pasāde ca.*

[10] Cf. Bhabra and Jaugada passages quoted above. We have other examples too, e.g. Shahbazgarhi, R.E., V.—*taṁ ma(ha) putra ca nataro ca paraṁ ca t . . a (ya) me apaca (a)chaṁti*, etc. Manshera *(taṁ) ma(a) putra (ca) natare paraṁ ca lena ye apatiye me*, etc.

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dialects into *mama*, and that perhaps acting according to a definite principle of the science of language.

(2) *api* (අපි).

The word *api*, like Sk. *vayam*. Pali *mayam* and *vayam* and Pali and Pr. *amhe*, means "we." Modern spoken languages and even the diverse literary languages of India do not help us at all in tracing the origin of this word. A critical study of the inscriptions of Aśoka alone, helps us in this matter. It is well-known that *sma* changes into *mha* in Pali and that these forms change into *pha* in the dialect of Kalsi, Dhauli and Jaugada. Whereas, in the Shahbazgarhi version of the Rock Edict XIII we find *ye tats apavuḍhe*, in the Kalsi version of the same edict we get *ye taphā apavuḍhe* and here *taphā* is equivalent to *tasmā* or *tamhā* of the Pali and Sk. *tasmāt*. Similarly, in the dialect of the Kalinga Separate Edicts, we have always *aphe* or *apheni* for *amhe*, *mayam* and *vayam* of the Ancient Sanskritic dialects. Likewise, we always find *aphesu* for Pali *amhesu* and *aphākaṁ* for *amhākaṁ* and Sk. *asmākam*. All these forms are to be found particularly in the dialect of the Kalinga Separate Edicts and accordingly this similarity of forms might be taken to indicate from which side of India the emigrants could have come into Ceylon, *aphe* of the Kalinga Separate Edicts changed into *api* in the mouth of the Sinhalese, who have a natural tendency to substitute the hard unaspirate sounds for aspirates and soft ones.

(3) *topi* (ඔබපි).

This word means "you" or "ye" and is equivalent to *yūyaṁ* of Sanskrit and *tumhe* of Pali and Prakrit and *tujjhe* of Prakrit. Here, too, the modern spoken languages of India and even the Sanskritic dialects will not furnish us with any clue to the origin of this Sinhalese word. But let us take the help of the dialects of Kalsi, Dhauli and Jaugada and see what result we obtain therefrom. Here we must recall that *sma* and *mha* change into *pha* in the dialect of these three versions of Aśokan edicts. Accordingly instead of *tumhe* of Pali and Prakrit, we always find *tuphe* and sometimes *tuphem*, but never *yūyaṁ* or *tumhe* or even *tujjhe*. Likewise we come across, in the Sarnath Pillar Edict and more particularly in the Kalinga Separate Edicts *tuphākaṁ* and *tuphesu* instead of *tumākaṁ*

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and *tumhesu* of the Pali and their equivalents in Sanskrit. In the Rupnāth version of the Minor Rock Edict I, we have *tupaka*[1] for *tuphākaṁ* of the Kalinga versions, and this is veritably an instance of the substitution of the unaspirate for the aspirate sound which, as has already been pointed out, is a marked tendency of the Sinhalese language. Thus it is conceivable that *tuphe* changed into *topi* in Sinhalese through an intermediate form like *tupe*, and this can account for the fact why *topi* in Sinhalese means "you" or "ye" (pl.) like *yūyaṁ*, *tumhe* and *tujjhe* of the Sanskritic dialects, this is the third bit of linguistic evidence to prove from which part of India the colonisation of Ceylon was possible. We have so far noticed that these evidences fully bear out the account of the Ceylonese chronicles regarding the colonisation of Ceylon by emigrants from Vaṅga. But we have other linguistic information to satisfy our curiosity further.

(4) *kohomada* (කොහොමද).

Kohomada in Sinhalese means "how" and has exactly the same connotation as the Bengali *kemana*, the Oriyā *kemati*, *kimiti* and the Hindusthani *kaisā*. The origin of all these different words together with *kohomada* appears, in all probability, to be the stem *kim* with the different particles *nu* or *iti* added after it. The Pali *kinnu* or *kimaṁ* and *kiṁmaṁ* of the Pillar Edict of Aśoka[2] convey the same idea, as the Bengali *kemana*, the Chittagong *kemte* or the Oriya *kemati*. The Sanskrit form appears to be *kimiti* on account of its exact correspondence with the Oriya forms *kimiti*, *kemati*. The Sanskrit form is also traceable in Pali. Now *kemati*, *kemata*, *kemte*, *kemana*, *kaisā*, etc., appear to have originated from a similar form, much like the Sanskrit original, which may be taken as an intermediate stage of *kimiti* and, may have been widely used by the ancient population of Kalinga, Magadha and Vaṅga. It was transmitted into the dialect of the Sinhalese by the colonisers hailing from Bengal, where afterwards by the process of time, it became corrupt. The Sinhalese changed the terminal *ta* into *da* and this kind of substitution of *da* for *ta* and *ta* for *da* is too often to be met with in the Sanskritic dialects either at the beginning or in the middle or at the end of a word. One may be interested to know that when the scientific study of language was not in existence, or

[1] See footnote 2 of page 512. [2] Pillar Edict, VI.

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was in its infancy, a scholar trained even in the orthodox system of study—the Thera Buddhanāga of Ceylon, perceived these phonetic changes which he has carefully summed up in his treatise—the *Vinayatthamañjusā.*[1] The comparison of the Sinhalese with Sanskrit and other allied languages also leaves little room for doubt that the Sinhalese are by nature fond of substituting the third letter of a *varga* for the first one and *vice versa*, whereby they corrupt the actual pronunciation. The initial *ke* or *ki* became *ko* and this kind of change is not at all impossible in the Sanskritic dialects. And though in spelling *kohomada* we find a syllable *ho* coming between *ko* and *ma*, this interesting *ho* probably has originated in the prolongation of the *o* sound in *ko* but, in the absence of similar forms, it is difficult for us to substantiate this statement. The Bengali *kemana* and the Oriya *kemati*, *kimiti* or the Chittagong *kemte* or *kemate* are undoubtedly the same, only differing in the terminal syllables. But even then, they do not affect the usual rules of phonology, as *ta* and *na* are interchangeable in the Sanskritic dialects. (Cf. Skt. *Airāvata*, Pali *Erāvaṇa*).

(5) *karāva* (කරාව).

The word in Sinhalese means "fisherman," but nowadays it denotes a particular caste of the Sinhalese people, who do not necessarily follow the profession of fishermen. The term that is generally used for "fisherman" in Ceylon, nowadays is *masmarannā* (මස්මරන්නා).[2] The usual term for the fishing-folk in Pali is *kevaṭṭa*, the Sanskrit equivalent for the same term being *kaivarta*. In Bengali, too, we have the same term, which like the Sinhalese refers to a low caste in Bengal, but the Bengali *kaivartas* do not usually follow the same occupation.

The word *kevaṭṭa*, (Pali) or *kaivarta* (Skt.) is the origin of the word *karāva*, so changed in the mouth of the Sinhalese, but curiously enough, the change has followed, the general rules of

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[1] The passage runs as follows :—*yaṁ pana suttantikatherā "dakāro takāramāpajjati, takāro dakāramāpajjati, cakāro jakāramāpajjati, jakāro cakāramāpajjati, yakāro kakāramāpajjati, kakāro yakāramāpajjati, tasmā dakārādisu vattabbesu takārādīnaṁ vacanaṁ na virujjhati" ti vadanti* (p. 50, ll. 8–12). Also cf. p. 49, ll. 19–28, et seq.: *Vinayatthamañjusā*, ed. U. P. Ekanayaka, Colombo, 1912.

[2] We can profitably compare the word *mecho* which is the usual term for the fishing-folk in Bengal, with the Sinhalese *mas-marannā*. *Mecho* in Bengali seems to be a mere corruption of the Pali *macchika*—a fisherman.

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Comparative Philology—*kaivarta* first of all became *kevaṭṭa* (or possibly *kevatta*) by assimilation, as *-rta* in Sanskrit changes indiscriminately into *-ṭṭa* or *tta*, in the Prakritic dialects; e.g. *āvarta* (Skt.) = *āvaṭṭa* and *āvatta*; *nivartana* (Skt.) = *nivattana*; *artha* (Skt.) = *attha* and *aṭṭa*; *marta* (Skt.) = *matta*, etc. Afterwards, one of the terminal consonants was dropped, to avoid the difficulty in pronunciation, and the word was further changed, apparently by metathesis which is so very common in the Sinhalese language.[1] The *ṭa* or *ta*, finally changed into *ra*, perhaps through an intermediate *ḷa*, and we all know that *ḷa*, *la* or *ra* are mutually interchangeable in our daily speech.[2] This remark holds good not only in the case of the modern vernaculars of India, but also of the ancient, and copious examples can be adduced from Prakrit, Pali and Sanskrit in support of this statement.[3] Now from the Sanskrit *kaivarta* we get the Pali form *kevaṭṭa* and then the likely change of the same form is *kevaṭa* by the dropping of one *ṭa*, and afterwards *keṭava* by metathesis. *Keṭava* changed into *keravu*, perhaps through an intermediate form *keḷava*, and ultimately became *karāva* in the mouth of the Sinhalese. These people poured into Ceylon some time before the days of Buddhaghoṣa,

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[1] E. Müller, *Contributions to Sinhalese Grammar*, p. 14; also the same author's *Pali Grammar*, p. 43.

[2] It cannot be well ascertained whether *ta* can directly change into *ra* and in the absence of literary evidence, no direct statement can possibly be made. There are of course two instances in the epigraphic records of Aśoka where *ta* in one version has been represented by *la* and *ra* in others, which at least enable us to understand that such phonetic changes are not impossible in the spoken dialect of the different provinces. For instance, the *ta* in *ketalaputo* of Girnar (R. E., II) has changed into *la* in *kelalaputo* of the Kalsi version and into *ra* in *keralaputra* and *keralaputr(e)* of the Shahbazgarhi and Manshera versions of the same edict. But the *ta* in *satiyaputo* of Girnar and of the different versions of the same remains unchanged. Instead of *sarvata* (everywhere), *savatā*, *savata*, *savatra*, and *savratra* of Rock Edicts, II, III, V, etc., we come across in the Rupnāth version of Minor Rock Edict I, the word *savara* (Skt. *sarvatra*) in a passage; *etinā ca vayajanenā yāvataka tupaka ahāle savara vivasetavā (yu) ti.* (Cf. the Sarnath Pillar inscription, *āvatake ca tuphākaṁ āhāle savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyaṁjanena*). Here also *ta* has been substituted by *ra*, perhaps by the phonetic influence of the suffix *tra* (in the Skt. *sarvatra*). These however do not prove conclusively that *ra* and *ta* are interchangeable. Such isolated instance cannot be utilised to yield materials for the purpose of linguistic research, cf. E. Müller, *Pali Grammar*, p. 30.

[3] Ibid., pp. 32ff.

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but as appears from his statement made in the *Paramatthajotikā* (*Sīhaḷadīpaṁ paviṭṭhakevaṭṭādayo c'ettha nidassanaṁ*)[1] the time of the advent of these people was not so very remote. Gradually they were considered to be a different caste, and many of them changed their profession for more honourable and lucrative ones. Since the days of the Portuguese and the Dutch, they have striven hard to raise their social status, and they became no doubt successful under the European rule, by acquiring a monopoly in the manufacture of arrack which was considered by the other Sinhalese, to be a sort of moral degradation and a loss to their prestige in society. The present *kaivartas* of Bengal certainly have descended from the ancient fishing-folk as the Sanskrit term proves, though many of them like the *karāvas* have changed their profession and are considered as a distinct caste while the real meaning of the term is altogether forgotten. Here we have an example to show how many Sinhalese terms are formed on Indian principles. Likewise the jungle-folk of Ceylon who are at present known as *Woeddas* are our *Vyādhas* and to the primitive settlers who hailed from Bengal, these aboriginal tribes could not appear otherwise. In Bengal too, the forest-dwellers of the same period of migration were known as *Vyādhas* and hence the same term was applied by the civilized emigrants to the uncivilized *Woeddas*.

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1 *Paramatthajotikā*, I (*Khuddaka-pāṭha*, Comy.), p. 132, ed. Helmer Smith (P.T.S.).

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Buddhist Section.

President:

THE ANAGĀRIKA DHARMAPĀLA.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

By The Anagārika Dharmapāla.

Taking a retrospective glance of the rise, progress and fall of Buddhism in India, I find that the Great Teacher of the Aryan Religion which we call Buddhism, was the first to promulgate the ethic of popular assemblies in connection with the moral, social and intellectual progress of communities in the Gangetic valley. He was the first to recognize that in all communal matters the will of the majority should be upheld. His first sermon entitled the *Establishment of the Reign of Law* was preached to the five religious ascetics at the Deer Park, now known as Sārnath near Benares, 2510 years ago, enunciating the Middle Doctrine of the Noble eightfold path, avoiding the extremes of painful asceticism and of sensuous indulgence.

The greater part of Asia at one time, that is, before the brith of Christianity and of Islam, acknowledged the great *Śākya Muni* as the chief of the Religious World, and in Asia his religion was propagated without opposition from any hostile creed. It was welcomed by kings, princes and peoples because of its sweet reasonableness and its appeal to the higher consciousness of thinking people. It used no threat, nor any kind of weapon in the establishment of its views, and in its long career as a missionary religion never did it cause a drop of blood to be shed for its gain. It began its course in all embracing love and its continuance is due to the principle of loving kindness to all.

For nearly a thousand years the *Ārya Dhamma* had been forgotten in India and the countries to the west of India, and yet it was from India that the yellow robed *Bhikkhus* carried the *Dhamma* to the four quarters of Asia.

During the lifetime of the Promulgator the *Dhamma* was confined to India proper. We have in the Pali texts reference to the places visited by the Buddha, and the western limit that he visited was the river Candabhāgā in the Panjab. In the *Suttanipāta*, Vatthugāthā, we read that Bāvari, the Brāhman *Ṛṣi* who had his *āśrama* on the bank of the river Godāvarī, sent his disciples to meet the Blessed One, and they came passing through Patiṭṭhāna, Māhissatī, Ujjeni, Gonaddha, Vedisā, Vanasāvhaya, Kosāmbi, Sāketa, Sāvatthi,

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Setavya, Kapilāvatthu, Kusināra, Pavā, Vesāli to Rājagṛha, where the Buddha was then staying. In the Dhātuvibhaṅga sutta, *Majjhimanikāya*, we read that the Prince of Gāndhāra renouncing his throne came all the way to Rājagaha to meet the Buddha. In the Udāna, *Bodhivagga*, it is said that an ascetic by the name of Bāhiya living at Suppāraka in the western coast, hearing of the Buddha came to him to learn of the *Saddhamma*.

The expansion of the Noble Faith began two hundred and thirty-six years after the *Parinibbāna* of the Blessed One, after the conversion of the great Emperor Aśoka to the faith.

Three great councils of the *theras* were held when the three *Piṭakas* were rehearsed by the body of the *Bhikkhus*. The first Convocation was held three months after the *Parinibbāna* of the Blessed One at the Saptaparṇa cave at Rājagṛha, the second Convocation was held at Vesāli, one hundred years after the *Parinibbāna*, and the third was held at Pāṭaliputra, modern Patna, under the patronage of the Emperor Aśoka. It was after the holding of the third council that missionaries went to the neighbouring countries to preach the Holy Doctrine, viz. Kāśmīra, Gāndhāra, Mahiṣamaṇḍala, Vanavāsa, Aparānta, Graeco-Bactria, Syria, Egypt, Burma, Ceylon, and the Himalayan countries.

After a period of torpor of seven centuries India has begun to inquire about the long lost religion. Curiously the first to inquire about Buddhism was an Englishman who was resident in the court of Nepal, Brian Houghton Hodgson. He was the first to collect the Buddhist manuscripts from the libraries of Nepal, and the collections that he had secured he presented to the Library of the Asiatic Society in Bengal, to the Library of the Paris Museum, and to the British Museum. The collection presented to the Paris Library was made use of by Eugene Burnouf, who in 1845 published his *Introduction a l'histoire du Buddhisme indien*, and in 1852 published his *Le Lotus de la bonne Loi*. Almost at the same time another work on Tibetan Buddhism was published by Foucaux. France gave two great scholars who translated from Chinese sources important works relating to Buddhism—Abel Remusat and Stanislaus Julien. Ever since France had been always active in the field of Oriental learning. We have to mention the names of Emilé Senart, Leon Feer, Sylvain Lévi, A. Foucher, L. Finot, Victor Henry, Edouard Huber, E. Chavennes and others.

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The first among Englishmen to bring out the results of their researches in the field of Buddhism were George Turnour and Prinsep. The former translated the great Chronicle of Ceylon called the *Mahāvaṃśa*, and the latter deciphered the Edicts of Aśoka.

Burnouf translated the Sanskrit Buddhist texts into French, and in Ceylon a Christian missionary by the name of Thomas Hardy translated into English the Sinhalese Buddhist texts under the title of *A Manual of Buddhism*. The pioneer of Pali scholarship was Robert Caesar Childers who brought out his *Pali Dictionary*, which had been of great help to students of Pali since it was first published in 1875. His successor Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids, the great Pali scholar, since 1879 is indefatigable in his labours in the field of Pali Buddhism. To him is due the founding of the Pali Text Society in 1882. With a devoted band of Pali scholars he had been able to publish nearly sixty volumes of the Pali texts, and his latest work is the *Pali Dictionary*, the first part of which was out last year. His colleague, Mrs. Rhys Davids with the help of Buddhist scholars has published several important translations from Pali into English.

The late Sir Edwin Arnold by his splendid poem the *Light of Asia* popularised the life of the Blessed One throughout the English-speaking world.

In 1896 the late Henry Charles Warren of America brought out a comprehensive work under the title *Buddhism in Translations*. The late Max Müller did excellent work in bringing out several important Buddhist *Suttas* with the help of the late Hermann Oldenberg, Rhys Davids and the late Fausböll of Copenhagen. The monumental work of Fausböll was the publication of the 550 *Jātakas* in Pali, over which he spent 30 years of his useful life.

In England the late Prof. Cowell, Rouse and Chalmers translated the 550 Pali *Jātakas* into Englsh. In Germany several scholars are now engaged in translating Pali *Suttas* into German. The late Karl Neumann of Vienna translated into German the 152 *Suttas* of the *Majjhimanikāya* as well as the 34 *Suttas* of the *Dīghanikāya*, and the *Therigāthā*.

In Russia before the Great War several Oriental scholars were doing excellent work in bringing out the Sanskrit Texts of Buddhist works. There is activity in almost all European countries where Oriental scholars are engaged in either translating or publishing

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Buddhist texts. But in India the home of Buddhism, nothing original has yet been done so far, and now we are thankful to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, for the splendid impulse he has given to the study of Pali literature by founding several lectureships in the University.

The causes that led to the extinction of Buddhism have not been traced as yet historically. The earliest mention of the fact that Buddhism will decline in Bengal was made by the great Bengalee Buddhist divine, Atisa Dīpaṅkara, who left Bengal to reform the Buddhist *Saṅgha* in Tibet in the beginning of the eleventh century. The late Sarat Chandra Das, the Tibetan explorer, who visited Tibet in 1879, discovered a Tibetan MS. in the Library of the Grand Lama of Lhasa, giving the life of the great Atisa, wherein is stated that after his departure Buddhism in Bengal began to decline, and attributed the cause to internal neglect and external political trouble. As regards internal neglect, the *Bhikkhus* of Bengal turned their attention to the study of the *Tantra* literature, and to the invasion of India by the Turukkhas. Atisa Dīpaṅkara died at Lhasa in the year 1053 A.C.

The copperplate inscription discovered at Śrāvastī mentions the existence of the great temple of Jetavana in the twelfth century. The destruction of Buddhism in Kashmir took place in the time of Sikandar, and archæological evidence goes to show that until that period it was in a flourishing condition. Sikandar was known as the destroyer of Buddha images under the sobriquet of Buthshikan, the Turki word for Buddha being Buth.

Central Asia was a great Buddhist centre whence Buddhism spread to China five hundred years after the Buddha's *Parinibbāna.* Buddhism spread in Persia in the first century A.C. and a Persian prince of Eastern Persia translated the *Lalitavistara* into Persian in the year 150 A.C. From China Buddhism spread into Korea in the 4th century A.C. and from Korea it was taken to Japan in the year 552 A.C. Central Asian Buddhism was destroyed, according to the researches of archæologists, in the year 1000 A.C. The late Dr. Hoernle in his *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan* quotes Professor Sylvain Lévi who said: "about A.D. 1000 Turkish barbarism had finished by triumphing over Aryan culture." Sanskrit Buddhist texts were translated into Chinese, Tibetan, Khotanese, Kuchean, Sogdian, Uigur and Turki

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languages, and after a thousand years we are able now to learn of the Buddhist activities in Central Asia, thanks to the archæological labours of Sir Aurel Stein, who has discovered several thousand manuscripts written in the ancient languages of Central Asia.

Cunningham in his *Stupa of Bharhut* wrote : "It seems probable therefore that the exercise of the Buddhist religion may have been carried on for nearly fifteen centuries with little or perhaps no interruption. Everywhere the advent of the Muhammadans gave the final blow to Buddhism and their bigotry and intolerance swept away the few remains which the Brāhmaṇs had spared" (p. 4). In his *Bhilsa Topes* he wrote : "But Buddhism continued to linger in Benares, in Malwa, and in Gujarat, and was not finally extinguished until the eleventh or the twelfth century when the last votaries were expelled from the continent of India. Numbers of images concealed by the departing monks are found buried near Sārnāth, and the heaps of ashes still lie scattered amidst the ruins go to show the monasteries were destroyed by fire" (p 167).

Referring to the Buddhist remains at Rājgir, Cunningham wrote in 1861 : "The existing remains at Rajgir are not numerous. The place has been occupied at different times by Musalmans and Brāhmaṇs by whom Buddhist *stupas* were pulled down to furnish materials for tombs and *musjids* and temples. All the eminences that must once have been crowned by objects of Buddhist worship are now covered with Muhammadan graves ; and all the Brahmanical temples about the hot springs have been constructed with the large bricks of Buddhist *stupas*." (*Archæological Report*, Vol. I, 1861-62, p. 24).

Dayaram Sahni in his article on *Pre-Muhammadan Monuments of Kashmir* says : "From the evidence of inscriptions it appears that Buddhist religious structures continued to be built in Kashmir until the end of the twelfth century A.D. In the 7th and 8th centuries the Buddhist faith was in a most prosperous condition." (*Archæological Report* 1915-16).

The destruction of Buddhism in Bengal and Magadha was due to the Muhammadan invaders. Mr. Vincent Smith says : "The political decadence of Magadha never affected the reputation of the kingdom as the centre and head-quarter of Buddhist learning which continued to be cultivated sedulously at Nālandā and other places under the Pāla kings up to the time of the Muhammadan conquest

पुस्तकालय

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at the close of the twelfth century, when the monasteries with their well stocked libraries were reduced to ashes." (*Early History of India*, p. 313).

Mr. Vincent Smith quotes a passage from Mr. Raverty's translation of *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, which says: "Great quantities of plunder were obtained, and the slaughter of the 'shaven-headed Brāhmans,' that is to say the Buddhist monks, was so thoroughly completed, that when the victor sought for some one capable of explaining the contents of the books in the libraries of the monasteries, not a living man could be found who was able to read them. It was discovered that the whole of the fortress and city was a college, and in the Hindi tongue they call a college *Bihār*." (*Early History of India*, p. 404). "This crushing blow, followed up by similar acts of violence destroyed the vitality of Buddhism in its ancient home .....but Buddhism as an organized religion in Bihar was destroyed once and for all by the sword of a single Mussalman adventurer." (*Ibid.*)

The Muhammadan historian Alberuni wrote "that in former times Khurasan, Persis, Irak, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria was Buddhistic, but then Zarathustra went forth from Adharbaijan and preached Magism in Balkh, his doctrine came into favour with king Gushtap, and his son Isfendiyad spread the new faith both in the East and West both by force and by treaties. He founded fire temples through his whole empire from the frontiers of China to those of the Greek empire. The succeeding kings made their religion the obligatory state religion for Persis and Irak. In consequence the Buddhists were banished from those countries, and had to emigrate to the countries east of Balkh." (Alberuni, *India*, p. 21).

Evidence of history shows that Buddhism had not merged in Hinduism, but that it was destroyed by Mussalman invaders, and the millions of Buddhist laymen, to escape from death, became converts to the religion of the invader. The invading armies composed of Huns, Pathans, Arabs may have numbered several hundred thousands, who after having destroyed the rich monasteries and massacred the monks, forcibly converted the people.

Very few so far have taken to the study of Buddhism as was required by the Great Teacher. We have a few Pali scholars engaged in editing the sacred texts and translating them into English, but they do not follow the tradition of the texts. In the time of the

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Buddha those who wished to learn the *Dhamma* had to become a *Bhikkhu* and follow the discipline. No one who was unwilling to follow the discipline was admitted to the Order and those outside the Order was not taught the *Dhamma*.

To become a professor of any branch of secular science it is expected that the student would go through the full course. It is the same in the religion of the Tathāgata. The technicalities of the *Dhamma* could only be explained by one who had been taught the *guru parampara* tradition. To undertake an exposition of Buddhism by one who has not had a real Buddhist training is impossible. It would be mere charlatanism to expound a science if one had not the proper education under competent teachers. Many write condemning the doctrine of Buddha without having made the honest attempt to comprehend the teachings of the great Teacher.

Before the *Dhamma* was put into the *Piṭaka* form the whole block of the Buddha's teachings were classified under the nine categories of *Suttam*, *Geyyam*, *Veyyākaraṇam*, *Gāthā*, *Udānam*, *Itivuttakam*, *Jātakam*, *Abbhutadhammam*, and *Vedallam* ; but at the first Convocation held three months after the *Parinibbāna* of the Buddha, at the Saptaparṇi Cave, in the Vebhāra Rock the *Dhamma* was divided into three *Piṭakas*, the *Vinaya*, *Sutta* and the *Abhidhamma*.

The *Vinayapiṭaka* contains the disciplinary rules for *Bhikkhus* and *Bhikkhunīs* and it contains the *Bhikkhupaṭimokkha*, *Bhikkhunipaṭimokkha*, *Mahāvibhaṅga*, *Bhikkhunivibhaṅga*, *Mahāvagga*, *Cullavagga*, and *Parivāra*.

The *Suttapiṭaka* contains the collection of popular sermons, viz. *Dīghanikāya*, *Majjhimanikāya*, *Saṃyuttanikāya*, *Aṅguttaranikāya*, and the *Khuddakanikāya*.

The *Abhidhamma piṭaka*, the psychological collection, contains the *Dhammasaṅginī*, *Vibhaṅga*, *Dhātukathā*, *Puggala paññatti*, *Kathāvatthu*, *Yamaka* and *Paṭṭhāna*.

The *Dīghanikāya* has thirty-four long discourses, the *Majjhimanikāya* has 152 middling discourses, the *Saṃyuttanikāya* has 7762 discourses, the *Aṅguttaranikāya* contains, eleven sections, with 9557 discourses, some of them very short. The *Khuddakanikāya* contains the *Suttanipāta*, *Khuddakapāṭha*, *Dhammapada*, *Udāna*, *Itivuttaka*, *Vimānavatthu*, *Petavatthu*, *Theragāthā*, *Therigāthā*, *Jātakas*, *Mahāniddesa*, *Culaniddesa*, *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, *Apadāna*, *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Cariyāpiṭaka*.

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The psychological definitions of the Pali terms could not be understood without the commentaries. The commentaries do the work of a dictionary and an encylopaedia. The principal commentaries are for the *Vinayapiṭaka* the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Kaṅkhāvitaranī*; for the *Suttapiṭaka* there are commentaries for each *nikāya*. For the *Dīgha* there is the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*; for the *Majjhima* the *Papañcasudanī*; for the *Saṃyutta* the *Sāratthappakāsinī*; for the *Aṅguttara* the *Manorathapuranī*; for the *Suttanipāta* the *Paramatthajotikā*; and each of the smaller books of the *Khuddakanikāya* has a commentary. The *Jātaka* commentary contains 550 stories of ancient Indian life. Along with the four principal commentaries of the *Suttapiṭaka* the *Visuddhimagga* and *Nettipakarana* have to be studied. This is the Buddhist tradition.

The literature of the *Piṭakas* had its origin in the Magadha and Kosala countries. The present collection was distributed to the Buddhist world after the third convocation held at Patna in the reign of the great Emperor Aśoka.

The larger commentaries were translated from the ancient Sinhalese commentaries by the illustrious Buddhaghoṣa who went to Ceylon in the 5th century A.C., and the lesser commentaries were written by the great Dhammapāla of Kañcipura in the seventh century A.C.

The Pali literature though lost to India yet had been helping the people of Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Cambodia in strengthening their faith in the Great Teacher, Śākyamuṅi. This very important literature contains interesting material which is necessary for the historian of India to compile a history from B.C. 1000 to 1100 A.C.

The Sanskrit texts containing the Doctrine of the Buddha had their origin in Northwest India. From Taxila westward the Sanskrit texts were studied by the monks, who carried the literature to China. They were translated into the vernaculars of Turkestan, Tibet, Korea, China, and from Korea the collection of the translations was taken to Japan.

In Japan the sacred scriptures of Buddhism are printed in Chinese characters. According to a recently published report of a Buddhist publishing house in Kyoto, there are 1700 works on Buddhism in 7140 volumes dating since over 1500 years. These have been printed by the Zokyo Shoin Publishing House, Kyoto, in 150 sets of 750 volumes containing more than 157,000 pages. The net price of

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the whole set is £85. Had there been no destruction of the Buddhist libraries in India, we would have had to-day a voluminous literature as large as we have to-day in Ceylon, Burma or Japan. Great had been the loss to India because of the extinction of this noble religion. Happily India gave, before she was conquered by the Arab and Hun invaders, her rich inheritance to Ceylon and the Far East. This ancient inheritance has to be brought back.

There is also a rich literature on Buddhism in the libraries of the Tashi and the Dalai Lamas of Tibet. Perhaps some day it would be possible to collect from different sources the rich store of Buddhist literature and brought over to the Calcutta University. The Libraries of Paris, St. Petersburg, and the British Museum have each a collection of Buddhist texts from the different Buddhist countries, and we hope that wealthy Indians who love India will make a united effort to gather from different Buddhist countries the priceless treasures which had their origin in the land watered by the Ganges and the Jumna.

Research scholarships enabling students for the study of Pali, Chinese, Tibetan and Japanese in connection with the Indian Universities should be founded ; deserving students should be selected from various parts of India who would bestow their time in making researches in the field of Buddhism to find out the part played by Indian Buddhists in the civilization of the Asiatic races during the last 2000 years. Pali texts should be printed in Devanagri characters together with the principal commentaries for the use of Indian scholars A history of Indian Civilization has to be written from authentic sources, and the Pali texts would be a promising field to gather materials from for such a work.

Although India was the home of Buddhism, yet to-day no genuine work on Buddhism is to be found in Indian soil. The *Purāṇas* mention nothing of the great work done by Indian Buddhist kings, and all that is to be found about Buddha is that he came as an *avatāra* to delude the *asuras* in order to prevent them going to heaven

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (*18th adhyāya*) speaks of the *avatāra* who in the form of Viṣṇu, appeared in the form of a *Digambar* to the *asuras* who were practising *tapasyā* on the bank of the Narmadā river and preached to them to give up following the *Vedamārga*. The unthinking millions on the strength of this text believe that the Buddha was a hater of the *Vedas*, and therefore think that Buddhism was a

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nihilism. The writer of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* evidently had not the least idea of the *Ārya Dharma* proclaimed by the Blessed One. The *Padma Purāṇa* speaks of the *Pracchanna Bauddhas*, and the writer evidently being ignorant of the *Ārya Dharma*, speaks of the "Bauddhas" as being naked or clad in blue garments. These could not be Buddhists because no *Bhikkhu* is allowed even to hold conversation with a naked ascetic. The rules of the *Vinaya* are very strict, and a slight knowledge of the *Vinaya* rules is sufficient to show that the writer of the *Padma Purāṇa* had not seen a yellow robed *Bhikkhu*, or had any idea of the *Ārya Dharma* of the Blessed One. Evidently the writer had in his mind either the Digambar Jainas or some sect of ascetics who preached a doctrine under the name of *Māyāvāda*. Here is some work for a scholar to ransack the different *Purāṇas* in order to find out what the writers have recorded about the "*Bauddhas*" and the *Māyāvādins*.

The term that is now in vogue to differentiate the people of India from the Muhammadans is Hindu, and the religion of the Hindu is known as Hinduism. The Mussalman invaders judged the natives of India not from their religion. Those who occupied the soil of India were Hindus. In sacred books written in Sanskrit the word "Hinduism" is not found. The *Vāyu Purāṇa (caturadhikaśatatama adhyāya)* mention is made of the *Brāhmīyadharma*, *Śaivadharma*, *Śāktadharma*, *Vaiṣṇavadharma*, *Sauradharma* and *Bauddhadharma*. A Buddhist reading the *Vāyu Purāṇa* would therein find the important points of Buddhism explained.

The author of the *Sarvadarśana Saṃgraha* has also misrepresented the doctrine of the Blessed One. When the author began writing his work, Buddhism had already disappeared from Indian soil.

Then we have the so-called refutations of the Buddhist doctrine by Śaṅkara. Professor Yamakami Sogen in his very interesting work *Systems of Buddhist Thought* says: "The explanations given of the origin of the names of the four classes of Buddhist philosophers in Hindu works, such as the *Sarvadarśana Saṃgraha* and the *Brahmavidyābharaṇa*, are fanciful and incorrect, ignoring as they do the historical sequence of the development of thought."

After a period of utter forgetfulness extending over seven centuries, an attempt is now being made in India for the first time to get some kind of knowledge of the wonderful Doctrine that the Blessed One taught to the people of India, 2500 years ago. The desire to

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get at the root of the things is most noble, for then alone could we obtain truth. A mere superficial study of the texts would not be sufficient to get a comprehensive knowledge of the higher aspect of the Doctrine that was taught to the truth-loving self-sacrificing disciples of the *Saṅgha* by the Great Teacher. To get at the truth of the sublime Doctrine we have to go to the custodians of the Religion, who from generation to generation, have preserved the spiritual meaning of the teachings. The religion of the Buddha is a science and only the determined student is able to acquire the capacity to understand the Doctrine. The student of Buddhism has to live the life of the *Brahmacārin* as ordained by the Teacher, and has to follow the discipline in order to attune his mind to enter the penetralia of the higher Doctrine. This was emphasized by the Buddha that those who have had not the training in the Discipline of the *Vinaya* could not be expected to grasp the spirit of his teachings. The psychology of the *Dhamma* is different from the religions that teach about God and soul.

The Religion of the *Dhamma* was known under several distinct names. It was called "Dhammayāna," "Brahmayāna," "Brahmajāla," "Diṭṭhijāla," "Attajāla," "Apaṇṇakavāda," "Jinaśāsana," "Buddhaśāsana," "Gotamaśāsana," "Tathāgataśāsana," "Devaśāsana," "Arahantaśāsana," "Vibhajjavāda," "Āriyadhamma," "Āriyamagga," "Ekāyanamagga," "Dakkhinamagga," "Dhammayoga," "Jhānayoga," "Dhammacakka," "Brahmacakka." (See *Brahmajālasutta*, *Mahāniddeśa*, *Aṅguttara*, *Majjhima*).

Modern religions had not then come into existence. In the Pali texts the existence of *Brahma* gods, *Devas*, *Asuras*, *Yakkhas*, *Kumbhandas*, *Nāgas*, *Pretas*, *Gandharvas*, *Maharājikadevas* is admitted, as well as the existence of *Narakas* (purgatorial hells), heavens of the lower and the higher gods, and the psycho-spiritual heavens called the *Arūpabrahmalokas*. Brahmā, Prajāpati, Varuna, Soma, Indra, and the spiritual beings of ten thousand world-systems are mentioned in the *Mahasamayasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*. In the *Devatāsaṃyutta* of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* incidents in the life of the Buddha are given where the *Devas* of the celestial regions came and propounded questions. Primitive Buddhism does not know of the modern gods worshipped by the people of India. It mentions the names of the *Yajur*, *Sāma*, *Ṛk* and *Atharva Vedas*, but the *Bhikkhu* is prohibited to practise the rites of the *Atharvaveda*. In the *Suddha-*

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ṭṭhakasutta, Suttanipāta, ascetics who follow the habits of horses, elephants, cattle, dogs, crows, and the followers of the cults of "Vāsudeva," "Baladeva," "Pūrnabhadra," "Maṇibhadra," and "Agni" are mentioned.

In the *Brahmajālasutta* the speculations of the followers of 62 cults are mentioned, and in the *Sāmaññaphalasutta* the beliefs of the six well-known religious teachers are described, viz. Purāna-kassapa, Makkali Gosāla, Ajiṭa Kesakambala, Pakudhakacchāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta and Niganta Nātaputta, and in the *Titthāyatana Sutta, Aṅguttara*, (3rd *nipāta*), Fatalism, Creatorism and Nihilism are condemned.

In the *Majjhimanikāya* there are 152 *suttas* giving the discussions held between the Buddha and the different ascetics, Brāhman teachers, princes, kings, and others. A study of these discourses is most important to the student of religion and philosophy to understand the Doctrine propounded by the Great Teacher.

The uselessness of animal sacrifices and of painful bodily mortifications in order to gain salvation is explained in the *Sonadaṇḍa, Kuṭadanta, Mahāgovinda*, and the *Kassapa sihanādasuttas* of the *Dīghanikāya*.

The incidents in the life of the Buddha from the time of his birth to the time of his attainment of *abhisambodhi* are given in the *Bhayabherava, Bodhirājakumāra, Saccaka, Mahasihanada suttantas* of the *Majjhimanikāya*, and in the *Nālaka, Padhāna, Pabbajja suttas* of the *Suttanipāta*.

The mythology and folklore of ancient India are given in the *Jātakas, Udāna, Petavatthu, Vimānavatthu* and in the *Dhammapada* commentary.

The transcendental illumination that the Buddha experienced on the memorable night on the full moon day of Vesākha at the foot of the aśvattha Bodhi tree on the bank of the river Nerañjara at Uruvela is given in the *Ariyapariyesana sutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya*.

The great discovery of the Buddha relating to the psychic evolution of the human consciousness and the way of escape from repeated births producing sorrow, misery, illness, decay and physical dissolution is given in the opening chapters of the *Udāna*, and in the *Mahānidānasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*. The special sayings of the Buddha in the form of ethical axioms is given in the manual

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called the *Itivuttaka*. In the ancient days the lay disciples of India committed to memory the *gāthās* of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* of the *Suttanipāta* and also of the *Dhammapada*.

The Pali *suttas* give a description of the Acelakas, Ājīvakas, Nigaṇṭhas, Paribbājakas, Titthiyas, Devadhammikas, etc. The *Udāna* book in the *Jacchandhavagga*, gives a full category of the different dogmas current at the time. The *Brahmajāla sutta* gives the list of the 62 monotheistic, polytheistic, spiritualistic, agnostic and nihilistic views condemned by the Buddha. Disputes, wrangling and religious controversies were not tolerated by the Blessed One. Absolute Truth is beyond theory and logic. When wandering ascetics came to him and asked him any question on dogmas he remained silent. He expounded no theory but the Four Noble Truths which demanded no logic and dispute. He showed the Path. He was sure of the result, and therefore he avoided answering questions on the Whence, the Whither and the What am I. These were called *Ṭhapanya pañha*.

The Buddha compared the different sectarians to a company of blind men who were taken to the king's stables and by order of the king showed the royal elephant. None could see the elephant, and each one touched some part of the body of the animal, and when they were questioned whether they had seen the animal, they said yea, and they were brought before the king. Well, blindmen, have ye seen the elephant ? Yes, great king, they answered, and the king ordered each one to describe the elephant. The man who felt the trunk, said the elephant O king, is like a plough, the man who felt the leg, said, no, O king, the elephant is like a pillar, and the man who felt the ear said, no, O king, the elephant is like the winnowing fan, and so on. Eventually the company began to quarrel, each one calling the other a liar.

The word *antaggāhidiṭṭhi* is the word used in the Pali to the dogmatist who declined to change his view. The theories that the Buddha rejected as leading to error were about the *ātman*, *jīva*, the finiteness or the infiniteness of the world and soul. The Buddha was above theories and dogmas. The Truths that he proclaimed were within conscious self realization. No authority of any kind was needed to realize truth. In the *Kālāmasutta* the Blessed One advised the Kṣatriyas of the township of Kālāma to reject authority, tradition, books, logic, holy ascetics, etc., but to rely on Truth, because Truth does no harm to any one, nor gives pain to

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self or another. Freedom from dogmatic beliefs and theories is the final state of the emancipated mind, and the mind purified of foolishness, anger, ill-will, hatred, pride, conceit, lust, and all ignoble desires iss aid to have been freed from the fetters of ignorance and ignoble desires (*sabbasaṃkhāra samatho sabbupadhi paṭinissaggi nibbānam*).

The Buddha doctrine is divided into three categories—

(1) observance of moral precepts leading to the purification of the mind. (*Śīla*) ;

(2) the purified mind experiencing the bliss of *Vimokkha* reaching up to the higher *arūpa* realms ;

(3) the purified consciousness freed from ignorance hatred and lust realizes the bliss of the supreme reality which is beyond speech (*Abyākatā*) and infinite in its nature (*Asaṅkhata*).

The Doctrine of the Blessed One has three aspects, viz. the *pariyatti sāsana*, the *paṭipatti sāsana* and the *paṭivedha sāsana*. The *pariyatti sāsana* is the Word of the Buddha ; the *paṭipatti sāsana* is the moral code and the *paṭivedha sāsana* is the transcendental psychology which is the fruition of the holy life of the Sotāpatti, Sakadāgāmi, Anāgāmi and Arahat. In the *paṭivedha* state the holy Arhat realizes Infinite Truth which makes him say " *santohamasmi.*" " *nibbutohamasmi,*" " *anupādānohamasmi.*" (*Pañcattaya sutta, Majjhimanikāya, Upari paṇṇāsaka*).

Knowledge according to Buddhism may be gained in three ways, by *sutamayañāna, cintāmayañāṇa*, and *bhāvanāmayañāṇa*. The first is by listening to others ; the second by intuitive perception ; the third by means of scientific introspection freed from dogmas, doubts and errors. The last is the path followed by the followers of the Buddha. For a correct elucidation of this path the student is referred to the chapter on *Paññā* in the *Visuddhimagga* and to the *Nettipakaraṇa*, and its commentary published by the Simon Hevavitarna Bequest.

The Noble eightfold path is the only path says the Blessed One that will lead the individual to the goal of emancipation. The eight factors of the path are :—

1. Right Insight into the four noble Truths and the (*Pratitya samutpāda dharma*) law of interdependent Causes.

2. Right Desires to show mercy to all, to refrain from showing

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hatred and to follow the path of renunciation (*ahiṃsā*, *avyāpāda* and *nekkhamma*).

3. Right Speech : abstaining from falsehood, harsh speech, slandering others and from unprofitable talk.

4. Right Action : abstaining from destroying life, from stealing and from sensual indulgence.

5. Right Livelihood abstaining from ignoble trades, viz. selling human beings, poison, intoxicants, animals to be slaughtered and murderous weapons.

6. Right Efforts to remove the evils already arisen, and to prevent evils arising ; to create the desire to do good, and to develop the good that has arisen.

7. Right Recollection of experiences subjectively by analysis of the body, sensations, volitions and so on.

8. Right Concentration of meritorious and passionless thoughts by the removal of the fivefold obstacles whereby the purified mind realizes the four *dhyānas*.

Modern psychologists deal with the unconscious mind. The Buddha discovered the path whereby the mind was made to act consciously freed from the evil tendencies. When the impurities that are brought into being by sense activities of the five sense organs are cleared off the mind, and the sense organs are brought under control of the law of discipline, there is no obstacle to prevent the mind from coming into a state of perfection.

The result of the purification of the mind made conscious was that it was able to enter into a state of transcendentalism, whereby the mind could see and hear beyond physical limitations. The purified mind could remember past events. This science of transcendentalism is called in Pali *Uttarimanussadhamma*, which means superhuman psychic knowledge.

Iti imasmim sati, idam hoti, imassuppadā idam upajjati, which means that being thus, this comes to be. From the coming to be of that this arises as for instance from ignorance arises *karma*, and the sum totality of *karma saṅkaras* depends on consciousness, and consciousness depends on name and form, and name and form produce the six *āyatanas*, and where the six sense organs operate there will be Contact, and Contact produces sense feelings, and where the sense feelings exist there will arise unsatisfying desire, and where this desire suggested by ignorance exists there will be *upādāna*, and the

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upādānas produce *bhāva* realms of sentiency, and *bhāva* in conformity with *kamma* produces birth, and birth ends in decay, disease and physical dissolution. There is suffering because the desires were built on the foundation of Ignorance (*avidyā*).

Iti imasmim asati idam na hoti, imassanirodhā idam nirujjhati, which means where there is no ingorance this does not happen. From the cessation of that this ceases, as for instance, where there is a cessation of ignorance there can be no other causes producing evil effects, and sorrow thenceforward ceases.

This discovery of the law of a continuous interdependent causality prompted the Tathāgata to enunciate the path to get out of the circle of ignorance, and this path is the Noble eightfold path. Moreover it showed the foolishness of the theory of an absolute permanency and annihilation. From the atom to the non-material heavens there is change. Nothing is permanent, nothing is annihilated, only a becoming, a process of change. The four *mahābhūtas* are changing, the forms are changing, the body is changing, the sense feelings are changing, the perceptions are changing, the *saṅkhāras* are changing, the cognitions are changing.

The Buddha showed the biological law of development of the human cell, changing from week to week in the human womb, and also showed the history of the cell in its antenatal form. This belongs to the realm of transcendental mysticism.

Instead of a creating god who began to work a few thousand years ago the Tathāgata showed the operation of the Immutable Laws in an endless universe and an infinite space where billions of solar systems exist. Instead of one tiny earth he showed the picture of millions of habitable worlds and expanded the horizon of the limited consciousness of the human mind. In the *Brahmanimantanika* and *Devadaha suttas*, *Majjhimanikāya*, there is a refutation of the creator theory as well as the theory of predetermined fatalism.

Buddhism is a pure psychology leading the student of the noble eightfold path into the realms of rationalistic transcendentalism. This is called *Dhyāna yoga*, whereby the mind can be trained and purified of *saṅkharic* creations, when it is able to realize the supreme reality of the infinite condition of *Nibbāna*. By means of *citta viveka* and *upadhi viveka* this state of perfectedness can be realized.

The law of change being immutable, the inference was that there could be no happiness in any state where there is change. Hence

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the formula in Pali, *aniccam, dukkham, anattā*, or in Sanskrit, *anityam, duḥkham, anātman*. The meaning of it is that all things change, that which is subject to change does end in producing suffering and pain, and therefore the wise man gives up clinging to things that are changing. The *anātman* doctrine is the discovery of the Buddha. The pre-Buddhist philosophers had formulated the ethic of *anityam* and *duḥkham*; but it was given to the Buddha to enunciate the psychology of *anātman* or *anattā*. It simply means freedom from egoism and covetousness.

The Buddha rejected the theory of a permanent *ātman* and emphasized that the human being is a compound of five *skhandhas*, viz. *rūpa, vedanā saññā, samkharā* and *viññāṇa*, and that these five *skhandhas* are in a state of flux, and yet there is a continuity of the *skhandhas*, just as in a flowing river or in the flame of a burning candle. There is a continuity of the *skhandhas* and *citta* but no permanent entity goes from one birth to another. The many illustrations given to explain the continuity of the *skhandhas* may be found in the book called the *Milinda Panha*. To thoroughly comprehend the subject of the continuity of the *skhandhas* and the consciousness requires many years of study of Buddhist psychological works as well as the practice of introspective meditation, and the student who wishes to study the subject has to first follow the ethics of the noble eightfold path, living the pure life of the *Brahmacārin*. The ordinary layman who does not study the psychology of the *skhandhas, dhātu, āyatanas, indriya, bala, bojjhanga* and *paticcasamuppāda* could never comprehend the higher teaching of the Blessed One Just as any other secular science requires a systematic study and years of continuous application, so does Buddhism. It is not a dogmatic religion that requires mere belief; but a discipline whereby the mind is trained rationally to analyse every object and subject. The supreme reality has to be personally experienced in perfect con sciousness. The Buddha has shown the perfect Way and the Truth, each one has to persevere strenuously in the path to arrive at the consummation of perfect wisdom.

To gain the knowledge of supreme Wisdom the devout student has to destroy the ten fetters of *sakkāyadṛṣṭi, silabbataparāmāsa, vicikicchā, kāma, paṭigha, rūparāga, arūparāga, māna, uddhacca*, and *avijjā*. He has to overcome the five obstacles of lust, anger, sloth, restlessness and doubt. Many years of strenuous effort have to be

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spent in order to gain the purified consciousness whereby the higher wisdom gives him the insight into Truth, which liberates the mind from all selfish desires and ignorance. The Eternal Law of Righteousness alone is supreme was the answer that Brahmā gave to the inquiring Buddha.

For forty-five years the Tathāgata proclaimed the Noble Doctrine of *Sīla*, *Samādhi* and *Paññā*, which in its fulness is embodied in the three *Piṭakas*. The two principles that the Buddha emphasized were *appamāda* and *viriya*, the first connotes strenuous activity in doing good, and the second connotes heroic endeavour to persevere in the noble path. That religion that does not proclaim the principles of the noble eightfold path is alien to the spirit of Aryan religion, and true holiness can only be found in the Aryan religion of the Noble eightfold path.

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THE INTERNAL FORCES IN THE SPREAD OF BUDDHISM.

By NALINAKSHA DUTT, M.A., B.L., P.R.S.

Rise of Buddhism in an epoch of religious awakening.

The rise of Buddhism took place at an epoch when not only India but also Greece, Persia and China were experiencing a stir in religious matters through the advent of Socrates with his distinguished pupils and contemporary philosophers in Greece, Zoroaster in Persia, and Lao-tse and Confucius in China. In India the elaboration of the Brāhmaṇic sacrifices accompanied with the killing of hundreds of victims had already run a long course there, in the beginning of the sixth century B.C., growing into a highly complex system of ritualism, the details of which failed to command the faith of many a Hindu who began to question whether, after all, the offerings to the gods with their laborious construction of altars, and collection of numberless requisites, recitations of *mantras*, chanting of hymns, expiation of errors in the rituals really achieved the objects for which they were performed, and whether, after all, they were worth the time, energy, and expenses that involved in their performance? The sacrifices were believed, if rightly performed, as able to secure for them wealth, health, long life, and strength, the good will and grace of the gods in this world, and happiness in the other worlds. But the dubious among the Hindus began to question within themselves whether there was not the chance of this belief being wrongly based. Side by side with the elaborate sacrifices performed by the householders, there was prescribed shortened forms of them or even mere cogitation of the Supreme unaccompanied with any rituals, for the *Vānaprasthas* and the *Yatis*. If these latter were right in the pursuit of the course prescribed for them, could not a similar course, suited to the masses, but devoid of, or accompanied only with very simple rituals, be prescribed for the householders? Similar views more or less developed, and opposed to the *Karmakāṇḍa* of the *Brāhmaṇas*, and specially to the cruel slaying of animals in the sacrifices, were already in the air before Buddha arose to preach his doctrines.[1] Hinduism allowed various shades of philosophic and

[1] See Dr. B. M. Barua, *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, pp. 193, 194.

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religious views to grow up within its fold without taking objection to their existence within its limits. But the key to the reception of this toleration lay in the fact that the dissentient view, side by side with its opposition to one or more Brāhmaṇic doctrines, showed its allegiance to one or more of the ultimate fundamental tenets of Hinduism such as the affiliation to the *Vedas*, belief in their authority, worship of any of the Hindu gods as such, recognition of the authority of the Brahmins, or compliance with the caste-system. It is only when we keep this in view that we can understand how the sects like Cārvākas or Sāṅkhyas could hold to their doctrines and yet continue to be recognized as Hindus. The elasticity of Hinduism was, no doubt, a source of its strength, and the existence of this toleration that admitted of the tether, by which a Hindu sect was tied to its peg, to be drawn and drawn away to a long distance without severance, was the cause by which Hinduism could grow into a ramified religion as wide as the Indian continent. But there was a limit to the extent to which the tether could be drawn away; a limit to the degree to which heretic views could be held or preached by a Hindu sect and yet continuing to be considered as Hindu. Such limits were crossed by Buddha, who stood up as a rock to stop the flow of Hinduism in order to direct the faiths of the people along channels of his own. He preached that religious truths lay, not in the sacrifices, not in the *Vedas* which prescribed these sacrifices, not in the worship of the many deities of the Hindu pantheon, not in observance of the caste-rules, not in the magical practices of the *Atharva Veda*, not in the extreme forms of self-mortifications resorted to by the Hindus, and not, in short, in the many other pet beliefs and practices that come as corollaries to an allegiance to the bases of Hindu faith, but in self-culture 'culminating in Arhatship' which constitutes the key-stone of Buddhism.[1]

Buddha's views against sacrifices. Doctrine of ahiṃsā.

Buddha's views against sacrifices and the rites or acts involved in them have been expressed in no uncertain terms throughout his sayings. Against the memorising of the Vedic *mantras* and their

[1] Cf. "For the first time in the history of the world, it proclaimed a salvation which each man could gain for himself in this world, during this life, without any the least reference to God or to gods, either great or small." Dr. Rhys Davids, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 29.

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ruitless repetitions to retain them in memory,[1] he tauntingly remarked that the Brāhmaṇas were nothing but the repeaters of the hymns composed by the ancient sages such as Aṭṭhako, Vāmadevo, Vessāmitto, etc. He also disparages the sacrifices involving needless expenses and payments of heavy fees[2] to Brāhmaṇas who, by dint of their craftiness, made them the means of their procuring wealth for themselves.[3] The rituals were meaningless operations so minutely but mechanically complied with by the sacrificing Brāhmaṇs[4] intending to keep their superstitious clients under a perpetual and unquestioning tutelage. In the *Pāyāsi Suttanta*,[5] Kumāra Kassapa an immediate disciple of Buddha instructs Prince Pāyāsi that the celebration of sacrifices without cruelty involved in the killing of victims is a degree better than the celebration thereof accompanied with the perpetration of that cruelty. A similar view is expressed by Buddha in the *Kuṭadanta Suttanta*[6] where mention is made of sets of rituals to which toleration can be shewn in the ascending order in which they are arranged: sacrifice in which living creatures are slaughtered; better than this is the one performed with only *ghee*, oil, butter, honey and sugar; better still than this is charity, specially that extended to holy men; better than this again is the building of monasteries; and better than this is the observance of moral precepts; and the best of all is the 'sacrifice' of the four-fold meditation.[7] In short, Buddha condemns the sacrifices in a general way by referring to them as but a 'low art' unworthy of whatever a Brāhmaṇa should be according to his conception.[8] For the first time in the religious history of India appeared a dominating personality who, with his infinite sympathy for every living being from man to the lowliest crawling insect, felt intensely for the horrors that the Brāhmaṇic sacrificial system kept daily in store for thousands

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1 *Majjh Nik.*, II, 95 (p. 169); *Dīgh. Nik.*, *Tevijja Suttanta*; Prof. Oldenberg's *Buddha*, pp. 172, 173.

2 *Dīgh. Nik.*, I, p. 138.

3 Dr. R. Fick, *Die Sociale Gliederung*, etc., transl. by Dr. S. K. Maitra.

4 Prof. E. W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 188 and fn.

5 *Dīgh. Nik.*, II, pp. 316ff. 6 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 127f.

7 Dr. Barua, *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 193 fn.

8 *Dīgh. Nik.*, *Brahmajāla Suttanta*, transl. by Dr. Rhys Davids in the *Dialogues of Buddha*, Part I, pp. 17, 25; cf. *Sutta Nipāta* (S B.E.), pp. 48-50, *Majjh. Nik.*, I, p. 82 where Buddha expatiated on the inefficacy of sacrifice (*yaññā*).

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of dumb victims who, though unable to resist effectively, or express their pain in an intelligible language, were as sentient as men and felt the pain as much as the slayers would have done if treated similarly; and for the first time in Indian history did a single individual venture to speak emphatically against all that was dear to the leaders of the then Brāhmaṇic society with their numerous resources to help them, and with the combined belief of almost the whole population of Hindu India to support them; and for the first time also did an Indian undertake to support his view by practically remoulding the existing social elements into an organization that could successfully stamp out or keep in abeyance the opposed ideas and practices in India for several centuries, and are even now materialising the wishes of the great Reformer to a great extent in a few localities in India and in a few countries outside India. It was this doctrine of *ahiṃsā* that appealed so much to the hearts of the people and have even extorted from the Brāhmaṇas themselves the position of an Incarnation of the Deity for Buddha. Mahāvīra also launched upon the field of Indian thought before Buddha with his doctrine of *ahiṃsā* but his followers carried it to such an excess that it could little draw the admiration of the Brāhmaṇas while the rational view of the same taken by Buddha attracted the attention of every one, no matter, whatever creed he might profess. Everybody knows that owing to the radical doctrines that Buddha preached, there was no love lost between the Brāhmaṇas and the Buddhists, and yet the inclusion of Buddha as an *avatāra* is no doubt a clear testimony of the infinite kindness with which Buddha's heart was imbued to which even his enemies had to pay homage by including him in their pantheon.

Mettā feeling.

The doctrine of *ahiṃsā* was but an offshoot of the *mettā* feeling which embraced not merely the negative restraint upon causing pain to any living creatures but also positive acts of charity and love removing or attempting to remove distresses wherever existing and whatever form they might assume. It was this spirit that brought into being the many works of public utility such as the construction of hospitals, the digging of wells and tanks, etc., meant to alleviate human distress or supply positive convenience and comfort where they did not exist; and the growth of this spirit having its source no doubt in a religious motive but operating independently of any

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religious institution or religious endowment is a departure from the ways in which the Hindus used to perform acts of beneficence. Standing on this catholic view-point the outlook of the Buddhists on caste-restrictions that introduced differences in degrees of high and low where in reality they did not exist, accompanied in many instances with narrowness and hatred which obstructed the exercise of *mettābhāva*, could not but be as it was enunciated by Buddha. Of this I would speak later on, suffice it to say for the present, that Buddha has on many occasions asked his disciples to exercise the *mettā* feeling as one of the methods for attaining perfection in *samādhi* and along with it the kindred feelings of *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (sympathy in others' joy), and *upekkhā* (equanimity).[1]

Against the caste-system.

Buddha has never laid out a complete scheme of social organization by which he wanted to remove the reprehensible features that he observed in the Brāhmaṇic society of the time. He confined himself strictly to religious topics in his disquisitions and discussions, and it was in reply to questions put by others that he at times gave his views against the caste-restrictions of the Hindu society and the preferential treatment and other oddities that an application of pure reason upon which he took his stand in this respect could not but condemn. The Brāhmaṇic standpoint had its basis in birth and the cosmology by which the four castes were given the order of precedence of the limbs of the Great *Puruṣa* supposed to have existed at the time of creation of the Universe.[2] Buddha on the other hand took a rational view of the subject and wanted the individuals to be higher and lower according to their respective qualities and not according to the accident of birth[3]; and instead of the cosmology, looked upon by him as erroneous, he pointed to a cosmology of his own described in the *Agaññа Suttanta*[4] and described by him as representing the real state of things. In it he describes in a descending scale of beings beginning from the

1 *Dīgh. Nik*, III, pp. 49 50, 223, 224; *Majjh. Nik.*, I, p. 283, 284, 359ff.

2 See *Ṛgveda, Puruṣa sūkta.*

3 "The thought that a Brāhmaṇa does not occupy a special place by reason of his birth but that virtue alone constitutes a true Brāhmaṇa occurs also in the *Jātakas*."—Dr R. Fick, *Sociale Giederung*, etc., transl., p. 20.

4 *Dīgh. Nik.* III, pp. 80ff.

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gods with their higher qualities and ending with the men who possessed much inferior qualities and among the latter were classes who formed themselves into divisions by their vocations and instead of caste being rigid and fixed for ever by birth, they formed classes the members of which could easily transfer themselves from one to the other by developing the qualities for the avocations of the class to which they transferred themselves. In connection with his replies to questions[1] and the discussions to which they led, Buddha has given hints showing that the Kṣatriya of the Hindu society could be superior to the Brāhmaṇa of that society, if by qualities the former was in reality superior to him, for the element of birth which was set out as the criterion of status by the Brāhmaṇas was in fact a thing which reason cannot support. It could not be denied that there were Brāhmaṇas who though claiming to be the highest in society by their birth were inferior to many a member of the lowest caste by their habits and inferior qualities and Buddha pointed this out as a very unreasonable disposition of social elements to put those higher who by nature were lower. Any strong condemnation of this state of things cannot be expected from the incarnation of *mettā* feeling for that might smack of ill-will and hatred but the passages bearing on this subject are numerous and show in the characteristic but mild and rational method of Buddha what he looked upon as the reasonable arrangement that should prevail among the laymen as opposed to the monks. As regards monastic life there could never be any distinction excepting that brought about by stages of moral and spiritual progress, on the path towards Arhathood. As the rivers, says he, lose, each its individual distinctions after falling into the ocean, so the monks lose their all distinctions as regards social status after joining the monastic order.[2] It should be observed that Buddha's attitude in regard to castes is an expression of the feeling of brotherhood that he wanted to prevail among all sentient beings and when we look at the matter from this standpoint we see that this attitude was but a logical extension of his view of relations among human beings.

It was thus that Buddha held views subversive of the sacrifices

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[1] *Dīgh. Nik.*, I, *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*; *Majjh. Nik.*, *Assalāyana Sutta*, II, pp. 147ff.; *Madhura Sutta*, II, pp. 83ff.; *Ang. Nik.*, I, 162.

[2] *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. II, p. 239.

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and the caste-system,—the two main bases of the then existing Hinduism. With such views of the two bases of Hinduism, he could not naturally keep terms with the Brāhmaṇas in the acceptance of the authority of the *Veda* as such acceptance necessarily meant compliance with the injunctions in regard to the sacrifices and the caste-system which he condemned. From this logically followed his attitude towards the *Vedas*, the authority of which he denied point-blank.

Against the authority of the Vedas and the worship of the deities.

In the *Sīlavimaṅsa Jātaka*[1] the Boddhisatto says, "*Of no value are the Vedas*, of no value is birth or kinsmen for the future world, only one's own pure virtue brings him happiness in the next world." Buddha disbelieves in the revealed character of the *Vedas* by remarking that the ancient sages Aṭṭhako, Vāmako, Vāmadevo, Vessāmitto, etc., never saw Brahma from whom they state to have received the Vedic texts.[2] The denial of the revealed character of the *Vedas* and with it their authority led to his view of the gods as but beings reaching their divine nature in the course of revolution from human beings by dint of their virtue pursued by them strenuously. Worship of such divine beings was of no avail for they were unable to raise men to a higher status by dint of their own powers; for it was a man's own virtue that could elevate him morally and spiritually and not any external help from the gods. Of this import is the following passage from the *Brahmajāla Suttanta* "Worship of Sun, worship of the Great One, invocation of Siri, the goodess of luck, the vowing of gifts to a god for the grant of a benefit, the offering of sacrifices to the gods are low arts from which Gotama the recluse holds him aloof."[3] The attack of the *Mīmāṃsakas* upon the Buddhists on the ground that the latter themselves looked upon their texts as revealed proceeds upon the imputation of an idea to the original Buddhists they did not entertain.[4]

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1 *Jātakas* III, 194ff.

2 *Digh. Nik.*, I, *Tevijja Suttanta*, p. 239; cf. Dr. Barua's *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, pp. 193, 242—"All of the thinkers in the neo-vedic period agreed in estimating the four Vedas and the Vedic sciences as the lower knowledge."

3 Dr. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, part I, p. 24.

4 Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 43, 44.

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Against the magical practices.

Buddha discouraged the magical practices and the rites of the *Atharva Veda*, and even the practice of other arts not excluding astrology, by which men were led to commit deviations from the right conduct. It is needless to say that many of these practices were of a puerile character such as performing rites for averting the supposed consequences of evil omens such as the sitting of a hawk on the roof of a house, etc. The magical rites are performed in the belief that the things desired by an individual can be procured by virtue of those rites as certainly as a particular effect follows a particular cause; and moreover belief in the efficacy of these rites inspires one with the idea that abnormal powers can be acquired through them so that right conduct which is believed to be productive of happiness or spiritual good might be discarded, and magical rites made to take its place. This idea is detrimental to the pursuit of virtue and this was perhaps one of the reasons why Buddha did not countenance these rites, apart from the question of superstitions underlying them.[1]

Against mortifications and other ascetic practices.

It is clear, from the dissatisfaction expressed by Buddha at the fruitlessness of his own mortifications during his spiritual discipleship under several preceptors in the first six years after his renunciation of the world, that he lost his belief in the mortifications as the means to salvation.[2] His enlightenment was preceded by the pursuit of the middle path in which the use of the necessaries of life as to food and raiment was not regarded as an obstacle in the attainment of spiritual success. Just as on the one hand the use of these necessaries must be combined with moral conduct, and meditation so on the other hand the ascetic practices if adopted in a moderate degree must be associated with the same two essentials of spiritual life. Sanction was given by Buddha to a moderate use of ascetic practices as a concession[3] to the strong tendency of the Indian mind, imbued as it had been for a long time with the belief in the efficacy of such penances, to resort to the extreme forms of abstinence from comforts of life or even painful methods of positively

[1] *Dīgh. Nik.*, *Brahmajāla* and *Kevaddha Suttantas.*

[2] *Majjh. Nik.*, I, pp. 77ff.; 242–246.

[3] Dr. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, p. 219.

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inflicting pain upon the body as aids to the acquisition of spiritual merit in the direction of the mind towards the spiritual ideals. Buddha himself declared the hollowness of such extreme practices but left the moderate ones to be intertwined into the programme of life of the Buddhist monks who must in all cases look upon the observance of the moral precepts in the practice of meditation as forming essentially the basis of his religion. I need not dilate on what constituted the right conduct (*sīla*) according to Buddha, for it forms the subject-matter of a large section of Buddhist religious literature which is widely known. Suffice it to say that Buddha insisted on the moral purity in the use of speech, mind and body for all those who join the Buddhist order in and through which the salvation lies. He prescribes certain rules for the observance of the laity but the means to salvation does not exist in their ways of life though conforming to the prescribed rules. The means are to be found in the monastic order which for this reason engaged principally his attention. This is a great departure from the doctrines of the Hindus whose *Śāstras* declare that salvation is not the monopoly of monastic or ascetic life but is also within the reach of students or householders provided they desire it keenly in and through the performance of their respective duties. As to the mode of meditation adopted by Buddha, it is evident from the Buddhist works or extracts on meditation such as the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttanta*, the *Paṭisambhidamagga*, the *Visuddhimagga*, etc., that it was kept free from the practices belonging to *haṭha-yoga* as also from the several forms of *āsanas* or *prāṇāyama*. For instance in the *Majjhima Nikāya*,[1] Buddha inculcates the avoidance of the mechanical process by which the tongue is pushed backwards towards the palate, a device that is so often resorted to in the Hindu system of *yoga*. Buddha has in short desired to keep his *yogamārga* free from anything that are fanciful, severe or unnecessary to the concentration of the mind.[2]

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[1] *Majjh. Nik.*, I, pp. 242–244.

[2] Buddha's attitude towards the Hindu ascetic practices is set forth in many places of the *Nikāyas*, one of which is for instance—'An ascetic who has adopted the mode of taking food in the manner of a dog or cow (*kukkurvatiko* or *govatiko*) takes rebirth on account of his penance in this life either as a dog or a cow and if he longs to be reborn in the world of gods as a result of his penances in this life, he is doomed to perdition for the wrong view he holds." *Majjh. Nik.* I, p. 239; II, pp. 387, 388.

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Moreover, the abnormal devices tend to create a pride in the minds of the *sādhakas* and impress the uninstructed spectators, if any, with admiration which might tempt the former to utilize for worldly purposes.[1] The Buddhist path of meditation is thus a simplified process in which the elements of the Hindu *yoga* exist sometimes with some modifications but which has been kept clear of what was looked upon as either unnecessary, extraneous, or dangerous. It is suited to whoever join the monastic order provided by exercise of the *sīlas* he had succeeded in developing frames of body and mind in which he could launch himself on an attempt to concentration of the mind leading to the ultimate wisdom. "The states (*samāpatti*) in the Buddhist system of meditation were of importance, not merely of importance for learners as a means for arriving at *Nirvāṇa*, but the temporal release they afforded from the sense percepts and the concrete way so highly esteemed that they were looked upon as luxuries and enjoyed as such by the saints and by Buddha himself."[2] The ultimate object with which these meditations and forms of discipline were undertaken and towards which Buddha rose to relieve the people in his easy but certain way was *Nirvāṇa*.

The signification of Nirvāṇa.

The signification of *Nirvāṇa* has assumed various complexions at the hands of interpreters, but this much is certain that the attainment of same meant for an individual a permanent escape from the whirlgig of *Karma* and re-birth with their attendant miseries. It is futile for us to try to define what is meant by this term; the Vedantists might identify it with union with the Brahma the indescribable substratum of the phenomenal universe, the votaries of any of the highest deities such as Śiva or Viṣṇu might call it *mukti*, or the Christians might think it to be nothing but salvation as conceived by them; but the fact remains that Buddha is himself absolutely silent as to what he wanted the term to really mean. This attitude of Buddha is perhaps significant from one point of view, namely his general unwillingness to enter into ultimate questions of metaphysics; for a definition or a description of *Nirvāṇa* would certainly have led to the mention of things which would have proved a good

[1] E.G. *Dīgh. Nik.*, III, pp. 42ff.

[2] Prof. Warren's *Buddhism in Translations*, pp. 282, 283.

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ground for fruitless discussions among his followers as well as among the Buddhists and non-Buddhists. To those who are far away from the state in which *Nirvāṇa* is attained the thing might be a subject of differences of opinion, but to those who attained it, it was as clear as a perception though the attendant conceptions and feelings may lie beyond the power of language to express. Indeed, disputes as to ontological questions often proves to be no better than like quarrels over tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee. Buddha was perfectly aware of the worthlessness of such discussions and the evil consequences and has for that reason been uniformly silent over questions which otherwise might have given rise to the undesirable results.[1] Suffice it to say that Buddhism relies ultimately upon success in this *yoga*, without which the life of a Buddhist cannot be complete. This is the fruition to which Buddhism leads and for the attainment of which it proposes to show the shortest way.

It will thus be seen that Buddhism struck out a path of which easiness and simplicity were the characteristic features. These two features depended upon the fact that the undue importance attached by the Hindus to rites and practices that were difficult to undertake on account of their elaborateness, or expenses, and the ardousness involved in them was absent in Buddhism. There were other reasons also for which Buddhism could attract the people so far as its tenets and practices were concerned :

(1) The avoidance of metaphysical questions rendered it easily intelligible to the masses.

(2) The greater play of reason instead of belief that in the Hindu system is so peremptorily demanded by the sacred texts and in so wide a range of matters was an attractive feature to people who developed more than others the habit of reasoning for themselves the good and bad side of the religious questions.

(3) The doctrine of *ahiṃsā* and *mettā* feeling advocating the exercise of mercy to all creatures and the brotherhood of all human beings appealed very much to the hearts of all men, specially to those who were not staunch believers in the sacrifices but by

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1 Cf. *Sutta Nipāta* (S.B.E.), pp. 167-174, "The different schools of philosophy contradict each other, they proclaim different truths, but the truth is only one. As long as the disputations are going on, so long will there be strife in the world."

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independent reasoning looked upon the killing of hundreds of animal victims in the sacrifices as extremely cruel; and also to those who though Hindus were feeling the exclusiveness of the Brāhmaṇas in the treatment meted out to them.

(4) Buddhism did not rely so much upon appeals to the supernatural as Hinduism did, always referring to the efficacy effected in unseen way by the utterance of *mantras*, the performance of the sacrifices, and in fact, compliance with the many rituals prescribed in the *Śāstras*. The reference to this unseen and supernatural element in Hinduism became so much exaggerated that an error in the smallest detail of a ritual or a mistake in the utterance of a single syllable of a *mantra* had to be expiated by proper ceremonies or rectified by going through the same things again, and the belief of the clients of the priests appear to have approved of such demands upon their credence. There are many other directions in which exaggerated demands upon the belief of the laity in general were made by the Brāhmaṇas. But Buddhism was shorn to a very great extent of such utilizations of the supernatural element that often mystified the vision of the laity in regard to having a clear idea of what the religion was and what they were actually doing. This gave Buddhism a practical turn making it include rites and ceremonies with their accompanying formulas that the masses could understand and the reason of which was generally patent to their understanding.

(5) The language in which it was preached and its ceremonies were conducted was the dialect of the people concerned and therefore their reason could obtain greater scope for exercise in the intelligent following of the discourse or the rituals to which they attended, while Sanskrit used by the Brāhmaṇas in connection with all religious matters could not satisfy them in these respects.

(6) The great stress laid by Buddhism upon right conduct so much so that it became one of its most prominent features, was also a cause for an attractive factor. Buddhism is often described as an ethical religion on the ground of the prominence of this feature as against several others that are emphasized in other systems of religion. From the very time when a convert enters into the monastic order up to the time when he attains

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to Arhathood, the keynote of his life is right conduct. Ordinarily the unsophisticated conscience of even an untutored man approves very greatly the intrinsic rightness of a scheme of conduct that proposes to deal out goodwill and charity to all, strict continence, and silent forbearance that seize an error in an act where others would have seen offence and ill-will. Upon this view of man that has its root in his inborn conscience rests the strength of the tables of the rules of conduct for general guidance like the ten commandments of the Bible and it was to this element in man's mental constitution that this side of Buddhism appealed so much, and appeals even now.

(7) The prevalence of the practice of *yoga* had become widely spread for a long time previous to the advent of Buddha and carried with it the general belief among the Hindus that it was one of the most potent instruments for appealing to the highest spiritual progress. Buddha was also an advocate of *yoga* and, as already stated, laid the greatest stress on it with its preliminary right conduct and so forth which might be regarded as making an individual fit for the exercises of mind and body that it involved by separating it from the mortifications which he regarded as useless. It was only rendered simpler and more popular, while to this method of spiritual culture he made a contribution of his own in which the realization of impermanence of the world, the absence of soul, i.e. an indestructible and permanent entity, and the existence of suffering in all worldly affairs, would lead to a habitual practice of the *aṣṭāṅgika mārga* and the attainment of bliss by the dispersal of ignorance (*avidyā*) the root-cause of misery.

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JĀTAKA STORIES IN THE DAŚAKUMĀRACARITA.

By NILMANI CHAKRAVARTY, M.A.

In the sixth chapter of the *Daśakumāracarita* the hero Mitragupta tells four stories to a *Brahmarākṣasa* by way of illustrating his answers to four questions put by the latter. The stories are those of Dhūminī, Gominī, Nimbavatī and Nitambavatī. The first two stories are to be found in the present collection of Pali *Jātaka* stories. The story of Dhūminī is more or less identical with the *Cullapaduma Jātaka* (*Jātaka* Vol. II, p. 116) and that of Gominī is similar to the story of Amarādevī, the wife of Mahosadha in the *Mahāummagga Jātaka* (*Jātaka* Vol. VI, p. 366). Without repeating the stories here I give the principal points of agreement and difference between the two sets of stories.

THE STORY OF DHŪMINĪ.

I have said before that this story is substantially the same as the *Cullapadumajātaka*. In the *Jātaka* the personages are a prince named Padumakumara and his six brothers together with their wives and the place is Benares. In the *Daśakumāracarita* the personages are three wealthy brothers Dhanaka, Dhānyaka and Dhanyaka and their three wives and the place is Trigarta. In the *Jātaka* the eldest brother is the hero of the story but in the *Daśakumāracarita* the youngest brother is the hero. In the *Jātaka* the princes were banished by their father who was afraid that they would usurp the k ingdom, but in the *Daśakumāracarita* the three brothers remained at home. The princes in the *Jātaka* leaving their father's kingdom came to a wilderness and could not get food while the three brothers in the *Daśakumāracarita* were oppressed by a famine caused by long draught lasting for twelve years. The princes killed the wife of the youngest brother first and ate her flesh while in the *Daśakumāracarita* the wife of the eldest brother was first killed. In the *Jātaka* the eldest prince used to eat one out of two shares of flesh given to him and his wife and kept the other but there is no such thing in the story in the *Daśakumāracarita*. Both the Prince in the *Jātaka* and the youngest brother in the *Daśakumāracarita* fled on the proposal of killing their wives, the prince only taking time by

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offering to his brothers the six portions he preserved. Both of them carried their wives on their shoulders. Both gave to their wives their blood when they were thirsty but the youngest brother in the *Daśakumāracarita* gave his own flesh also to his wife to eat. Then the prince began to live by the bank of the Ganges which he reached after great difficulty, while the hero in the *Daśakumāracarita* in a forest. Each of them met with a man whose hands, feet, nose and ears were cut off, but under different circumstances. The prince found the man on a vessel (*ammana*) carried by the stream while the hero in the *Daśakumāracarita* found the man on his way and carried him on his shoulder along with his wife. Both of them cured them and the wives of both in their absence committed adultery with them and afterwards concocted plans for killing their husbands; the wife of the prince under the pretext of performing a worship on the top of a mountain by throwing him down the precipice and the woman in the *Daśakumāracarita* by throwing her husband into a well, by telling him to draw water pretending herself to be ill. The prince in the *Jātaka* was saved miraculously by a huge lizard (*godhā*) while the hero of the *Daśakumāracarita* was saved by some passers by. Then both of them went towards their respective homes. The prince went back to his father's kingdom, coming to know of his father's death and became king and erecting almshouses began to give alms to beggars and at last saw his wife as a beggar carrying on her head her maimed lover, whom she declared as her own husband, and after giving out her sinful conduct he punished her. The hero of the story in the *Daśakumāracarita* on the other hand, while travelling in the country of Avanti, was met by his wife who was carrying her maimed lover and was accused by her as the person who maimed her lover whom she declared to be her lawful husband and was ordered to be executed but was saved by his wife's lover who declared the whole truth.

The main incidents of these stories are so very alike that one may be said to be derived from the other or it may be that they are only different versions of the same story.

The Story of Gominī.

This story as I have already said is substantially the same a the story of Amarādevī in the *Mahāummagga Jātaka*. In both the stories the heroes left their homes in disguise in quest of brides be-

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cause they thought that girls selected by others may not be liked by them, the hero in the *Jātaka* story was disguised as a mender of old clothes and that in the story in the *Daśakumāracarita* as an astrologer. Each of them went to a family of banker who was formerly very wealthy but then in abject condition. Both of them applied similar though not the same tests to their brides selected. The hero in the *Jātaka* gave to his bride half a *nālika* of rice and ordered her to prepare rice-gruel, rice and cake while the hero in the *Daśakumāracarita* gave a *prastha* of paddy to his bride and ordered her to prepare dinner. Both of them succeeded well and were married. Then both were taken by their husbands to their houses and tested there also though in different ways, in which too they stood the test well.

A study of both these sets of fables reveals this fact that they are substantially the same. The stories in the *Daśakumāracarita* are more artistic and the supernatural element such as the saving of the life of the prince in the *Jātaka* is absent in them. For this reason it can be easily said that the stories in the *Jātaka* collection are older and those in the *Daśakumāracarita* later although the difference in time was not very great. Otherwise there would not have been so close resemblance amongst them.

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THE RELIGION OF AŚOKA.

By M. Ghosh.

From the Kaliṅga Edict it is clear that in the 9th year of Aśoka's reign and after the conquest of Kaliṅga the emperor changed his religion. What was the religion of Aśoka before the 9th year? In his first Rock Edict, he says

(३) पुले महानससि देवानं पियसा पियदसिसा लजिने अनुदिवसं बहुनि पातसहसानि आलभिपिसु सुपदाये। से इदानि यदा [इयं] धर्मलिपि लेखिता तदा तिनि ये वा पावानि आलभियंति।

(४) दुवे मनुला एके मिगे। से पि च मिगेनोधुवे। (कलसी)

"Before this, many thousand lives were killed every day for soup in the kitchen of the God's beloved gracious king. But now that this law edict has been incised, only three lives are killed, two peacocks and one deer.

But even this deer is not permanent."

Both the Kaliṅga Edict and Rock Edict I clearly point to a change of faith of Aśoka and we know from the former that it took place in the 9th year of his reign. We also know that in the former faith animal sacrifice was an important element of the worship. It is a patent fact that both in the Vedic rites and in the worship of *Śākta* deities sacrifice was an important feature of the religious rites. From several passages of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* it is clear that at that time along with the Vedic rites, *Śākta* deities were also worshipped. In Kauṭilya we have—

"Having seated himself in the room where the sacred fire has been kept, he shall attend to the business of physicians and ascetics practising austerities" (Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, p. 39).

Further there is the passage,

श्रीमदिराष्टहं च पुरमध्ये कारयेत्।

"The temple of *Dūrgā*, in the middle of the City, to be constructed" (*Ibid.*, p. 56).

Arthaśāstra has been supposed to have been written by Kauṭilya in the reign of Candragupta, the grandfather of Aśoka. Kauṭilya when speaking of the fortified city is supposed to describe Pāṭaliputra. If we accept the above, then we can say that the sacrifices alluded to in the Rock Edict I quoted above refer to the killing of

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animals before goddess Durgā, the flesh being subsequently cooked and distributed. Aśoka being in early life a follower of this deity naturally sacrificed animals for her propitiation. For a long time even when Aśoka became a convert to his new religion as mentioned in the Kaliṅga Edict he could not stop the sacrifice of animals before goddess Durgā as she was regarded as his *kuladevī*.

It appears from the dedication of caves to the Ājīvikas that Aśoka in his 13th year was a follower of this particular class of ascetics. In the 20th year he made another gift of love to the Ājīvikas. Thus after the 13th till the 20th year he appears to have been a great admirer of the Ājīvikas who, it will appear, were an important party of the Jaina community. In the 21st year of his reign we find Aśoka visiting the birthplace of Śākyamuni Buddha. It therefore appears that he must have been made a convert to the Buddhist faith between the 20th and 21st year. Tradition says that Upagupta of Mathurā converted Aśoka into Buddhism. In the Nigliva pillar we also find Aśoka improving the *stūpa* of Kanakamuni for the second time. Thus it appears that after the conquest of Kaliṅga in the ninth year of his reign and before his 14th year he was a staunch follower of Ājīvika party of the Niggantha community and between his 14th and 20th year he was vacillating between his faith in the Ājīvika sect and the Buddhist religion. Further from the 21st year till his death he was a staunch adherent of the Buddhist faith.

The respect for the Ājīvika sect did not die with Aśoka, for we find his grandson dedicating caves to the Ājīvika sect just after his consecration. Now who were the Ājīvikas? Ruddolph Hoernle has brought together all the facts bearing on this point (*Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, pp. 24-63). We find these mendicants mentioned in *Aṅguttaranikāya*, iii, 276. (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, translated by T. W. Rhys Davids, pp. 71-220). Jaina scriptures mention Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta, an important leader of the Ājīvikas, contemporary of Mahāvīra, the 24th *Tīrthaṅkara* of the Niggantha community. The word *Maṅkhali* is in Pāli *Makhali* and in Sanskrit it is *Maskari*. Pāṇini derives the word from *Maskara* (vi, l, 154)—bamboo-staff and means that they were mendicants who carried bamboo-staffs in their hands. They were also called *Ekadaṇḍins*. The word *Maṅkhaliputta* would mean mendicant of the *Ekadaṇḍin* order as different from the Buddhist and Niggantha monks. For example, Mahāvīra was called *Niggantha-putta*, i.e. a mendicant of Niggantha order.

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From the passages in the seventh *Aṅga* (*Uvāsaga Dasāo* edited by R. Hoernle, in the Bibliothica Indica) and *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, it appears that these Ājīvikas had great points in agreement with the Niggantha community although there were points of difference as well. In 36th chapter of the Buddhist *Majjhimanikāya* (i. 238) Saccaka, a follower of the Niggantha order, is represented as expressing to Buddha, the practices of the Ājīvikas, the followers of Gosāla Maṅkhali-putta, Nanda Vaccha and Kissa Saṅkicca. "They discard all clothing (*acelaka*) they lick their food out of their hands . . . ."

In the life time of Mahāvīra, when the Ājīvika leader Gosāla became separated from the Niggantha community on account of his evil ways of life, there remained some Ājīvikas who retained the peculiar ideas on the points of total nakedness, non-possession of a bowl, imperfect regard for life, distinctive mark of a staff, etc. Early in the 3rd century B.C. the Ājīvikas or Trairāśikas definitely and finally separated to form a separate order and came to be known as Digambaras. We come across this title for the first time in the 9th century A.D. when Silaṅka (C. 876 A.D.) commenting on the objection made by some to Mahāvīra's 'four restrictions' in the *Sūtra Kṛtaṅga* (*Jaina Sūtra* ii, 267) stated that the reference is to the Ājīvikas or Digambaras. In another place he identifies the followers of Gosāla with the Trairāśikas. In *Abhidhāna Ratnamālā* (ii. 189, 190) Halāyudha mentions that Digambaras or Digvāsas are also known as the Ājīvas.

The Digambaras differ to the present day from the Śvetāmbaras on the points implied in the four restrictions enjoined by Mahāvīra.

"Thus the restrictions respecting the use of cold water and naural seeds were intended to enforce extreme regard for any kind of ife; but the Digambaras are said to be only moderately careful of animal life; while the Śvetāmbaras are extremely so" (*Ind Ant.* XXXII, p. 460) With respect to the fourth restriction while both sects insist on the vow of chastity, they differ in regard to the possession of the alms bowl. While the bowl belongs to the regular outfit of the Śvetāmbara monks, the Digambaras are not permitted to carry it but receive their food in the palms of their hands (Oman, p. 151). The Digambaras like the Ājīvikas or Trairāśikas on admission as novice is supplied among other things black rod or "*Daṇḍa*" about 5 ft. long and the professed monk always carries his staff. The difference between Ājīvikas and Nigganthas or unfettered one (i.e.

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unfettered from the bonds of *Karma*) was in existence in the life time of Mahāvīra. By the time of Aśoka they were two different sects of Jainas. Acute antagonism arose in the time of Bhadrabāhu, but the difference ended in a rapture attributed to Chalika Rohagupta who was disciple of Mahāgiri from 269 to 239 B.C. Megasthenes mentions a class of mendicants who took food from hand.

It is now clear that the Ājīvikas are a party of the Niggantha community with some peculiar rules of conduct. They are the same as the Digambara of the present day. From the statement that Aśoka gave two caves in the Barabara Hills in the Gaya district to the Ājīvika sect in his 13th and 20th years, it is clear that he was a follower of the Digambara Jainas up to the 20th year, after which he began to pay attention to the Buddhists as well. *Devānām priya* a title used by Aśoka in his edict appears to have been most likely first assumed by Candragupta. With many other innovation, the title was probably adopted by Candragupta when he conquered the distant province of the Punjab. Candragupta wanted a title analogous to "*Shahan Shahi*" (King of kings) being a Jaina he assumed the title of *Devānām Priya*, "beloved of the gods" by this he showed his allegiance to Jaina faith. Patañjali who flourished in the reign of Puṣyamitra writing (180 B.C.) about it in his *Mahābhāṣya* considers the phrase to have been used as a word of derision. The passage in Minor Rock Edict which reads as, अमिश्रा देवा जसु मिश्रा देवा कदा has been translated by Thomas "gods which were unmixed were made mixed gods in Jambudwipa." In plain language it would mean that the worship of these gods that were not common were accepted by people. This worship of gods is incompatible with the Buddhist faith. In the religion of the Jainas, gods have a recognized place in the religious faith of the worshippers. The word "*deva*" in the above passage may also mean Vedic or popular deity but when we find Aśoka openly opposing Vedic sacrifice then it is inconsistent that he would retain his faith in the Vedic gods. In Rock Edict IX he disdains various "*maṅgalam*" which in the *Jātakas* according to Mr. Senart means ordinary cult of Hindu deities. The word "*deva*" here I think only refers to Jaina deity to whom he professed allegiance up to his 20th year and most likely this was the state religion of the Mauryas. There is also a tradition that Candragupta was a Jaina and abdicated the throne in favour of his son and died at Srāvana Belagolā. Bindusāra

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might have reverted to Brāhmaṇical faith and revived Vedic sacrifice. Probably Aśoka after his 9th year became a staunch Jaina and made Jainism his state religion. Later on while Aśoka himself changed his religion it appears that Jainism remained the state religion as we find Daśaratha again giving caves to Ājīvikas in the Nāgārjuna Hills. Sāncī and Sārnāth Pillar Edicts are later than the general Pillar Edict for the Kauśāmbī schism Edict occupies a subordinate position in the Allahabad pillar. These minor pillar edicts breathe of Buddhism and are associated with Buddhist sites such as Sāncī and Sārnath.

The Bhābrā Edict was most likely issued about the time of Sāncī and Sārnāth and the likelihood is that it was promulgated after the third council held at Pāṭaliputra.

Rock and Pillar Edicts including the Minor Rock Edict were, it appears, issued by Aśoka as a Jaina. The Buddhist edicts therefore are Sānchī, Sārnāth and Bhābrā. Now bearing these facts in mind let us read his Rock Edicts which were incised in the 14th and 15th years of his reign.

In the first edict he stops the killing of animals and inculcates the first vow of Pārśva not to kill any living being (*ahiṃsā*). In the second edict he arranges for hospitals for both men and animals—a feature peculiar to the Jainas up to this time. The establishment of Pinjrapole is invariably associated with the Jainas. In the Rock Edict VI Aśoka writes :—

"I may discharge my debt to animal beings, and that while I make some happy here, they may in the next world gain heaven."

In the 8th Edict he speaks of going out on tour well-enlightened. This shows that after the 10th year he became a follower of Jaina sect of Ājīvika and giving up hunting used to go out on tour to visit Brāhmaṇas, hermits, elders, country and people.

In the Rock Edict XII Aśoka promulgated a peculiarly Ājīvika doctrine not to extol one's own religion. It is on this point Gosāla accused Mahāvīra of arrogance and considered him as not yet freed from *Karma* (*Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 262*b*). The toleration of all religions in Aśoka is to be traced to his respect to the Ājīvika sect.

Aśoka's Pillar Edicts breathe of Ājīvika doctrines as he is more liberal than that allowed by the Buddhist doctrines. He shows more carefulness to animal life, he is more liberal to all religious orders

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and expresses his belief in after-life and heaven. That Aśoka late in life became a convert to Buddhism there is no doubt. It is after this conversion that Bhābrā Edict was issued and Sārnāth and Sāncī Edicts were promulgated.

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Science.

President:

RAI BAHADUR JOGESH CHANDRA RAI, M.A., VIDYANIDHI.

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ON THE DIFFERENT ŚULBA SŪTRAS

By N. K. Majumder, M.A.

The *Śulba Sūtras* give rules for the construction of *Vedis* and *Agnis* in connection with *Yajñas* or Sacrifices. Hence they are but parts of *Śrauta Sūtras* which lay down methods of procedure in conducting sacrifices. The *Śulba Sūtras* generally occur as one or more chapters in treatises on *Śrauta Sūtras*, but they are also found separately.

As early as 1875, Dr. Thibaut had mentioned four systems of *Śulba Sūtras*—

(1) *Baudhāyana Śulba Sūtra*,

(2) *Āpastamba Śulba Sūtra*,

(3) *Mānava Śulba Sūtra*,

all three belonging to *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*, and

(4) *Kātyāyana Śulba Pariśiṣṭa*,

belonging to the *Śukla Yajurveda*.

Only very recently two others have been discovered—

(5) *Vārāha Śulba Sūtra*,

being only two chapters of the *Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra* belonging to the Maitrāyanīya Śākhā of *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*; and

(6) *Vādhula Śulba Sūtra*,

being portions of *Vādhula Śrauta Sūtra*. Dr. R. Shamashastry was very kind to draw my attention to one MS. of the *Vārāha Śulba Sūtra* in Mysore, while I found another in Bombay. The *Vādhula Śrauta Sūtra* was recently discovered in Madras.

Of these the first and the fourth, namely *Baudhāyana Śulba Sūtra* and the *Kātyāyana Śulba Pariśiṣṭa*, were edited by Dr. Thibaut between 1875 and 1880 from about six MSS. in all in the *Puṇḍit* (O.S. Vols. 9 and 10. and New Series Vols. 1 and 4), with English Translation, Notes, Extracts from Commentaries and Diagrams. But his edition of the *Kātyāyana Śulba Pariśiṣṭa* was not complete.

The second, *Āpastamba Śulba Sūtra*, was edited (from only four manuscripts) by Dr. Albert Bürk in *Z.D.M.G.* in 1900–01, with German Translation, Notes, Extracts from three different Commentaries, Diagrams, and a very valuable and comprehensive introduction. An English edition of the *Āpastamba Śulba Sūtra* has been

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undertaken by the Calcutta University, and will be shortly published.

In 1861 a facsimile of the MS. No. 17 in the Library of "Her Majesty's Home Government of India," namely, *Mānava Kalpa Sūtram* with *Bhāṣya* by Kumārilaswāmī, was printed by Theodore Goldstucker, with a Preface on Indian Grammar, which has become classical. In 1900 Dr. Friedrich Knauer published from St. Petersburgh a supplementary edition of *Mānava Śrauta Sūtram.* But none of these contain any *Śulba Sūtra* proper.

Two MSS. of the text, one of which is with a commentary, have been recently acquired by the Calcutta University, and an English edition of the *Mānava Śulba Sūtram* is in the Press.

As is well known, the *Baudhāyana Śulba Sūtra* is divided into three chapters: (1) the first chapter enunciates the more important of the geometrical rules which are necessary in the construction of the "*Vedis*" and the "*Agnis*," defines certain measures and deals very briefly with the construction of the "*Vedis*"; (2) the second chapter deals with the rules for the relative positions of the three fundamental *Agnis* in *Nitya* Sacrifices; while (3) the third chapter gives very elaborate rules for the construction of not less than twelve different kinds of *Citis* for *Kāmya* Sacrifices.

The *Kātyāyana Śulba Pariśiṣṭa* is, as its name indicates, intended to be, and is really, an Appendix only, and gives very briefly some of the geometrical rules and some rules of construction also. One important thing in this *Śulba Pariśiṣṭa* is that it indicates a method of determining the "*Prācī*," the East-west line of Symmetry which is the back-bone of all sacrificial constructions, while *Baudhāyana* and *Āpastamba Śulba Sūtras* take it for granted.

The *Āpastamba Śulba Sūtra* is divided into six sections, sub-divided into twenty-one chapters in all. The first section or the first three chapters give, as in *Baudhāyana Śulba Sūtra*, the geometrical rules on which the construction of sacrificial *Vedis* and *Agnis* are based. The second section, or the chapters 4–7, give a brief account of some of the important *Vedis* and their construction, as also of the *Nitya Agnis* and their position. The remaining sections 3–6, chapters 8–21, deal only with the construction of a number of *Kāmya Agnis*, but the rules are, except in two cases, very brief and never as elaborate as those given in the *Baudhāyana Śulba Sūtra.* Dr. Bürk in his Introduction discusses, among others, three very important

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questions—(1) the relative ages of *Āpastamba* and *Baudhāyana Śulba Sūtras*, (2) the date of discovery in India of the Theorem of the Square on the Hypotenuse of a Right-angled Triangle, usually called Pythagorean Theorem, but which, according to Dr. Bürk, must be placed about a thousand years before Pythagoras was born, and (3) how the Theorem might have been discovered in its general form, and whether we have in the sacrificial constructions the necessary steps which might lead to this discovery.

In this connection I should like to emphasize one point. The growth of any science in India might be traced back to the daily necessities of that set of eminently practical people, the *Dvijas* of the liberal Vedic period. Thus the construction of the *Vedis* and the *Agnis* gave an impetus to the study of geometrical principles, as the performance of Sacrifices precisely according to prescribed times and occasions gave rise to the study of the Heavens and the development of Astronomy. In fact Āryabhaṭa says, "Time is infinite and undistinguishable, without beginning and without end, and one part of it can be distinguished from another only with the help of Planetary Motions"; thus planetary motions were studied in India as helping the division of time, and Āryabhaṭa names the section in which he describes planetary motion as "*Kāla-kriyā-pāda.*" But this has its advantages and disadvantages. So long as a science is studied only as subservient to practical needs, and not as a pure science, it cannot grow beyond a certain stage, as it cannot grow beyond the growth of the self-same practical needs which it serves, and it dies out as the nation loses vitality and as those needs disappear. This has been the case with India. The advantage is only this—that its history can be traced back to the needs which first gave life to it.

The *Mānava Śulba Sūtra* is divided into 7 sections—(1) The first gives the preliminaries—a description of the string and the gnomon (instruments of measurement), methods of determining the East-west Line, definition of certain measures of length, and a method of construction of a square without the help of a rational right-angled triangle. (2) Sections II–VI deal with the construction of various *Vedis* for different sacrifices—*Pāka-yajña, Darśa-pūrṇamāsa. Mārutī* and *Vārunī Vedis*, the *Pitreṣṭi Vedi* and the *Paśukī Vedi*, and a comprehensive account of the *Saumikī Vedi* for "*Agniṣṭoma*" sacrifice, with the auxiliary construction of "*Sadas*," "*Dhiṣṇyas*,"

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"*Havirdhāna*," etc. (3) Section VII gives some measures of gold for *Dakṣiṇā* purposes, and rules for the construction of the "*Suparṇa-Citi*," which is intended to be a model form.

Thus it will be seen that the *Śulba Sūtras* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-veda* are supplementary to one another. The *Vārāha Śulba Sūtra* is a short treatise dealing with the same subject. The *Vādhula Śrauta Sūtra* contains some of these rules scattered over the Text.

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DIFFICULT LABOUR AND ITS TREATMENT ACCORDING TO THE ANCIENT HINDU PHYSICIANS.

By Ekendranath Ghosh, M.Sc., M.D., F.R.M.S., etc.

General Introduction.

The management of women during the entire course of pregnancy and parturition did not escape the keen attention of the ancient Hindu physicians who were equally versed in manual and instrumental application for the conduction of labour in abnormal cases. Although the science and art of obstetrics did not form the subject of such a thorough and detailed study in comparison with the present day knowledge of the Western Obstetricians on a firm scientific basis, it cannot be denied that however empirical the old Āyurvedic system might have been, the long continued observations, the thorough experience thereby obtained and the common sense applications of the ancient Hindu medical practitioners are fully displayed in the methods enforced by them for the management of difficult (obstructed) labour. The concise way of dealing with the subject and the subsidiary importance attached to it are no doubt due to want of printing in those days, but also, to a certain extent at least, due to the fact that the practical application of obstetrics was of much less necessity in those ancient times than at present owing to the decided superiority of the women of the past in health.

The ætiology and varieties of difficult labour classified according to abnormal presentations and their management are dealt with in a few renowned Āyurvedic works now available. The foremost of these is *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (1) which seems to be the oldest and perhaps dates back to the sixth century B.C. Suśrut deals with the subject at length in the section on Aetiology (*Nidānasthānam*, Chapter VIII) and in the section on Therapeutics (*Cikitsāsthānam*, Chapter XV). The next comprehensive treatise is *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha* (2) by Bāgbhaṭ. The present subject is considered in the section on Anatomy (*Śārīrasthānam*, Chapter IV). Bāgbhaṭ has another treatise in a somewhat condensed form under the name of *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* (3) which deals with the present matter in the section on Anatomy (*Śārīrasthānam*, Chapter II). Bāgbhaṭ has practically reproduced all the teachings of Suśruta in a condensed

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form with a few additions and alterations. Of a much later date we have two other treatises, viz. *Mādhavanidāna* (4) by Mādhavkar (a book on Aetiology and Pathology of diseases, compiled from various authorities) and *Bhāvaprakāśa* (5) by Bhāvamiśra (a similar compilation work). Mādhava devotes the 76th chapter on the subject under the name of Aetiology of obstructed labour (*Mudha-garbha-nidāna*). A few verses of the chapter 78 (*Yonirogādhikāra*) of the first part of *Bhāvaprakāśa* are devoted for the purpose.

Aetiology of Obstructed Labour and Abnormal Presentation.

This matter receives a full consideration in (1) [sect. 1. chap 8]. The hypothesis, as set forth by Suśrut, is this: First, the ovum is detached from the uterine wall. Secondly, if the detached ovum, instead of dying, continues to develop in the uterus, it does not take a natural course during parturition (i.e. does not present normally) and remains impacted at the entrance of the parturient canal as it cannot be expulsed owing to the deranged *apānavāyu* (the deranged nerve force acting on the organs concerned in the function); it thus gives rise to an obstructed labour.

The various conditions which cause a detachment of the ovum are thus enumerated by Suśrut (para. 2): Sexual intercourse during pregnancy, riding in a carriage, or on horseback, travelling, a false step, a fall, pressure on the gravid uterus, running, a blow, sitting or lying on an uneven surface or in an unnatural posture, fasting, voluntary repression of any natural calling of the body, partaking of very astringent, pungent or bitter articles of food, eating too much green vegetables, or alkaline substances, (a very common habit in pregnant women is to chew burned earth in the form of thin prepared plates), dysentery, vomiting (or use of emetics), purgation, swinging, indigestion and induction of premature labour (or abortion).

The ovum thus severed and displaced from its seat is said to excite contractions of the uterine wall and also to induce spasmodic contraction of the intestinal cavities after causing pain in the region of the liver, spleen and in the intestinal canal. The "*apānavāyu*" thus obstructed through the spasmodic contraction of the abdomen is said to produce one of the symptoms, as noted below. Now so far as we can have the conception of "*apānavāyu*," it seems to

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correspond to the nerve impulses arising from the uterine wall and extending reflexly to the other abdominal viscera through the autonomous nerve cord and plexuses of the abdominal region. These reflex symptoms are spasmodic pains in the sides, in the neck of the bladder, in the pelvic cavity, in the abdomen generally or in the vagina, or distension of the abdomen with obstruction of the bowels or retention of urine. The contraction of the uterine wall destroys the immature fœtus by causing bleeding from the uterine cavity.

If the severed foetus, however, survives and continues to develop, it takes an abnormal course and presents at the entrance of the parturient canal. It is either impacted there or it cannot be expulsed as the deranged *apānavāyu* cannot help it to do so (i.e. the nerve impulses which help the expulsion of the foetus through the contractions of the uterine walls fail to do so).

Bāgbhaṭ (2, section on Anatomy, Chap. IV, paras. 82–83) expresses a similar view, but he seems to lay special stress on the action of deranged nerve force which pressing abnormally on the ovum (through the contractions of the uterine walls) gives rise to the innumerable varieties of the obstructed labour.

Mādhavakar mentions fear, any sort of external violence, eating or drinking of pungent or hot food as the causes of abortion which is attended with pain and bleeding. He also includes fever in the same category. He also adds that the obstructed labour is caused by the deranged *vāyu*.

This ancient Āyurvedic view of the secondary retention and further development of the foetus is parallelled by a similar theory of the Western Obstetricians in the causation of placenta previa, which is accompanied by an unusual frequency of abnormal presentations, especially transverse and breech forms. Thus Williams (*Obstetrics*, 1917, p. 885) says: " The older authorities believed that placenta previa was due to the separation from its attachment of a normally implanted ovum, which, falling to the lower portion of the uterus, contracted new connections just before escaping through the cervix " Of course the theory has now proved erroneous from well-based evidences. Williams again notes (p. 887): " As the placenta previa occupies the lower portion of the uterine cavity, it interferes with the accommodation of the foetal head and consequently abnormal presentations are unusually frequent, Müller having noted 272 transverse and 107 breech presentations in

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1148 cases." It is also interesting to note that the varieties of abnormal presentations mentioned by the ancient Āyurvedic physicians mostly fall under these two headings. Lastly the frequent occurrences of early uterine haemorrhage mentioned by the Āyurvedic physicians points to the fact that they must have dealt with placenta previa in most cases of obstructed labour, although they had evidently no idea of the nature of this serious condition.

Varieties of Obstructed Labour and Abnormal Presentation.

Both Suśrut (*Cikitsitasthānam*, Chap. XV, para. 2) and Bāgbhaṭ (2, *Śārīrasthānam*, Chap. IV, para. 83) consider that in short the obstruction of the foetus in the parturient canal is caused in three ways, known as *Garbhasaṅga*. Suśrut mentions them as caused by the head, shoulder or hips presenting in a wrong way and impacted in the passage. Bāgbhaṭ says of the three positions as upward, transverse and downward, hence his version is more logical than Suśrut's. According to Bāgbhaṭ the innumerable varieties of obstructed labour can be brought together under these three headings.

Suśrut mentions four abnormal presentations as recognized by the authorities of his days: They are *Kīlaḥ*, *Pratikhura*, *Bījaka* and *Parigha*. He himself recognizes eight varieties both in the section on aetiology and in the section on treatment. Bāgbhaṭ (2) also mentions eight positions of the foetus, although he noted that there are innumerable forms of obstructed labour. Bāgbhaṭ (3) further notes four forms under the name *Viṣkambha* and a fifth form with prolapse of vagina. Mādhavakar (4) enumerates twelve forms, his *Saṅkīlaka* being identical with *Kīla* of Suśrut. Bhāvamiśra (5) simply quotes the passages from *Mādhavanidāna*.

The various forms of abnormal presentations may be thus classified:—

(I) *Simple presentation*.—Only one member of the body presents at the passage.

(A) Cephalic presentation.

(*a*) Vertex presentation. This form is mentioned by all the authorities. The inclusion of vertex presentation (the most constant form in normal labour) in difficult and obstructed labour clearly shows that the cases of occipito-posterior presentation which do not terminate in normal labour must have attracted the attention of Hindu

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physicians. Further the obstructed labour due to a large head (hydrocephalus being the commonest cause) was also noticed by Mādhavakar and Bhāvamiśra.

(*b*) Face presentation is noted by Mādhavakar and Bhāvamiśra. It is quite probable that the brow presentation of the present day obstetricians was not differentiated from the face presentation in these ancient times.

(B) Breech presentation.

(*a*) Ordinary breech presentation. Suśrut mentions the form with the breech presenting rather obliquely, with the body flexed and thighs flexed up on the body. This corresponds to the *frank breech presentation* (Williams, p. 224). Bāgbhaṭ (2) mentions a frank breech presentation in which the *jaghana* (pubic region) descends first.

(*b*) Knee presentation (thigh presentation) is mentioned by Suśrut. He recognized two forms: one in which both the thighs descend first, the other in which one thigh presents, the other being flexed on the abdomen. The latter form is also noted by Bāgbhaṭ (3) as a variety of *Viṣkambha*.

(*c*) Footling presentation Bāgbhaṭ (2) considers the form in which one or both the feet may present. He also notices (3) one in which a single foot presents, the other foot being impacted in the passage (a form of *Viṣkambha*). Suśrut probably meant this form although he used the term *Sakthi* which ordinarily means thigh.

(C) Transverse presentation. Practically all the forms were recognized by the ancient Āyurvedic physicians. Suśrut and following him Mādhava and Bhāvamiśra used the term *Parigha* for the transverse presentation in general, when the foetus remains obstructing the entrance of the passage transversely like a bolt. Mādhava mentions still another form in which the flexed (*kubja*) body presents at the entrance. Another form is recognized by Suśrut as *Kīla* (*Saṅkīla* of Mādhava) in which the hands, legs and the head are turned upwards. This evidently points to a transverse presentation in the first and early second stage of labour when the foetus is undergoing a moulding "which results in the approximation of the head to the ventral surface of the child" (Williams, p. 867).

(*a*) Shoulder presentation. The shoulder presentation is mentioned by Suśrut (as one of the three types of *Garbhasaṅga*) and Bāgbhaṭ (2). Suśrut also mentions the neglected shoulder presentation in which one or both hands prolapse into the vagina. He

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recognized the position of the child in the first case (when one hand prolapses) as he notes that the head of the foetus is thrown upon the chest. He further mentions that the head is flexed on the chest when both the hands prolapse. Bāgbhaṭ (3) makes the mention of a shoulder presentation with one hand prolapsing into the vagina under the name of *Viṣkambha* (one of the four forms named by him). Both Suśrut and Bāgbhaṭ (3) deal with a form named *Pārśvāpavṛttaśiraṣ* and *Pārśvavṛttaśiras* respectively by them. The name literally means 'head displaced to the side.' It is undoubtedly a case of shoulder presentation.

(*b*) *Chest*, *back* and *side* presentations are all mentioned by Suśrut. *Kīla* (*Saṅkīlaka*) is perhaps a *back* presentation. He distinctly notes that either chest, side or back may present at the entrance of vagina. Mādhavakar also mentions that the back or the side (bent with the convexity downwards in either case) may also present.

(II) *Compound presentations* are carefully dealt with by all the authorities. The following forms were recognized :—

(*a*) Head presentation with one or both hands prolapsing. The presentation of the head with *one* hand is called *Bījaka* by Suśrut. The term is used by Mādhava and Bhāvamiśra for one with both the hands prolapsing at the sides of the head.

(*b*) Head presentation with two hands, and two legs. This form is called *Pratikhura* by Suśrut, Mādhavakar and Bhāvamiśra. Both Suśrut and Bāgbhaṭ (2) mention this form as one with the trunk doubled up and presenting by the hands, legs and the head ; he does not give any name. In the other treatise (3) Bāgbhaṭ seems to describe the same as a variety of *Viṣkambha*. Arundatta, in his commentary on *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, wanted to recognize this type of *Viṣkambha*, as sometimes presenting by head, sometimes by hands and sometimes by legs only. But the careful scrutinization of the text, as well as its comparison with the definition in *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha* do not allow such an inference.

Prognosis.

It has been made to depend upon the following considerations :—

(1) The condition of the mother. The following signs on the part of the mother are mentioned by Suśrut as sure indications of impending death of the mother : violent tossing of the head in agony, cold clammy surface of the body and network of large blue veins on the

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sides and front of the abdomen. Both Bāgbhaṭ (2) and Suśrut note that the cases with the following complications should be given up as hopeless. Those mentioned by Suśrut are abnormal sense-perceptions, convulsions, displacement of the uterus and vagina, contracted pelvis (narrowing of the pelvic cavity), a pain somewhat like the after-pain of delivery, respiratory trouble, cough and vertigo. Bāgbhaṭ (3) adds the following to them: cold skin, eructations of gases with a purulent odour. He notes that the death of the mother in an obstructed labour is brought about by breathlessness, the impacted foetus acting as a foreign body.

(2) The variety of obstructed labour. Suśrut considers the *Pratikhura* form and that in which one leg presents and the other leg remains impacted in the passage as irremediable, but Bāgbhaṭ (2) advises operative measures in both of them, if simple manipulations fail.

In this connection should be mentioned the following remarks of Bāgbhaṭ (2). If in any case the manual or instrumental measures, according to circumstances are not resorted to or are applied insufficiently or wrongly, the death of the mother is sure to occur or else an abdominal complication or stone formation will arise.

Lastly the death of the child in the womb may be ascertained, according to Suśrut by the absence of foetal movements, or of any labour pain, or by a yellowish or brownish complexion of the mother, cadaverous smell in the mother's breath, colic pain in the abdomen and its distension (peritonitis).

Treatment.

According to the methods adopted by the ancient Āyurvedic physicians, the treatment may be dealt with under the following headings:—

(1) Non-interference in cases considered hopeless owing to the condition of the mother or due to the particular form of abnormal presentation. This question has already been dealt with under Prognosis.

(2) The treatment of cases which are considered remediable. The treatment is properly resolved into three steps: (*a*) expectant treatment, (*b*) manual interference, and (*c*) application of instruments.

The expectant treatment consists in the recitation of sacred

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verses (*mantras*) in the hearing of the mother. Such a procedure is mentioned both by Suśrut and Bāgbhaṭ (2). Suśrut advises employment of proper and useful medical remedies at the same time. He further states that the recourse to this sort of treatment should be reserved for cases in which the preliminary attempts at effecting the parturition had failed. Bāgbhaṭ (2) distinctly mentions that according to some authorities the common procedure is to incise the foetal membranes, while according to others the proper course is to try the sacred verses. But in the other work (3) he advises the application of medicine repeatedly in the vaginal canal, utterances of sacred verses and prescribing of medicine for the coming out of the foetal membranes; he then recommends manual interference if the above measures fail. In this connection Suśrut urges that every care should be taken and no pains spared to deliver the child *alive*, if not already dead in the womb.

In the case of failure in expectant treatment both Suśrut and Bāgbhaṭ advise manual interference. Both of them note that the king should be informed and all manipulations done with the greatest care and coolness, and in the presence of an expert (specialist). In *Bhāvaprakāśa* we find the mention of female attendants (nurse) for the purpose. If the foetus is dead in the womb, it should be at once removed from the uterus by manual application. It is an important point to note that although Suśrut distinctly mentions the death of the foetus in the womb as the indication for manual interference, it is distinctly understood from the later passages that the same measures are equally applicable in case of the child still alive in the womb.

The various methods of manipulations (including operative measures) are thus cited by Suśrut and Bāgbhaṭ :—

(1) The lifting or upward displacement of the foetus (*Utkarṣaṇam*).

(2) The bringing down of the foetus by traction (*Apakarṣaṇam*).

(3) Cephalic version (*Sthānāpavartanam*). This rendering is made according to the notes of Dallan (the well-known commentator of Suśrut). Others think this manoeuvre a version in general.

(4) Podalic version (*Utkartanam*). So far as we understand from the description it stands for *internal podalic version*.

(5) Incision into the body of the foetus (*Bhedan*). This procedure was adopted in craniotomy and embryotomy, both practised by the ancient physicians.

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(6) Cutting away of a portion of the body of the foetus (*Chedanam*). This was practised in ancient times for shoulder presentations and others of compound variety.

(7) Pressure (*Pīḍanam*). This no doubt means pressure upon the presenting part from below. It is difficult to say definitely whether this may mean pressure from outside upon the gravid uterus but its place in the category tends to direct to the former conclusion.

(8) Straightening out (*Ṛjukaraṇam*) or extending out the flexed members of the foetal body.

(9) Opening into the abdominal cavity (*Vidāraṇam*). This corresponds to the procedure k.a. Caesarean Section. That such an operation is meant here is suggested by the following passages of Bāgbhaṭ (2). He there notes that all the operations just mentioned should be performed without doing any injury and by proper feel, as the same are to be performed in the vaginal canal, and about the liver, spleen, uterus, intestines and other organs. He further mentions that in case of a bad or insufficient operation an abdominal complication or the formation of stone may result if the mother at all survives the operation.

The Technic of Manual Delivery.

The patient is made to lie on her back with the thighs flexed and with a pillow under the loins in order to raise the buttocks. The hand is smeared with a preparation of earth, clarified butter and compressed juices of some plants (which we need not mention) (Bāgbhaṭ, 2) or simply with the mucilaginous juice of *Śālmalī* plant (Bāgbhaṭ, 3) and is introduced into the vagina. Bāgbhaṭ (3) also recommends the same juice to be applied into the parturient canal. The foetus is then delivered by the hand.

Bāgbhaṭ (3) notes that if the foetus is placed abnormally in the womb owing to its length, upward pressure, general pressure from the sides and displacement, upward or otherwise, it should be brought to a favourable position, and when found presenting in the parturient canal in a natural way, it should be drawn down by the hand.

Special technics in the various forms :—

(1) In the case of both legs (or thighs) presenting, the parts should be drawn downwards, and according to Bāgbhaṭ, after putting it in a favourable posture.

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(2) In the case of a single leg presenting, the thigh of the other leg is to be extended and brought down before delivering the child.

(3) In the case of a breech presentation the buttocks are pressed and displaced upwards, the legs extended and the foetus pulled down by the legs.

(4) In the case of a transverse presentation, the lower half of the body should be pressed upwards and the upper half brought down straight into the parturient canal. This corresponds to the *internal cephalic* version. Although some of the modern authorities still recommend external or bipolar version, the *cephalic version* is rarely employed now (Williams, p. 460–1).

(5) In the case of a shoulder presentation the shoulder should be pushed and displaced upward and the head brought down into the parturient canal.

(6) In the case of a *neglected shoulder presentation* with both hands prolapsing into the vagina, the shoulder is to be pressed up and head drawn down into the passage and the child is delivered.

Destructive operative measures are recommended by Suśrut when (1) the foetus is dead, and (2) when the above manipulations have failed. Both Suśrut and Bāgbhaṭ prohibit the destructive operations if the foetus could be detected alive in the womb as they think that such a procedure will end in the death of both the mother and the foetus of course. In this connection it should be mentioned that the modern Western authorities are also very reserved in this matter Thus Williams notes (p. 501) : "If the child is alive, the operation is justifiable only in very exceptional cases; indeed, Pinard and some others go so far as to hold that, in view of the satisfactory results obtained from pubiotomy and Caesarean Section, it should never be performed." Williams however recommends the operation only when the condition of the mother does not allow any operative interference in her own body.

Technic.—(1) In the case of *head* and *face presentation*, the operator perforates the head with the *Maṇḍalāgraṃ Yaṇtram* (an instrument with a circular cutting edge) or *Aṅgulī Śastram*, (a similar instrument with the edge shaped like the tip of a finger) and removes the chips of the skull bones. He then draws the foetus by means of a *saṅku* (a pair of forceps) applied on the chin, palate, chest or the shoulder. In case the head is not perforated and smashed, he applies the forceps into the orbits or on the cheek. The

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procedure then corresponds to the craniotomy of the modern obstetrics.

(2) In the case of the prolapse of the hands in an impacted shoulder presentation, the hands are severed from the body at the shoulder and the foetus is drawn down.

(3) If the distended abdomen of the foetus resists its delivery, the abdomen is to be incised and the intestines removed in order to allow the foetus lie loose in the cavity. The foetus is then drawn down. This corresponds to *evisceration* of modern obstetrics.

(4) In the case of a breech presentation the iliac bones are cut away and removed in order to deliver the child.

Both Suśrut and Bāgbhaṭ prohibit the use of a sharp-pointed intrument for fear of injuring the mother.

After the operative measures are finished, both Suśrut and Bāgbhaṭ recommend a careful after-treatment for a few months.

Lastly, both Suśrut and Bāgbhaṭ consider the question of removal of the living foetus from the womb by abdominal section (Caesarean Section). The indication of such a procedure is stated to be the death of the mother during labour at full term. The child of course is to be removed immediately after her death. In this connection it should be noted that such a meaning has been set forth by Dallan and Arundatta. The abdominal section of a dead mother does not require any skill on the part of the surgeon. But if the verse is rendered in another way and be made to mean a mother with her life in great risk (as the term *vipannā* used, can equally convey this latter sense) instead of having just expired, we can easily conceive that a Caesarean Section might have been performed even on the living mother. This point has been discussed at some length in the English translation of *Suśrut Saṃhitā* (Vol. II, pp. 58–59), by Kavraj K. L. Bhiṣagratna.

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YEMEN IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

By A. S. Tritton.

When the Turks conquered Egypt they became nominally lords of the Egyptian possessions in Arabia. They tried to make this lordship real and in spite of many rebellions they had succeeded, to all appearance, in conquering and pacifying Yemen by the beginning of the 17th century. But another revolt broke out at once and ended some forty years later in the expulsion of the Turks and in the establishment of a descendant of al Hadi ila-'l Ḥaqq Yahya as *imam* in Sanaa. The story of this revival is told in several books both from the Arab and the Turkish point of view.

It is a little curious that the Arab historians never refer to the *imam* as a Zaidi; he is always a Muslim while the Turks and their friends are the hosts of evil. In many districts the people were Shafe'i while the presence of Zaidis is noted as worthy of remark. In the north at Najran were Ismailis who were bitter opponents of the *imam*; they had a settlement also not far from Hodeida. We hear of an Indian who had settled in Yemen and married there and also, as it seems, of *bannias*. To-day the Jews are numerous and except in one or two villages never carry arms. If an Arab chances to kill one he is ashamed of it. It is the more curious to find Jews, armed with slings, fighting for the *imam*. His supporters consisted of the retainers of himself and the chiefs who followed him and of a militia formed by the tribes. Every tribesman is a soldier. But this militia was an uncertain quantity; depending altogether on the success of the moment. As a Turkish commander said: They are fickle and will not endure the stress of a long campaign.

Religion may be called enthusiastic. Two or three times men put themselves forward as *mahdi*; but quite on traditional lines. Saints were held in high reverence and the tombs of many became places of pilgrimage. The *imam* visited the tombs of his ancestors. In one case a tomb became a rest house where coffee was served to all comers. Such was the importance of these relics that a man was not always suffered to rest in his grave but was moved to some more convenient site. Qasim, who led the rebellion,

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forbad any building to be put over his grave but his wishes were disregarded.

In some ways Islam had only a slight hold on the people, or rather certain practices of the Time of Ignorance persisted. In one district it was still the custom in Rejeb to offer sacrifices called عتيرة. In another a tree formed by two or three growing into one was held sacred. Sacrifices were offered to it and a voice was heard to speak from out its branches. The *imam* stopped these sacrifices and cut down the tree. There is said to be a tree near Aden to which sacrifices of food are still offered. Belief in spirits was universal. A man was carried off to the king of the *jinn* because he had trodden on one of them. It is reported that three times men sacrificed a horse to obtain a request from one who could help them.

Many local institutions were not in accord with the law of Islam. In one district a woman was not allowed to inherit all her father's property but could only take one-tenth. On the death of a wife—presumably without children—the *mahr* returned to her family; the husband had no share in it. Elsewhere the sacred law decided criminal cases but not those of inheritance. In some cases Islam was little more than a name. In Faifa (in the north of Yemen) certain tribes belonged to no sect of Islam and were like cattle They neither prayed nor fasted nor gave alms nor went on pilgrimage nor studied the *Quran:* in fact they were heathen though they called themselves Muslims. They knew not the sacred law for they had no teacher. They had no marriage rite. If a man was enamoured of a woman he followed her wherever she went and sought to win her favour. If he succeeded he approached her family and, if they were agreeable, he lived with her till she was with child when the marriage price was fixed. Should a guest come among them they showed him great honour and provided a woman to share his couch; it was immaterial to them if she were virgin or married. There was much need for some one to teach the people the truths of Islam. The *imam* took his duties seriously. One divine was commissioned to travel through the land teaching the prayers to women and other ignorant people. This man was also given extraordinary judicial powers. When one of the Turkish captains came over to the *imam* and was given a command, a divine was appointed on his staff to instruct him in the true faith.

All the *imam's* doings did not meet with such approval. A harlot

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who had been touring the country was arrested and sentenced to death. A pit was dug, the woman was thrown into it and the *imam* himself threw the first stone. As no one else would aim straight he had to order a servant to finish her with his sword. One is reminded of an Arab of later date who growled: The Turks are an infliction from Allah, but the *imam* is worse. The *imam* was a forerunner of the Wahhabis in his hatred of tobacco. In one town the stocks of it were burnt in the street and its sale forbidden.

Some of the traditions of the prophet quoted by the historians are interesting. Some have not been found in any collection; though the search was rather perfunctory. Here are some relating to the prophet's family.

My family are the leaders in the path of peace.

My children are wiser than other men, small or great; learn of them, teach them not; set them in front, go not before them.

Whoso hears the people of the prophet's house and loves them not, God will throw him on his face in hell.

That one of my children who orders the right and forbids the wrong is the representative on earth of God, the book and the prophet.

My family is like Noah's ark. As those who entered it were saved and those who did not perished; so those who love my family will be saved and those who do not will perish.

The call to prayer contains the Shiite addition: Come to the best of work. Prayers to accompany the various acts of ablution are given and differ widely from those quoted by Hughes in the *Dictionary of Islam.*

In Zaidi doctrine the *imam* was that member of the family of the prophet who was most fitted to rule. Consequently when Qasim, the first of the new line died, a successor had to be chosen and there is a long account of his election. The leading men met and decided that Qasim's son Muhammad was best adapted to the post and waited on him to tell him so. At first he declined the honour, protested that there were better men and finally accepted. He was loyally supported by three of his brothers who served as commanders in the field and deserved well of their country. The Zaidis apparently represent the genuine Arab attitude towards sovereignty —inheritance tempered by common-sense.

If the Arabs as a whole were lukewarm in their allegiance some

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were very devoted and prepared to believe anything of their *imam*. He cursed one who insulted him and the man was pleased soon after to die. Some merchants refused to lend him money and on their way down to the coast went blind. All sorts of marvels happened to help his followers in times of distress.

These chiefs maintained the traditions of their line by industrious authorship. They were not fanatical; Qasim received from a Shafe'i doctor a diploma for having studied the six books of traditions. He composed several books on legal questions and manuscripts of some are in the British Museum.

Though these historians usually write respectable Arabic their vocabulary has a few peculiarities. A few examples may be given.

belonging to	حقّ	to bite	اكل
dungeon	مدفن	blowing of trumpets	ضرب الا رياح
south (towards Aden)	عدنى	vineyards (as in Sabuean)	عذب
scurvy	كربل	leg between knee and ankle	قواريع

Near Aden ذبح is still used in the presumably original sense of "cut the throat."

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HISTORY OF SUFISM.

By M. A. SHUSHTERY.

To know the soul and culture of a nation, we shoud not be satisfied with its latest developments but should penetrate deep, go back to the historical beginnings, and trace the germs of their thought to their earliest manifestation. Persian Sufism emerges from the sacred *Avesta*, and receiving streams of thoughts from East and West it ultimately flows into the great ocean of the common Mysticism of the world. In its origin, it is Persian or Indo-Persian. The cultures of Persia and India throw light on each other of their close connection as Mr. Bloomfield says: "The religious history of India does not begin at the time when the *Veda*, the earliest literature of India was composed, but that it begins much earlier." In the first place, it shares a fairly clear common life with the ancient religion of Iran in a prehistoric time, the so-called Indo-Iranian or Aryan period. The reconstruction of these common religious characteristics is purely prehistoric, based upon the purely evident relationship between the Hindu *Veda* and the Persian *Avesta* the most ancient sacred books of the two peoples. No student of either religion questions that they drew largely from a common source, and therefore mutually illumine eath other. The languages of the Hindu *Veda* and the Persian *Avesta* are mere dialects of the same speech. Entire passages of the *Avesta* may be turned into good Vedic merely by applying certain regular sound changes, for example :—

Av.—*Mat Vao Padaish Ya frasruta izha Yas.*
Ved.—*Mana Vah Padaih Yaḥ Praśruta Iha Yaḥ.*
Av.—*Pairijasai Muzda Ustana Zasto.*
Ved.—*Parigacchai Medha Uttāna-Hastaḥ.*
Av.—*At Vao Asha aredrahya ca nemangha.*
Ved.—*Yat Va rtena radhrasya ca namasa.* (*Age of the Avesta* by W. Geiger.)

As the language of *Avesta* and *Veda* is identical, so several, if not all, of Vedic deities are similar, even the legendary kings and seers of Persia and India in far distant ages were the same. Among those may be mentioned :—

Sūrya or Persian Hvare or Mithra, the most concrete of the solar

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deities—all-seeing, the eye of the gods, and spy of the whole world beholding all being and their good and bad deeds.

Persian Mithraism or a phase of Zoroastrianism penetrated into the Roman World and spread rapidly all over the Balkhan Peninsula, Italy, the Rhine lands, Britain, Spain and Latin Africa. Altars were set up and temples were built to celebrate the Persian Divinity Mithra. Professor Franz Cumont says: "It was an austere religion, inculcating self restraint, courage and honesty." It secured place of conscience through forgiveness of sins. Mithra or sun worship was so much appealing to the European mind that in Ernest Renons words, "if the European world had not been Christianised, it would have been Mithraised."

Indra is another Indo-Iranian deity whose name and rank somewhat changed after the separation of Hindus from Persians. In the *Avesta* his part is taken sometime by Mithra, as in *Yt.* X.—When Mithra thither drives against the terrible hostile armies, against those thus gathered together for fight in the battle of the countries, then he binds, the arms of the betrayers of Mithra to their backs. "*Vazram Zastaya drazhemno satafshtanem Sato darem fravaeghem viro nyaonchem Zaroish ayagho frahikhtem amavato Zaranyehe amavestemem Zaenam Verethra Vastemem Zaenam,*" i.e. he bears *vazra* or a club in his hand, with a hundred knobs, and a hundred edges, that sweeps downwards crushing men, cast out of yellow brass, out of solid gold-coloured (brass) which is the most powerful, and most victorious of weapons. And some time Indra has become a fire god as an opponent of Azhi or Vedic Ahi, the great serpent. In *Shahnama* of Firdousi, Faridun or Thraitaona, son of Aptya, or Athuya, which corresponds exactly with the Vedic Āptya, is the conqueror of the great serpent Azhi, which had three mouths, three heads, six eyes, a thousand limbs, whom he attacked with his club, and imprisoned him at the summit of the highest mountain Demavand in Persia, a point showing his supernatural character.

Soma or avestic *Hoama*:—According to *Avesta* and *Vedas* it has been supposed to be a plant dwelling or growing on the mountains, its origin is in heaven, brought down on earth by *Śyena* or eagle, it has been called the king of plants, medicine bestowing long life, and removing death, it has become a god, both in Persia and India, and according to tradition, in ancient time, this sap was pressed and mixed with milk, and the celestial *Soma* was distinguished from the

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terrestrial, and the god from the beverage. (This plant grows now in Koria and Manchuria and in some parts of the Himalayan Tibet.)

Varuṇa has no exact equivalent in *Avesta*, except in his moral character. Ahura Mazda can be looked upon as a development of Vedic Varuṇa but the moral character of Ahura became far more prominent in the *Avesta*, as Indra and some other minor gods of the Indo-Iranian period gradually been elevated to a very high position in India.

Agni.—In *Avesta* Atarsh or Agni some time called Ahurahemazdao Puthrem, i.e. son of Ahura Mazda, and when it is named with Vahumano or good mind and Asha-vahishta or the best holiness it has been personified as an opponent of Azhi or Vedic Ahi, as in *Yt.* XI.

This blissful spirit sent out as messengers Vahu Mano and Asha Vahishta, and fire, the son of Ahura Mazda. But the evil spirit sent forth as messengers Akem-Mano, and Aeshma with bloody lances, and Azi Dhaka, and Spityura who sawed to pieces Yima.

Narāśaṃsa or Avestic Narya Samha, also a fire god and a Messenger of Ahura just as Agni is the messenger of god in *Vedas*. In *Avesta* Narya Samha is the companion of Mithra, he bears a *vazra* or club.

Other Hindu-Persian gods are—

Vedic Aryaman.	Avesta Aryaman.
Vāta.	Vata—Wind.
Uṣas.	Ushanh—Dawn.
Bhaga.	Bhaga.
Mas.	Maonha, who is also (moon).

Gaochithra, i.e. containing the seed of cattle, by which her influence upon the increase of herds is indicated, and Tistrya, the rain-star. In *Avesta* there are abstract ideas as names of spiritual beings such as Asha-vahishta, the best holiness, Vahu-mano, the good mind, Kshathra Vairya, the desirable sovereignty, Spenta-armaiti, humble sense or earth, the same is in *Vedas* as Aramati, Amertata, immortality, Harvatat, happiness or health, Daena, the holy doctrine or duty, Mathra spenta, the holy word, Rashnu, genius of justice, also called Ashavan, the holy Razishta, the just, Vaidhishta the knowing Durae-darshtema for far-seeing.

Verthraghna or Vedic Vṛtrahan, is chiefly invoked in battles. Druvasppa or geush, urvan, the soul of the bull is also praised in

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Avesta. Amongst evil spirits are Angro-Manyu or evil mind, Saru, Tyrant, Naoghatya, opposite to Aramati, Zarija and Taru, thirst and hunger, Aishma (anger) Apsosha, who keeps back the rain, Bushyasta who succeeds men in the morning to sleep.

Among legendary kings, who sometime are taken as gods, is Yima, son of Vivanghat, or Vedic, Yama, the son of Vivasvat. The difference in the destiny of Yima in Iran and Yama of India was that, in India, he becomes a god of death, and in Persia, he is killed by Azhi, the great serpent. Sama, Trita, Kriṣaspa and some other names are mentioned both in *Vedas* and *Avesta*.

There are also such words common to both sacred books, which show that the form of worship, sacrifice, and names of priestly class were the same amongst Vedic Hindus and Avestic Persians, such as: Vedic *namas*, Avestic *Nemanh*; Vedic *Yaj*, Avestic *Yaz*; Vedic *Asu*, Avestic *Anhu*; Vedic *Pra-vac*, Avestic *Fravac*; Ved. *Saṃkar*, Av. *Hankar*; Ved. *Hotra*, Av. *Zaothra*; Ved. *Prabhṛti*, Av. *Fravereti*; Ved. *Apri*, Av. *Afri*; Ved. *Stu*, *stuti*, *stotar*, *stoma*, Av. *Stu*, *stuti*, *staotar*, *staoma*; Ved. *Praśasti*, Av. *Frasasti*; Ved. *Ga Gatha*, Av. *Ga Gatha*; Ved. *Mantra*, Av. *Mathra*; Ved. *Atharvan*, Av. *Atharvan*; Ved. *Hotar*, Av. *Zaotor*; amongst sacred rivers Sarasvatī—Har aw Hveti, Sapta Sindhavas, Hapta-Hindavo, etc.

The main foundations of the religions and myths of Indo-Iranian, as Professor Á. Kuhn remarks in his *uber ent weilung stufen* lies in the portrayal of the struggle between the powers of light and darkness, and the final victory of light over darkness. The same thought is continued in Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, and even Sufism. You may distinguish between light and darkness, or existence and non-existence, being andnon-being, Jalal and Jamal or anything else but the main idea is the same, only the expression is different. In the beginning the idea is simple, and even rough. It is only gradually, it gathers elaborate expression and refinement. For example in ancient times, offerings were made to gods in the shape of *ghee* and *annum*, which were supposed to be dearest, and so given to gods to purchase their favour. Gradually the devotees came to attach greater importance to animals and they were substituted for *ghee* and rice. At a still higher stage it was their own children and then it came to be thought that self-immolation was a better form of sacrifice. The last stage is reached when it comes to be recognized that the sacrifice of a man's individuality, the merging of his self

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in the divine self, the *Nirvāna*, is the highest and noblest form of sacrifice.

This is the great lesson taught by the Indian *Vedānta* and Persian Sufism alike. Give up yourself to God, your egotism, your desires.

In the beginning of Indo-Iranian civilization the Persians believed in numerous deities who were supposed to be helping them in various ways. Zorastor made an improvement and brought them under two distinct heads. He said, there are two spirits, one for the good of humanity and another for evil. Both of them possess creative power. Ahuramozda is light of life, and creates all that is pure, good, law, order and truth. Angra-manyu or the evil spirit is darkness, creates impurity, disorder, death and all that is evil in the world. The history of the conflict of good and evil, being and non-being is the history of the Iranian religion. In the middle of battle field is man; his soul is the object of war. Ahuramozda created man free in his determination and his actions, so he is accessible to the influence of the evil powers. This freedom of will is clearly expressed in *Avesta*. A man by a true confession of faith, by keeping in himself good thought, good words and good deeds, by keeping pure his body and his soul, impairs the power of evil-spirit or comes out of darkness or as a Sufi says, is absorbed in goodness or God.

Having freedom of will, he is responsible for his deeds. The lot assigned to him after death is the result of what he has done in his life upon earth.

No ancient religion had so clearly grasped the effect of guilt and of merit on the works of man in their earthly life, a strict reckoning will be made in heaven. All his good thoughts, words and deeds are entered in the book of life to his credit, and evil works to his debit. Wicked actions cannot be undone, but can be counterbalanced by a surplus of good deeds. Man belongs to the spiritual world, he shall enter into it, the corporal world is only the transitory scene of his activity, his struggles and trials.

From the above, one can understand the close connection or similarity between the religious ideas of India, and those of Persia. In Dr. Mhill's words: "if we compare the ancient religion and philosophy of India with that of Persia, we have to admit not only what may be called an underlying community of language, but an historical connection between the ancestors of Indian and Persians, that lasted long after the other Aryan nations had been finally

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separated." In fact there was no separation between India and Persia, as after the early Vedic and Avestic period, during Achemanian dynasty, we find Iranians and Hindus living together as neighbours. The Punjab being under Persia, the rest of north and even Central India was in close touch with that nation. The Hindus marched with the Persians under Xerxes to Europe, and fought with the Greeks. Buddha was not long before Cyrus the Great, who amongst Persians, is not only a just king and a great conqueror, but also a reformer and a law-giver. In the *Vedas* his name is mentioned as Suṣravas and in *Avesta* Husravah. He was not only admired and respected in his native land, but his knowledge and fame spread far and wide amongst the Jews, Egyptians and Greeks. Xenophon, the disciple of Socrates and famous leader of ten thousand Greeks, drew from Cyrus his belief in the immortality of the soul, which from this time onwards was one of the chief subjects of philosophic speculation. Cicero in a well-known passage repeats and amplifies the account which Xenophon gives in his cyropaedia of the dying words of Cyrus thus—" Do not think, my very dear children that when I quit you, I shall no longer be in existence. So long as I was with you, you never saw my soul, but you realized from my actions that it dwelt in this body. Believe then, it will still exist, even if you see nothing of it. Honours would not continue to be paid to great men after death, did not their souls assist us to maintain their memory in freshness. I have never been able to persuade myself that they could live whilst they are enclosed in mortal bodies and die when they issue from them; nor that it could become dull at the moment it leaves the dull body. I believe that when it has freed itself from all contact with the body and has begun to exist in purity and perfection, then it becomes wise. Further, when the frame-work of humanity is broken up in death, we see clearly whither each of its parts speed away, for all go to the elements from which they have sprung, the soul alone is not seen by us either whilst it is with us or when it departs. Lastly nothing resembles death so clearly as sleep. But men's souls, whilst they themselves sleep, clearly reveal their divine nature for their being set free from their prison house. They often foresee things to come. From this we may gather what their properties will be, when they have utterly freed themselves from the fetters of the body."

Some Western authors claim that the philosophy (as well as every-

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thing else) was imported into oriental countries like Persia and India, from the West, they go so far as to say that the *Vedānta* and the *Sufee* teachings were, also borrowed or partly taken from Greek philosophy and New-Platonism. Those who in this way ignore the patent fact that without exception, all great teachers of religion were Asiatics, such as Christ, Zoraster, Buddha, Kṛṣṇa, Mohamed, Confucious and others; and philosophy is closely connected with the religion. By this I do not mean that there were no great thinkers in Europe. There were, but most of them obtained their ideas from the east, and they gave back to us the same ideas. Socrates was a great admirer of the Iranian religion and a defender of all the main articles of that faith, and Xenophon translated this idea into action, and joined the ten thousand Greeks in a vain effort to reestablish the strength of Persia. He did not even hesitate to engage in war against his brethren. To him Cyrus was a greater hero than any Homeric warrior or a Greek sage.

Babylon, Assyria, Chaldoea and Egypt were great centres of learning, from where Greeks obtained many ideas, and after adding, polishing, refining, organizing and putting them into systematic and eloquent language they taught the Roman, not oriental but the Greek Philosophy.

If Babylon and Egypt exercised some influence on Iranian religion and literature, the same happened in India, by Dravidians and Scythians, with whom Hindu Aryans came in contact. Most probably idol worship was taken from the aborigines of India, as the Iranians adopted from Babylonian, Egyptian and Greeks. Artaxerxes was an ardent devotee of the goddess Anahita and he showed his zeal by introducing into all the chief cities of the empire the image of his patroness. Another god was Mithra, who was also honoured with a statue and a temple and for the coronation ceremonies king had to go there. Artaxerxes was supposed to be the first Achemanian king who invoked Mithra to be his protector. There were two other gods, one Vahu-mano and other Amartata whose shrines were built. The image of Vahu-mano, was of wood, and was borne in procession on certain occasions. Still amongst these corruptions supremacy of Ahura Mozda was from the first to the last admitted.

The main feature of the religion during the Achamenian period was the acknowledgment of Ahura Mozda, as the giver of heaven and earth. In all inscriptions, at least more than two lines in

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length, is said praise of Ahura Mozda. However there is also an acknowledgment of other gods, as for instance, an inscription by Xerxes says, *Mana Kartam Ida Uta maiya apataram kartam ava visma vashna ahuramaz daha akunavam mam ahuromozda paduva hada bagaibish uta maiya kshathram uta tya maiya kartam.* The Persian favourite victim at that time for sacrifice was *asva* or horse. Human sacrifice seems to have been unknown to them. One department of priestly function certainly was the treatment and healing of diseases, which later on was taken as an especial subject by *Sufi Darveshis* of Iran and wandering *Yogis* of India.

As Cyrus opened the gates of Europe to Asiatics, and of Asia to Europeans, so did Alexander, even on a larger scale, by conquering the Achemenian Empire,—with him came a large number of Macedonian and Greek seekers of wealth, pleasures and knowledge who went back to their country loaded with their desired objects. No doubt they also taught many things to Persians and to a less extent to Hindus.

The conquest of North-Western part of India, by Achemanian kings must have induced numerous Hindus, Brāhmaṇs as well as merchants to settle in certain parts of Persia, especially Seistan, just as somewhat later the Kushan Kingdom attracted them to Bactria and as in our own time English conquest of Mesopotamia or military occupation of a part of Persia has attracted so many Hindus to settle there. In fact at present the chief Bazar of Basra is more Indian than Arabian. And such intercourse naturally leads to the exchange of religious ideas.

Alexander left Persia torn to pieces, but within about a century after his death, the Persian movement took place led by a chief named Arsak, whom some Persian historians take as descendent of the Achemanian. It was a national rising, and the result was the foundation of the famous Arsakedian dynasty of Persia, from 248 B.C. to 226 A.D., whose relation with India was still closer than Achemanian period. Simultaneously with the ascendency of the Parthian, whom most of western historians have taken as Sakas or a race of hardy horsemen, probably Mongolian, India also was invaded by them. While the main branch of them occupied North Eastern part of Persia known as Khurasan, another branch migrated and settled in Seistan, and a third party penetrated Indian passes and deposited settlement at Taxila in the Panjab. Another section about the close

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of first century A.D. occupied the peninsula of Surāṣṭra or Kathiawad, and founded a Saka dynasty which lasted about 390 A.D. This movement of Sakas was closely connected with the Parthian or Persian power under the Arsakedian. King Mithradates I (171/136 B.C.) annexed to his dominion the territory between Indus and Jihlem River. The chief of Taxila and Mathura assumed purely Persian title of Satrap or Kṣatrpan. The close relation of Persia and west India demonstrated at this period by the appearance of a long line of princes of Parthian origin, one of which ruled in Seistan and other governed the Western Punjab. Towards the close of the first century the Punjab was annexed by the Kuṣan and Kaniṣka of the same dynasty whose capital was Puruṣapura or Peshawar, penetrated into the interior, attacked the ancient Imperial City of Pātaliputra. In his latter days he became a fervent Buddhist, and erected a great relic tower, one of the wonders of the world. In the west he advanced as far as Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotian, and thus Buddhist philosophy was introduced to the land of Zaroastrianism. Kaniṣka was followed by Haviṣka, and he by Vāsudeva, a pure Hindu, which proves that Kuṣān kings were no more foreigners to India. After Vāṣudeva, Kuṣān power declined and broke up into fragments, only Kabul was retained and continued to be a considerable power until the 5th century A.D. During the Parthian rule, which lasted in Persia for about five hundred years, Buddhism was predominant in the North East, some part of the west and north under the influence of the Greek thought, and remained faithful to their Zorastrian creed. In the second half of the third century a new rising took place, which was national as well as religious. It was mainly against the Parthian rule and Greek thought—its leader and hero was one Artakṣatra Papakan, who was a native of Fars, a great believer in Zorastrianism. He defeated and killed the last Parthian king Artabanas, and became the founder of the great Sasanian dynasty, which ruled in Persia for over four centuries and not only reasserted the Persian supremacy over the peoples of Central Asia, but even made itself a strong barrier against constant invasion of the Romans and the Christian religion towards the East.

Taught by the misfortunes and fall of their predecessors owing to their inclination towards the western civilization, they hated Greek and Roman manners, literature and philosophy. They restored and reformed the national faith, the religion of Zoraster, and cherished

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old tradition. They did not follow their predecessors, the Parthians, to the study of Greek, but they collected and translated the masterpieces of ancient Persian sacred books and Hindu literature. Although we must admit that towards the latter part of their history, i.e. during the reign of Khusraes I known as Ahoshrawn, Greek Philosophy also was translated into Pahlavi.

Ardasher was succeeded by Shahpur who followed his father's policy and forbade the use of the Greek letters not only in Persia but even in Armenia, and promised to make one Mehregan its king if he would bring it to the worship of Ahurmazda. During his reign Mani, the Buddha of Persia, appeared and proclaimed himself a new law-giver and reformer. His teaching for a long time exercised a great influence both in the west and in the east. Like Zoroastrianism, Manisn or Manichaen system is based upon the idea of the eternal contrast between good and evil, light and darkness. According to his belief the duty of man is to make himself pure, by extracting from the world that which is good, while the aim of the Zoroastrians is to banish the evil from the world. Mani represented Buddha as the communicator of a divine revelation, and his teaching has more in common with Buddhism than with Zoroastrianism. His ethics is not merely negative, since it is necessary to cherish, strengthen, and purify the elements of light, as well as free oneself from the elements of darkness. The aim is not self-destruction but self-preservation, and yet his ethics in point of fact appears as thoroughly ascetic. The Manichaen had above all to refrain from sensual enjoyment (of course those who as in Buddhism were *vānaprastha* or as they were called elect in Persia), refrained from all kinds of animal food, wine, etc., vegetable diet alone being allowed because plants contain more light. But unnecessary killing of plants, or even plucking their fruit and breaking their twigs was not permitted, as well as all impure speech. As asceticism could not be practised by all, so there were two divisions, of *vānaprastha* or the elect and *grhastha* or the ordinary people. The elect class submitted themselves to all the demands made by the religion, and for others the stringency of the precept was relaxed.

Mani was a high born Persian of Hamadan or Ecbatana. Born about 215 A.D. he received a good education, and proclaimed his religion when he was about 25 or 30 years old. For the purpose of spreading his religion, he undertook long journeys into Trans-

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oxiana, Western China and southward to India. In 276/7 he was crucified by the priestly class of Zoroastrians; but his ideas were adopted and had a great influence for a long time not only in Persia but even in the Roman Empire. At this time the friendly political relation continued with India. In the beginning of the 4th century Hormuzd II the Sasaman king married a daughter of the Kushan king of Northwest India, and when Shahpur the great, besieged the Roman garrison in north Mesopotamia in 360 A.D. his victory over them was won with the aid of an Indian aged king named Grumbates. In about 4th century the nomad tribes called Huns began to attack Persia and India. In Persia, Vorahoram V defeated them, and so Skandagupta in India repelled their attack in 455, but in 484 as Persian power collapsed against them, their eastern invasion was facilitated and they crossed the Indian frontier. So we see the real danger from political or even religious invasion on India is through Persia. So long Persia can stand against any nation invading India from the Northwest, or West, India is safe, or, its subjugation will not be complete. When the great northern barrier is broken, it means a real danger to India.

Khusroe I surnamed Annushrawan was an able sovereign as well as a patron of learning and science. Rawlinson the great historian says that he studied philosophy; he gave refuge at his court to a body of seven Greek sages whom a persecuting edict, issued by Emperor Justanian had forced to quit their country and take up their abode in Persia. He established a University at Junde-Shahpur, in the vicinity of modern Shushter where Philosophy, Rhetoric and Poetry were taught. Under his care the history and jurisprudence of his nation were made special object of study. The law and maxims of Ardashir, the first Sasanian king, were collected and arranged. Even the distant land of Hindustan was explored in search of varied knowledge; by his command Burzuya a Persian Physician made a journey to India. He was not only a physician, but also a philosopher, a sage and a seeker of truth. At that time, i.e. about the 6th century A.D. there existed in India a Buddhist collection of fables. One of those which Burzuya brought and presented to the king was *Pañcatantra*, which is intended as a manual for the instruction of kings in domestic administration and foreign policy, and belongs to the class of literature which the Hindus call *Nīti-Śāstra*. When translated into Pahlavi, Burzuya in introduction

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has given his own short biography, in which he states his thoughts, which show how far he was brought under Buddhist influence. He says: "The more I reflected upon the world and its joys the deeper grew my aversion towards them. Then I made up my mind entirely to devote myself to the life of the Blessed. For I saw that asceticism is a garden, the hedge of which keep off at distance eternal evils, and the door through which man attains to everlasting felicity. And I found that a divine tranquillity comes over the ascetic when he is absorbed in meditation; for he is still contented, unambitious, satisfied, free from cares, has renounced the world, has escaped from evils, is devoid of greed, is pure, independent, protected against sorrow, above jealousy, manifests pure love, has abandoned all that is transitory, has acquired perfect understanding, has seen the recompense of the next world, is secure against remorse, fears no man, does no harm and remains himself unmolested."

"And the more I pondered over asceticism the more I yearned for it, so that at last I earnestly thought of becoming an ascetic."

From this one can imagine that the full grown up tree of Sufism in Persia in about 14th century, was already a tender plant long before the Islamic conquest. It was nourished and watered by Vedantism and Buddhism which were given out to the world by a race, whose history, religion, language and natural tendencies were closest in relation to Persia. By this none will deny that its full development dates from the time when it was brought under Islamic influence also it was influenced to some extent, by the Greek philosophy. The result of the intercourse between the Sasanian monarchy, and the kings of the Punjab and Kabul, during 300 to 450 A.D. is shown by a class of coins struck and known as Scytho-Sasanian.

In Northwest India coins of Sasanian type are found bearing inscription in Nagri and Pahlavi. One of these issues, which has the name *Sri Vāsudeva* is only in Nagari, an approximate date is fixed by its very near resemblance to a coinage issued by Khusrae II Parviz in about 627. On the Pahlavi inscriptions, on these coins, Vāsudeva is called *Brahman Vasi.* According to Persian historians such as Tabari, Frishta, Rozatussafa and others, Varaharam V known as Bahramgur visited India, and married daughter of a *Rājā* named Vāsudeva and taking with him a number of Indian musicians or gipsies returned to Persia. Professor Noldeke is inclined to con-

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sider this importation of gipsies from India to Iran as historical. The gipsy language is a debased form of Hindustani. According to Mir-Khaoud the gipsy intermarried with the Persians, and their offsprings were the Jats.

While the Roman and Persians were engaged in deadly struggle with one another which began to grow up in Arabia, which not only destroyed both the said great Empires but penetrated in the East up to the Philipine Islands and into the west as far as Atlantic Ocean. In about two hundred years Persia was brought under such complete authority of Islam, that few could remain faithful to their ancient religion. The majority adopted the creed of their conquerors and the official and literary language of Persia became Arabic, which however could not remain long predominant. As in less than about a century after Persia had been vanquished, and its inhabitants became a subject race, they began to reassert their claim to politics, and a Persian General Abu Mustim, defeated the last Umayad Khalif of Damascus and won the great Arabian Empire and Khilafat for this house of Abbas, who in course of time were more a Persian than an Arab. Persian influence gradually increased under Al. Hadi, Al. Rashid and Mamun, whose ministers, generals and advisers in majority were Persians. Persian fashion continued to have in increasing ascendency, their old festivals of Now-ruz, Mihrigan and Ram were celebrated, their raiment was the official dress, and the custom of Sasanian kings were imitated (lit. His. of Persia by E. Brown). At that time, which was the golden age of Abbasi Khilafat (749–817) besides great statesmen, and generals, we find such Sufi sages as Maruf Kurkhi, Habibafami, Bayazid, Junaid and others. It is with Ahuyazid and Junaid that Sufism makes its definite appearance.

After Junaid and Bayazid, comes Hasan Munsur al-Hallaj; he was put to death by Muqtadar Khalifa at Baghdad, because in one of his ecstacies he cried out: "I am the truth!" The next Sufi leader was Abu Said, son of Abul Khair of Khurasan, who passed seven years practising the most rigorous asceticism. When asked what a Sufi was, he said, "whatever is in thy head forget it, whatever is in thy hand give away, and whatever happens to thee disregard it." He was contemporary to the great philosopher Abu Ali Sina or Avicinna a Persian, concerning whom Col. Sykes in his *History of Persia*, says: "by carrying on, and developing the science of

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Hippocrates and Galen, and the philosophy of Aristotle and Plato, he exercised an influence on the best brains of both the East and the West, not only during his lifetime, but for many generations after his death, his books were translated into Latin, and remained standard works of Europe from the 12th to 16th Century." Abul-Khair seems to have been the first to use symbolical language which characterises all subsequent Sufi writings. This language is explained in the *Gulshan-i-Raz*, written about 1317 A.D.

For instance, eye meaning divine severity, lip, divine loving kindness, mole unity wine knowledge or inspiration, drunkenness divine inspiration, inn or tavern, meeting place of Sufis, *Pir-e-Mughan*, *Guru* of magis, or spiritual head, also *saki*, cup-bearer, *murshid*, an Arabic word, meaning guide, *Raqib* a rival means passions, *Doost*, *Ashna*, *seemurgh*, *unqa*, divine beloved or God, *Salek*, traveller, *Rend* profligate, *must* drunkard, a seeker of God (or divine beloved) *Jam-e-mai* or cup of wine, inspiration, *Jam* cup, is mind or heart and so on.

As Abul Khair gave the Sufis their poetic symbolism so Imam Ghazali of Khurasan, gave them their metaphysical terminology. He was a man of great learning, a theologian of the highest repute and a philosopher versed in Greek metaphysics, he seems to have been a thinker somewhat like Schelling. Ghazili attempted to make Sufi philosophy by furnishing it with a philosophical terminology, and by him and others Sufism was gradually moulded into a more or less philosophical system and brought into alliance with the orthodoxy of Islam. Next to Ghazali, are Hakim Sanai, author of *Hadiqutal Hakikat* or "Garden of Variety" and Attar writer of *Illahinama* of Divine book and *Munteq-ut-tair* or "Discourse of the Birds" and Jalaluddin Rumi, author of *Masnavi*, written in about 13th Century A.D. All the above said books are well known amongst Sufis, especially the last named which after *Kuran* is supposed to be the most sacred book of Sufis. It preceded the "*Divine Commedia*" by some fifty years, and just as Dante's poem has acquired the epithet "Divina" by general consent, so the *Masnavi* has in India, Persia and Turkey has acquired of "Ma'novi" of spiritual. The *Gulshan-e-raz* or "Mystic Rose Garden" of Mahamud of Shibashtor (written almost exactly contemporaneously with the "*Divina Commedia*") is a useful compendium of Sufi doctrine. Next are Iraqi, Sadi, Jami (whose *Lavayeh*) Tuhfatul abrar and other works are quite useful in

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studying Sufism. The last but not least Hafiz or Shiraz, who was so much celebrated as a great poet that invitations were sent to him from the kings of Mesopotamia and Muhmud Shah Bahamni of Deccan and Ghiasuddin of Bengal. In reply to the king of Bengal, Hafiz has sent a complete ode in which he says: "all the parrots, i.e. learned men or poets of India will turn sweet singing by this Persian sugarcandy, or ode which is on its way to Bengal." Persian poets, as above mentioned, and saints, not only gave new thoughts to their own country-men, but through them Sufism spread far in the west and east. Even it influenced the poetry of India between 13th and 17th century A.D., but as they gave, they also borrowed from Buddhism and Vedantism, especially from the latter, the conception of divine absorption.

As it is said, in the wisdom of the East, by Hadland Davis, the following remark of Abu Bahulshibli certainly points to the belief that the Sufis borrowed plain ideas from the *Vedānta* philosophv "Tassavuf or Sufism is control of the faculties and observance of the breaths" and so in the west Sufi poetry greatly influenced the western thought; many of the German mystics wrote as the Sufi poets had written before them. Particularly the names of Eckhart, Tauler and Suso might be mentioned.

In England Sufi poets found admirers in the person of Fitzgerland, translator of *Umer-khayam*, and Sir Richard Burton. When we speak of Sufism it is not limited only amongst Persian Muslims, but Persian Zoroastrians also are included as their mysticism was the same, different only in name. Between the 16th and 17th centuries as Dr. M. N. Dhala says in his *Zurastrian Theology* "at this period we meet some Parsi thinkers who were not satisfied with the formal side of religion, and looked with indifference upon the ritual observances, which was the case exactly with their countrymen who had embraced Islam. As outward formalism and literal interpretation of the sacred *Avesta* failed to meet with the longing of Parsi mystics, so the Persian Musalman was not satisfied with the literal interpretation of *Kuran*. They gave a new meaning to the words, Paradise and Hell, Unity, *Loah*, i.e. (tablet) and *Kalam* (pen), punishment and reward, and as the Parsis ever remained in search of mysteries hidden beneath the outward garb of Dogmas and rituals. So were Persian Muslims. This shows, that Persian Sufism was a general national growth and not due to any foreign or artificial, outside influence. It was

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natural and original. Both Persian Muslim Sufis and Parsis extolled intuition above reason; both urged that reason was not capable of comprehending Ormazd or Allah. To attempt to see him through the medium of person was to lose him. When the mystic is bathed in devotion he is so intoxicated with divine wisdom, that he thinks himself one with the Divine. And, as many Parsi mystics found consolation in the teachings of the Hindu *Yogis* and became their disciples, so we find Persian Muslim Sufis between the 14th and 16th centuries constantly visiting India, and exchanging their views.

The most illustrious amongst Parsi mystics was Dastur Azar Kaivan, who came from Persia, and settled at Patna; some of his prominent disciples were Mobads Farzan Bahram of Shiraz, Hushiyar of Surat, Surosh and Khuda Jui. They have composed several treatises in Persian, and amongst the more important are—*Jami-Kai Khuroe Mukashifat-e-Kainavi*, *Khishtab*, *Zaradusht Afshar* and *Zindah Rud*. The authors of the last three claim that their works are translations into Persian from the original Pahlavi books written in the days of Hormuz and Khusroe Parviz, Sassanian Kings. Dr. Dhalla does not agree with such claims (see *Zoroastrain Theology* By M. M. Dhala) and he has his own arguments but if we accept that nothing is born in this world suddenly and without some beginning, we can say that Dr. Dhalla, has no right to contradict their claim, simply because what they have said, has some resemblance with the Greek Philosophy.

For the origin of Sufism, Prof. Edward Brown gives four theories. (1) The esoteric doctrine of the prophet of Islam; (2) reaction of the Aryan mind against a Semitic religion, and (3) Neoplatonist influence; (4) independent origin; and none of the above theories altogether satisfies him. Now if we refer to history, we find between the 10th and 18th century a general tendency all over the civilized world towards literary activity and mysticism which is nothing but an artistic and poetic side of the religion. If we say that philosophy or religion of a nation has been borrowed from another nation, the same can be said of the other, also, and so we must go round and round like a windmill and will not be able to find the beginning. We find many passages of the *Avesta*, resembling *Koran* and law of Moses similar to Homurabi of Chaldaea or Christianity to Buddhism; and Buddhism to Teoism, still all these religions are independent of each other. Similarity in spiritual thought is due to the same

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tendencies of human mind. There may be borrowing from and giving to each other in addition. So Sufism of Persia has its origin in Persia and in its essence it is Persian and peculiar to the climate, life and geographical position of that country and as in religion and history, Indian and Persian spiritual conceptions are closely related to each other. By study and research work in the language and history of both India and Persia, one is bound to detect many similarities. And as the Avestic language is explained and interpreted, through the Vedic language, and so Sufism will be understood much better by *Upaniṣads* and *Vedānta* philosophy. Through the Mahommedan conquest Islam influenced both Persia and India and consequently we find amongst Hindus such saints and reformers as Bābā Nānak, and others who not only adopted some principles of Islam but even composed poems in Persian or Indo-Persian language.

In 1656 *Upaniṣads* were translated into Persian by the order of Darashukuh, son of Shah Jahan, and Auguitil Du Perron, a Frenchman, translated them from Persian to Latin, which was published at Strasburg in two volumes. (1861).

Sufis of modern Persia are divided into two classes. First those who have received, besides their own, also western education. The majority of them are free-thinkers, simple and plain in dress to some extent co-operating with and helping others, ready to listen anything and to follow, if they find it good. The other class are orthodox *Murshid*, or *Fakirs* calling themselves Sufi to live on alms and charity, and the majority of the Sufis are found amongst this class.

From the beginning of human history man has been a seeker after happiness. Those who have less ambitions seek material and others of high ambition wish something better and of longer duration. They kill each other, for acquiring happiness, and for the same reason live and co-operate. Even when one is desirous of giving up his personality and be merged in the supreme being, his real aspiration is the extreme state of the happiness. So may God, grant us, in whatever way it may be, our long wished desire.

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HAFIZ AND GOETHE. (*Summary*).

By SHAMS-UL-ULAMA JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,
B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

Introduction.

Goethe (1749–1532) the great German poet is spoken of as "the German Hafiz," because he was fond of the poetry of Hafiz, and had, like the Persian poet, composed a poem which is called *West-ostlicher Divan*, i.e. "The West-Eastern Divan." The object of this paper is to present a few traits which are common to these two great poets and to their *Divans*.

Something common among the ancient Germans and the Indo-Iranians, they being chips of the same Aryan block.

Some of the German poets and philosophers of the 19th century have been greatly influenced by the ancient Indian and Persian thought. Their ancestors, the ancient Germans, being chips of the same block, the old Aryan stock, had many things in common with the Indo-Iranians. For example, (*a*) like the ancient Indians, they disliked widow-marriages and inter-marriages, and liked the custom of *Satī*. (*b*) Like the Indo-Iranians, they worshipped gods presiding over the grand objects of nature, like the Sun, Moon, Fire and Earth. Their chief god Wotan, who gave his name to *Wotentag* or Wed-nesday, had a mark on his forehead like an Indian Brāhmaṇa. Nature-worship, which led from Nature to Nature's God, was, as one could gather from the writings of Tacitus, their natural tendency. (*c*) Like the Indo-Iranians, they measured time by nights not by days. (*d*) As pointed out by Sir H. Maine, their Teutonic Townships resembled Indian Village-Councils or Village *Pañcāyats*. A group of families, united by the assumption of common kinship exercised joint ownership over land.

They do not seem to have been indigenous to Germany but seem to have gone there from the East. Later on also, through their connection with Rome, they had come into some contact with the East, with Egypt and Persia. The Huns, with whom they later on came into contact, were from the East, and some of them were ancient Mazdayasnans or Zoroastrians. Such being the case, there is no

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wonder, that some of the later German philosophers and poets, the descendants of these ancient Germans, had some tendencies to give willing ears to the teachings and the poetry of the East. The philosophy of Spinoza (1622-77) was pantheistic. His pantheism was of the same type as the monotheistic pantheism of the Indians. Schopenhauer (1788-1860) was so much enamoured of the *Upaniṣads*, that he said: "It has been the solace of my life. It will be the solace of my death."

The Oriental Movement.

With such, as it were, inherited tendencies, some of the philosophers and poets of Germany of the last century gave willing ear to some of the teachings and writings of India and Persia. There was, what Dr. Remy in his excellent book, *The Influence of India and Persia on the German Poetry*, calls "the Oriental Movement" in Germany, a movement "which manifested itself so strikingly in German literature during the nineteenth century."

Calcutta starting the Oriental Movement.

The city of Calcutta, where I have the pleasure of reading this paper, may fairly claim the credit of starting the Oriental movement. The Asiatic Society of Bengal can claim a great share in that credit, and as a Parsi, I take some pleasure in thinking, that the study of the *Zend Avesta* of the Parsis was, as it were, the cause of the conception of that movement. Anquetil du Perron, who had come to India for studying Parsi religion and who happened to come to Calcutta, studied and translated at Surat the *Zend Avesta* with Dastur Darab, a learned Parsi Divine of that ancient city. In one of the volumes of his French translation of the *Zend Avesta*, he attacked the literary attainments of Dr. Hyde and some Oxford scholars who had written upon the religion of Persia. His attack wounded the feelings of a young fiery-tempered Oxford scholar, William Jones, who, in his turn, wrote very strongly against Anquetil. This controversy led this young man, when he came to Calcutta, to study Oriental languages and to found for their further study, the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was his and his brother scholars' work in this city that drew the attention of European scholars towards Oriental subjects and thus led to the founding of the "Oriental movement" in Germany.

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Persia appealed more to German Writers.

Sanskrit and Persian both appealed to the Germans, but Persian more. As said by Dr. Remy, "the Persian tendency found a greater number of followers than the Indian. It was far more easy to sing of wine, women and roses, in the manner of Hafiz . . . . than to assimilate and reproduce the philosophy and often involved poetry of India." Even Martin Luther, sang of wine, music and woman, and that was before this Oriental movement.

The following two short lines of Martin Luther sum up, as it were, a few of the *ghazals* of Hafiz .—

"Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weib und Gesang
Der bleibt ein Narr sein Lebenlang."

"He who does not like wine, woman, and song, remains a fool for the whole of his life."

Compare with this the following lines of Hafiz :—

"*ishkbāzi, wa jawāni, wa sharāb-i lāl fām*
majlis-i-uns, wa harif-i-hamdam, wa sharb-i-modām
har ke in majlis bejūyad khush deli bar wai halāl
wa ān ke in ashrat ne khāhad zindagi bar wai harām." . . . .

"Love, youth and ruby coloured wine,
A friendly meeting, a congenial companion and constant drinking
He who is desirous of this number of pleasures is deserving of cheerfulness.
He who does not like these pleasures, may curse be on his life."
. . . .

The German poets who were influenced by the Oriental movement.

Among the great German poets who, as pointed out by Mr. Remy are said to have been influenced by the Oriental movement we find the names of Herder, Goethe, Schiller, Friederich Schlegel, August Wilhelm Schlegel, Platen, Rückert, Heine and Bodenstedt. The time of the Schlegel brothers is said to be the time of "the foundation of Sanskrit philology in Germany. English statesmanship had completed the material conquest of India. German scholarship now began to join in the spiritual conquest of that country" (Remy). Most of the above poets who were affected by and who further influenced, the Oriental movement, were attracted by Persian poets. Herder was attracted by Sadi and Goethe by Hafiz.

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Goethe began his love for Oriental literature with Sanskrit but ended with Persian.

The Orient attracted Goethe. The principal cause which endeared to him the study of Oriental literature, was the depression of mind brought about by the invasion of Germany and the resulting tumult, strife and loss of lives. He turned to the East for solace and he found that solace. He began with Sanskrit. He read and related before his literary friends the stories of Rāma and Hanumān. The prologue of his well-known Faust is said to have been inspired by the *Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa. Some of his poetical writings had Indian materials for their topics. But his liking for Indian literature soon ended. He found something like " monstrosities " in some of the Indian gods, like Hanumān, who, as Remy says, " shocked his aesthetic sense." The dislike for India's mythology led to a dislike for India's philosophy which he found to be too abstruse.

He now turned to Persia and found in its poetry, and even in its old teaching, some solace during the above referred to times of mental depression, brought about by the political degradation of Germany and its results. It was Hammer's translation of Hafiz, published in 1812, that principally drew him towards Persian poetry. He learnt a little Persian and Arabic and the *Divan* of Hafiz inspired him to write a *Divan* in German. Goethe was, as it were, prepared beforehand to admire Hafiz. Let us have a short look into the lives of Hafiz and Goethe to properly understand the influence of Hafiz on Goethe.

Lives of Hafiz and Goethe: Common traits.

(*a*) Hafiz, who was born in the beginning of the 14th century (died in 1385) revelled like Goethe, in poetry from his very early age.

(*b*) Goethe's early life was not pure from a moral point of view. At the age of 39, in 1785, he entered into a kind of half-marriage with a healthy blooming young girl who came to him with a petition for her brother. It was after living with her for 15 years that he married her. This was a slur upon the conduct of Goethe. In the case of Hafiz, though there was nothing like this in his case, his young days were passed in youthful conviviality, and it was afterwards that he took to religious thoughts.

(*c*) Again, both were mystics from their young age. Sadi is said to have given to Hafiz the title of لسان الغايب (*lisân-ul ghāib*), i.e. the

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tongue (*lisān*) of hidden (*ghāib*) things or the mystic tongue. Goethe was first drawn to the mystical writings of saints by Mrs. Klattenberg. Later on a young lady friend Lotte (Charlotte), often talking to him about the other world, led him further to mysticism. It is said, that both had arranged between them, that the one who "died first, should, if he (or she) could, give information to the living about the conditions of the other life."[1] Later on, his appointment in the Court of Weimar, which kept him away from his favourite studies for ten years owing to the boisterous and luxurious life of the Court, also drove him to possess his soul more and more in peace. While in the case of Goethe, an experience of the Court life drove him away from much of pleasures, in the case of Hafiz, he from the very beginning kept aloof from the courts of kings and their courtiers, though his presence was often sought for by them, even by kings of distant India.

(*d*) Like Goethe, Hafiz also had in his mind's eye in his *ghazals* a damsel whom he loved. He spoke of her as شاخ نبات (*shākh-i nabāt*), i.e. the branch of sugar-cane. There is a difference of opinion as to the real meaning of his love-*ghazals*. But the general opinion is, that it was mystic love. In one of such mystic *ghazals* (*ghazal* 158 as numbered by Mr. W. Clarke) he refers to the story of a king of Bengal.

Traits common to their Divans.

There are a number of traits common to the writings of both the poets in the matter of their Oriental imagery. References to the *Sāqi* or the cup-bearer, messages through the breeze (*sabā*) or wind, thoughts of humility like that of *khāk* dust, the feasting of soul over the beauty of Nature and Man are common.

Goethe has divided his *Divans* into twelve *Nāmehs* or books, e.g. *Das Buch des Sängers*, i.e. the book of the singers; *Das Schenkenbuch*, i.e. the book of the cup-bearer. In the use of the word *Nāmeh* for his twelve books of the *Divan*, he has followed Hafiz. The above two of his books have their very names borrowed from the *Divan* of Hafiz where we find them as *Mughanni-Nāmeh*, i.e. the book of the minstrel and *Sāqi-nameh*, i.e. the book of the cup-bearer. It is the 11th book, the *Pārsi-Nāmeh* (*Buch des Parsen*) which interests me much as a Parsi. It is the testament of a dying Persian, who in

[1] Lewes, *Goethe's Life*, Vol. I, p. 183.

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place of the legacy of money, gives the legacy of the old Parsi religion. Goethe explains in another writing some elements of this religion.

[The paper ends with extracts from the *Divans* of Hafiz and Goethe showing how similar are the ideas and how Goethe was influenced by Hafiz.]

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Geography.

President :

Mr. K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A., *Bar.-at-Law*

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THE IDENTITY OF ŚUKTIMĀN MOUNTAIN.

By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.

The Śuktimān mountain is one of the seven *kula-parvatas*[1] mentioned in the *Purāṇas* and the epic literature, but its identity still remains obscure. General Cunningham believed that it corresponds "with the high range of mountains which forms the boundary between Chattisgarh and the feudatory state of Bastar."[2] Mr. Beglar proposed to identify it with the hills north of the Hāzāribāgh district.[3] Both these views rest upon the assumption that the river Śuktimatī had its source in the Śuktimān mountain. As Mr. Pargiter has observed "neither *Vāyu* nor *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* makes the river rise in the Śuktimat range. But the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* explicitly asserts that it arose from the Vindhya, and although some *Purāṇas* name its source as Ṛkṣa, it was apparently a mistake for Vindhya. In any case none of the *Purāṇas* connect the river Śuktimatī with the Śuktimat mountain."[4]

Mr. Pargiter who has thus clearly demonstrated the erroneous nature of the identifications proposed by Cunningham and Beglar has himself offered new theories. "The only mountains" says he "which have not been appropriated to Sanskrit names are the Aravalli mountains and the southern portion of the Eastern Ghats, so that this range might be one of these two; and if the former are rightly included in the Pāripātra range, the Śuktimat range might be the southern portion of the Eastern Ghats and the hills of Mysore."[5] A few pages later he observes as follows with reference to the same mountains: "They were in the eastern region, for Bhīma, in his conquests in that quarter marched from Himavat towards Bhallāṭa and conquered Śuktimat mountain. Though Bhallāṭa does not appear to have been identified, the only noteworthy hills in the east which have not been assigned to the other great

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[1] महेन्द्रो मलयः सह्यः शुक्तिमान ऋक्षपर्वतः ।
विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च सप्तैते कुलपर्वताः ॥

[2] *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 24, 69.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 124–25.

[4] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Bib. Ind.), p. 285; *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, p. 254.

[5] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, pp. 285–6.

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ranges are the Garo, Khasi and Tippera Hills which bound Bengal in that direction. Can these be the Śuktimat mountains ?"[1] Mr. Pargiter provisionally accepts this hypothesis and proposes to identify the rivers Kumārī and Kṛpā which are said to have their source in Śuktimat mountains respectively with the Someswari and the Kapali.

The only positive clue in the identification proposed by Mr. Pargiter is the mention of Śuktimān in the eastern regions conquered by Bhīma. But it is clear from a careful study of the chapters describing the conquests of the Pāṇḍu brothers in various directions that the list was not drawn up strictly according to geographical position. For example, Arjuna who proceeded north is said to have fought with the Ānarttas, Suhmas, Colas and Bhagadatta, king of Prāgyotiṣa. Now, Ānarttas occupied the Kathiawar Peninsula, the Colas were in the south, while Suhma and Prāgyotiṣa were in the east. Again, Bhīma, who proceeded towards the east is said to have fought the Sákas who are traditionally placed in the northern region, and Nakula met the *Utsava-saṅketas* in the west although these are expressly placed in the north in connection with the conquests of Arjuna. It is probably for these reasons that Wilson did not put emphasis upon this point although he noticed it in his translation of the geographical portion of the *Mahābhārata*. On the whole it appears to me that although we should not lose sight of the indications given in the *Mahābhārata* it would not be safe to locate Śuktimat mountains in the eastern regions on the strength of this passage alone. On the other hand the isolated passage in the *Mahābhārata* should not stand in the way of placing Śuktimat mountains in other regions if such identifications are based on tolerably satisfactory grounds.

One such identification readily occurs to me and I place it before the scholars for what it is worth. It is generally felt that the only satisfactory way of identifying a mountain range otherwise unknown is to identify the rivers which are said to spring from it. Now the *Purāṇas* mention six rivers issuing from the Śuktimat mountains. The names of these with slight variations in the texts of the different *Purāṇas* are given below :—

Vāyu Purāṇa : Ṛṣikā, Sukumārī, Mandagā, Mandavāhinī, Kūpā, Palāśinī.

Matsya Purāṇa : Kāśikā, Sukumārī, Mandagā, Mandavāhinī, Kṛpā, Pāśinī

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 306.

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Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa: Ṛṣikulyā, Kumārī, Mandagā, Mandavāhinī, Kṛpā, Palāśinī

Kūrma Purāṇa: Gandha-mādana-gāminī, Kṣiprā (or Rūpā).

Varāha Purāṇa: Ṛṣikā, Lusati, Mandagāminī.

It does not seem possible to find out the correct form in each case, but taking the names as they stand some of them may be identified with the rivers beyond the Indus in the west and north-west. For example, it does not require much ingenuity to identify Kupā with the Vedic Kubhā, the Greek Kophes and the modern Kābul River. The Kumārī may be identified with Kunār whose alternative name Kāma shows that the second syllable was originally probably *ma*. The river called Helmand preserves in its second portion the essential parts of the names Mandagā or Mandavāhinī. The name Pāśinī may have survived in the Pānjshir River. Arrian mentions Euaspla as one of the rivers crossed by Alexander between the Hindukush and the Indus. This may not unreasonably be taken as the Hellenisation of Isikla, the colloquial form of Sanskrit Ṛṣikulyā.

I am fully conscious of the fact that such identifications, by themselves, may be more apparent than real, but there are several circumstances in support of them. Now these identifications would lead us to look for Śuktimān in the mountain range which runs south from Hindukush and forms as it were the western rampart of India; and in the name Suleiman which is still applied to the southern portion of this range[1] we can hardly fail to detect the old Śuktimān, the change of *ta* into *la* being sufficiently explained by the analogous change from Etymander to Helmand.[2] The close resemblance

[1] Ibn Batuta says that the largest mountain in Kabul was called Suleiman. This shows that the name was at one time applied to the northern part of the range also. He records a tradition that the name was derived from Solomon who ascended this mountain on his way to India. Such popular belief however proves nothing as to the real origin of the name beyond showing that the name Suleiman was probably applied to the mountain range long ago. (Cf. the Greek fancies about Nysa). For Ibn Batuta's account see the translation of Ibn Batuta's voyage by C. Defremery, Vol. III, p. 89; by S. Lee, p. 99.

[2] My friend Maulvi Sahidulla has pointed out the following instances in which Sanskrit *t* has been changed to *l* in the Pushtu language.

Sans.	Avestic.	Pushtu.
Pitṛ	*Pitar*	*Plār*
Vetasa	*Vaēti*	*Vala*
Śata	*Sata*	*Sal*
Catvāraḥ	*Cathwāro*	*Tsalor*

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of the names Śuktimān and Sulimān and the proposed identity of the rivers issuing from Śuktimān with those found in the same region at the present day fairly give rise to a presumption in favour of my theory which is strengthened by other circumstances.

In the first place it must be noted that the *Kulaparvatas* denote extensive mountain ranges. The Ṛkṣa, Mahendra, Malaya and Sahya denote those running along the north, east, south and western boundaries of southern India while Vindhya and Pāriyātra denote the southern boundary of northern India. It is but natural therefore that the remaining *Kulaparvata*, viz. Śuktimān should denote the mountain range along the eastern or western boundary of northern India. The Sulaiman and Hindukush together formed its natural boundary in the west and this serves to corroborate the inference we have already deduced from other evidences.

It has been already shown that the verse in *Mahābhārata* which places Śuktimān in the eastern regions does not, by itself, invalidate the proposition advanced. There is however one circumstance in connection with that verse which supports my hypothesis. We are told therein that the Bhallāṭas lived near Śuktimān mountains. Now these Bhallāṭas are not otherwise known and may not impossibly refer to the tribe which is called Bhalana in *Ṛgveda*. Macdonell and Keith accept the view first propounded by Zimmer that the Bhalanas lived in east Kabulistan and that the Bolan Pass was named after them.[1] If this view be upheld, the Sulaiman range would exactly correspond to the position of Śuktimān as given in the verse of *Mahābhārata*, and we have to conclude that a verse describing the conquests in western regions has been inserted through mistake in the chapter describing the eastern conquests of Bhīma.

[1] *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 99.

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RAJAGṚHA IN THE BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES.

By D. N. Sen, M.A.

The road to Vaiśāli from Rājagṛha led through Ambalatthikā,[1] Nālandā, and Pāṭali-grāma on the south bank of the Ganges. There was a garden at Ambalatthikā, with a house in it belonging to the king. One starting in the afternoon from Rājagṛha would reach it at about the time of sunset. Ambalatthikā was a sort of half way stage between Rājagṛha and Nālandā, and it was here that the famous *Brahma-jāla Sūtra* was delivered. The next stage was Nālandā, a *yojana*[2] from Rājgir, and a wealthy and flourishing village in those days. Buddha's usual place of residence at Nālandā was in the "*Pāvārika Amba-Vana.*"[3] No other halting place is mentioned between Nālandā and Pāṭali-grāma. Nālaka[4] and Kulita were the birth-places of Sāriputra and Maudgallyāyana, respectively, not far from Rājagṛha, about a *yojana* from the capital city, as Fa Hian tells us (B. R. W. W., Beal, I. lvii). There is no mention of New Rājagṛha or Kusāgārapura in the Buddhist scriptures so far as we know. Fa Hian attributes the building of the new fortified town to King Ajātaśatru. From the Buddhist scriptures all that we can gather about Ajātaśatru's activity in this direction was that he strengthened the defences of the old city as he expected an invasion by the king of Ujjein. Hieun Tsiang says that the new town was built by Bimbisāra. But as Bimbisāra[5] lived and died in the old city, Hiuen Tsiang's story cannot be correct. As for Fa Hian's statement that New Rājagṛha was built by Ajātaśatru, we have definite evidence in the *Sramanya-phala-sūtra* that he was living in the old city at the time he paid a visit to Buddha in the Āmravana-vihāra. The only evidence which we can find about Ajātaśatru's having built the new town is rather meagre as we know nothing more than his having repaired the old fortifications[6] which does not necessarily mean the building of a new forti-

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[1] *Dīgha-nikāya*, II. 81, P.T.S.

[2] *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, I 35, P.T.S. [3] *D.N.*, II. 81.

[4] Commentary, *Dhamma-pada*, I. 88, P.T.S. Also *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, I. 381–84 (Ceylonese edition).

[5] *Sum. Vil.* I. 137 (P.T.S.). [6] M.N. 3. 7 (P.T.S.).

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fied town. It is also significant that the excavations made at the place have not brought to light anything older than the second century B.C. (*A.S.R.*, 1905–6, 102). If we discriminate between Chinese gossip and Chinese record, it will be difficult to assert that New Rājagṛha was built either by Bimbisāra or Ajātaśatru.

Going back to Buddha's time, the first place of importance, on the north of Rājagṛha was the Sita-vana with the *Sappa-saundika-pabbhara* (*Mahāparinib. Sutta*, Bom. Ed., 86) in it. There was a small *vihāra* in Sita-vana and both *Bhikṣus* and *Bhikṣunīs* used to resort there for practising the thought of the unsubstantiality of the body. This wilderness was also used for the disposing of dead bodies. The *Sappa-saundika-pabbhara*, as the name indicates, was a hillock or high ground and is specially mentioned by Buddha as one of the most delightful places where he used to reside occasionally, presumably in a *vihāra*. This is now completely enclosed inside the inner walls of New Rājagṛha.

The next place of importance on this side of Rājagṛha was the famous Veṇuvana-vihāra, so well-known in Buddhist history. This was the first fixed place of residence for Buddha and his *Saṅgha* or brotherhood of monks, and was the gift of king Bimbisāra (*Vinaya Pit.*, Oldenberg, I. 39), on his first entry into the capital of Magadha. Before this the *Bhikṣus* used to live in caves, under trees, in empty houses or in the open. Buddhaghoṣa thus describes the place in his commentary on *Sutta-nipāta* (p. 355, Colombo Ed.) :—

"Veluvana was the name of that garden, and it was full of bamboos and was surrounded by a wall 18 cubits high with gate-ways, towers and doors. It was green and delightful. For this reason, it was called Velu-vana. *Kalandakas* received their food here, and so it was called Kalandaka-nivāpa. *Kalandakas* are called *kālakas* (black birds or jays ?). In the old days a king came to the place for sporting in the garden. Intoxicated with drink he fell asleep during the day, and his people, thinking that he was asleep and, being tempted by flowers and fruits were roaming about here and there. And then drawn by the smell of wine a black serpent came out of a hollow tree and proceeded towards the king. Seeing this the tree-deity being anxious to save the life of the king came in the disguise of a *kālaka*, cried into his ear and the king woke up. The black serpent crawled away (to its place of hiding). When the *Rājā* saw the serpent he thought "this *kālaka* has given me my

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life" and so he arranged for feeding the bird at the place and sent out a proclamation protecting it from fear. For that reason the place thenceforth came to be known as "Kalandaka-nivāpa." After making allowance for the conventional descriptions which is a well-known feature of the Pāli texts, we may conclude that the Veṇu-vana *Mahā-vihāra* was a large establishment, and perhaps had a wall around it, as is said to have been the case with the *Vihāra* of Jīvaka's Āmra-vana. The story about the origin of the name Kalandaka-nivāpa is highly amusing but need not be taken seriously, as I would ask the reader not to accept without careful consideration, the Chinese gossip about the places they visited. In *Cīvara-khaṇḍaka, Mahāvagga* of *Vinaya-piṭaka*, a *dvāra-koṭṭhaka* of the *Vihāra* is mentioned, which would support Buddhaghoṣa's statement about the compound wall of the Veṇu-vana Monastery. A *dvāra-koṭṭhaka* means a room at the gate. I have found no river or *hrada* (natural or artificial hollow full of water) mentioned in connection with the area covered by the Veṇu-vana. But the River Tapoda (Swaraswatī) was not far from it and there was an *ārāma* or garden on the river with the usual appertinance of a *vihāra* in it. I have related in my paper on the "*Sites in Rajgir*" (*J.B.O.R.S.*, IV, 123), the story about king Bimbisāra having been compelled to come to the Veṇu-vana-vihāra as he was detained too long waiting for his bath in the Tapoda and found the city gate closed when he was returning after the bath. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the site of the *vihāra* can be identified easily from the Chinese accounts, viz. 300 paces from the north gate of the mountain city and half a mile from the *śmaśāna*. To Sir John Marshall belongs the credit of definitely identifying the site. But I am afraid, having had to depend on Chinese accounts for the identification, he has included the Tapodārāma in the area marked out by him in his map (*A.S.R.*, 1905–6, p. 94). By the time the Chinese pilgrims arrived, the *ārāma* had been completely forgotten. From what we can glean from the Pāli texts, it can be safely laid down that the Veṇu-vana lay to the south of the new town which was built on the site formerly covered by the "*Sappa-saundika-pabbhara*" in Sita-vana, west of the Vipula mountain, north of the old city of Rājagṛha and north and east of the Swaraswati (Tapoda). It was also at a respectable distance from the burial ground. A large *vihāra* like the Mahā-vihāra at Veṇu-vana would not consist of a single building

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but more than one, providing shelter for the night and resting places during the day, as well as places of convenience, for considerable bodies of monks, and must have had large grounds attached to it. Devadatta's cave and the stone with marks of blood have been already mentioned in connection with the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims in my paper on '*Sites in Rajgir*.' I would here only refer to the story in *Campākhaṇḍaka*, *Mahāvagga*, of *Vinaya-piṭaka*, about an over-enthusiastic novice of the name of Sona, whose "*cankamo*" (place where he walked to and from) ran with blood like a "*gavā-ghātanam*" (slaughter house) through walking too much, as he had very soft soles. Hiuen Tsiang's story is perhaps an elaboration, with subsequent additions, of the account given in the *Vinaya*. Sona's heroic efforts had no immediate result and he became very much depressed and longed again for the easier life of the house-holder. This came to the knowledge of Buddha and he rebuked Sona Bhikṣu for his rashness. This was the occasion when the Master used the famous simile of the *vinā* which has been so beautifully rendered by Sir Edwin Arnold.

We shall now pass on to the consideration of the next place of importance north of the old city, viz. Pippaliguhā. This cave was used by Kaśyapa, the president of the first council, for meditation, and we are told that sometimes he would remain in it in the state of ecstatic meditation for a whole week. There was a small *vihāra* in front of his cave in which, we are told, he resided with two *saddhi-vihārikas* or younger associate *bhikṣus*. One of them was very assiduous in his attention to the elder (*thero*) but the other always cunningly contrived to take all the credit for the service rendered. Twice he was severely taken to task by the elder for his deceitful behaviour. He was in a temper and did not follow Kaśyapa to the city for begging food, but remained at home and during the absence of the elder, set fire to the *vihāra* and ran away (Com. on *Dham.*, II. 19–21). Pippalaguhā was a small cave used by Kaśyapa only for meditation, while he lived in a *panna-śālā*, i.e. thatched cottage at hand with two associate *bhikṣus*. The only occasion when Buddha came to the place was when Kaśyapa was seriously ill. The Chinese story about Buddha's taking rest in the cave daily after the mid-day meal cannot be found anywhere in the Pāli texts. The wild rugged hills had a sort of fascination for the *thero* and he left the woods and groves to other brethren of the *Saṅgha*. Starting from

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a point west of the hot springs and skirting the hill, a cave like this is easily reached near which the ground is strewn with brick debris. I feel sure that Fā Hian saw this cave. But Hiuen Tsiang's stone-house with the *Asura's* palace behind it was undoubtedly the Baithak with the quarry hole at its back, just a few yards up the slope which forms the great toe of the Vaihāra hill.

Now we come to the famous Sapta-parṇi-guhā. In the Pāli accounts "Sattapanni" is a cave, named after the tree which stood beside it, as was the case with most of the caves mentioned in the Pāli scriptures. It was mentioned by Buddha as a most delightful place among other places associated with Rājagṛha. It was situated on the north slope of the Vihāra mountain and was used for the residence of *bhikṣus*. The "*prathama mahāsaṃgīti*" or the first great recitation took place on the beautifully wooded level ground below the opening of the cave in a "*mahāmaṇḍapa*" built by Ajātaśatru for the purpose. In the *Mahāyāna* account, as given by the *Mahā-vastu* (Vol. I, 70), the *bhikṣus* are represented as coming through the air and descending in the forest by the side of the great mountain (Vaihāra) and taking their seats there. Stripping the story of its legendary part, the position of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* as given in the *Mahā-vastu* agrees with the Chinese records. The *bhikṣus* spent the first month in repairing the monasteries at Rājagṛha and in the second month (*majjhimam māsam*) recited the texts of *Dharma* and *Vinaya*. So Ajātaśatru had to put forth special efforts for getting the pavilion ready. The *Saṃgīti* was presided over by Kaśyapa, and Upali and Ānanda recited the scriptures (*Vinaya, Cullavagya*, XI).

According to Buddhist accounts, Rājagṛha was surrounded by a wall, with thirty-two large and sixty-four small gates (*Sumaṅgala*, Colombo Ed. 106). The most important place within the walls was, of course, the "*Rāja-niveśana*" or the palace with all its appertinances, such as the apartments for the royal ladies, the treasury, the king's kitchens and stables, the "*Viniccaya-tthāna*," (the tribunal), the royal baths, the arsenal, the accounts office, shops for provisions and other supplies, etc. Outside the palace precincts, there would be rows of houses along the roads inhabited by various classes of people, rich and poor, artisans, traders, dancers, scavengers and others, arranged in accordance with wealth, social position, and profession. In those times a royal city used to have four parts,

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anto-valanjakam, bahi-valanjakam, anto-nagaram and *bahi-nagaram* i.e. the king's inner apartments, the outer apartments, the space included within the town proper and the area outside of it (*Rājovāda Jātaka*).

The meeting place of Aśvajit and Sārīputra was inside the old city. Sārīputra had finished his round of begging for the morning meal and was on his way back to the garden in which the *paribrājakas* (wandering monks) used to live (*Dhammapadatthakathā*, Colombo Ed., 41–2), and from a distance saw Aśvajit, who had just come into the city for the purpose of begging alms. He was deeply impressed by his appearance and quiet demeanour, and easily recognized him as belonging to the order of *bhikṣus* and as one who had either attained arhatship or was about to attain it. His first impulse was to go and ask him as to who he was and who was his master. But seeing him enter a house, waited outside until Aśvajit had finished begging and came out of it. Sārīputra then approached the *bhikṣu* and had with him the momentous interview which changed the whole course of his life and brought to Buddha's fold the man who was recognized as the Master's "*agga-sāvaka*," or chief disciple (*Sāmantapāsadikā*, Burm. Ed., 119–120).

Nālagiri was let loose from the king's stables in the street through which Buddha was passing with a large following of *bhikṣus* in his usual round for begging alms. The *Cullavagga* (Oldenberg's Ed., 194–95) tells us that Devadatta entered the "*hatthisālām*" (elephant stall) and said to the men in charge of the elephants, "*yadā samano Gotamo imam raccham patipanno hoti tadā imam Nālagirim hatthim muñcitvā imam raccham patipādetha 'ti*" (when *Samana* Gotama comes into this road, release the elephant Nālagiri and drive it into the road). Next morning Buddha came into Rājagṛha, as usual, notwithstanding being forewarned and proceeded along that road. As the releasing of the elephant had been proclaimed in the city, the terraces of the buildings and the tops of the thatches were full of people. Some thought that Buddha was sure to be ruthlessly crushed by the drunken elephant. Others thought that he would overcome the animal by his spiritual power. In the simple narration of the *Cullavagga*, Buddha vanquished the elephant by the power of love. The mad elephant stopped in its wild career as it was rushing with uplifted trunk towards Buddha, quieted by his gentle voice and stood tamely by his side. This incident, it is clear, took

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place in the immediate vicinity of the king's palace "outside the north face of the royal precinct" (Beal's *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, 113).

The Śrīgupta incident is related in *Śrīguptovadānam* of the *Avadāna-kalpalatā*. Śrīgupta was a rich *gṛhapati* or house-holder of Rājagṛha. At the instigation of a Nirgrantha who was his *guru*, he laid a plot for taking Buddha's life, who was at the time living at Gṛdhrakūṭa. He dug a deep ditch in his house and filled it with burning coal and prepared poisoned food for Buddha, and invited him to breakfast. Śrīgupta's wife was a follower of Tathāgata and was locked up in a room in order to prevent her from interfering in any way with the wicked conspiracy. Buddha was forewarned in this instance also, but he did not refuse the invitation. The *Avadāna-kalpalatā* relates that as soon as he entered the house of Śrīgupta and set his right foot on the cover of the concealed ditch, it was miraculously converted into a "*mañju-guñja-bhṛṅga-sarojinī*," a lotus with the sweet music of the black bee This is a *Mahāyāna* story with a beautiful legend attached to it, and I think it was from a *Mahāyāna* source that Hiuen Tsiang learnt it. All this according to this account, took place *within the city*.

The next site which claims our attention is the place where the Āmra-vana of Jīvaka stood. Bimbisāra had placed the court physician Jīvaka in charge of the royal household as well as of Buddha and his *Saṅgha*. But both Veṇu-vana and Gṛdhrakūṭa were at an inconvenient distance from Jīvaka's residence who used to live with Prince Abhaya. He was also himself deeply attached to Buddha and got a *vihāra* made in his mango grove and made a gift of it to the Master. The *Samnnaphala-sutta* tells us that Ajātaśatru had to go *out of the walled city* on his way to the Āmra-vana-vihāra. Buddhaghoṣa adds in his annotation that "*Jivakassa Ambavanam pākārassa Gijjhakuṭassa ca antarā hoti*," i.e. Jīvaka's Mango-grove *was between the city wall and the Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain*, and that the king went out by the *eastern gate*. When at a short distance from the *vihāra*, a great fear overtook the king who suspected that a plot had been laid against his life. Buddhaghoṣa explains that after leaving the city by the eastern gate the king and his party entered *into the shade of the mountain*, the moon having been intercepted by the crest. Shaded by the mountain and the trees the place was in deep gloom and a great silence filled it as the

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Saṅgha was so well-disciplined that they maintained a strict silence in the presence of the Master, so profound was the reverence which they had for him. The commentary on the *Dhammapada* (*Devadatta-Vastu*) informs us that after having been wounded by Devadatta, who tried to kill him by throwing at him a gigantic boulder from the top of the Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain when he was walking in its western shade, Buddha was first taken to the Madda-kucchi and thence to the Āmravana of Jīvaka. This also proves that the Mango Grove was between the mountain and the city and not far from it. The Eastern gate is mentioned by Buddhaghoṣa in his commentary on the *Sutta-nipāta* (Colombo edition of *Paramāttha-jotikā*, 330) in connection with Siddhārtha's first visit to Rājagṛha. The annotator says that he entered the city by the *Eastern gate* and returned to the slope of the Pāṇḍavaparvata which lay to the east ("*puratthima-bhimukhapabbhāreti*"). This helps us to locate the Eastern gate as well as the hill to the east. Pāṇḍavaparvata is the modern Ratnagiri and the Eastern gate must be the one to the immediate west of it and the one through which Ajātaśatru left the city on his way to Jīvaka's Āmra-vana. The south-western bend of the Ratnagiri is close to the Eastern gate, and is between the Gṛdhrakūṭa and the city wall. Beyond this bend there would be no shade as there was nothing to intercept the light of the moon, at that point. Jīvaka's Āmra-vana was therefore at this site or close to it. Connecting this with the Chinese records, we should interpret the north-eastern curve of the mountain city as the south-western corner of the Ratnagiri, just outside the city wall. If this is clear, it will be easy to locate the different *stupas* mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang with tolerable certainty. At the point where the Ratnagiri bends round to the east, I have found stone foundations as well as brick remains which are well worth further exploration. I have not the slightest doubt that both the Chinese travellers approached the Āmravana from the southern parts of the city where the royal buildings stood. Starting from a point to the north of Mr. Jackson's stone fort (*A.S.R.*, 1913-14, 269) and proceeding towards the Ratnagiri bend, one has to pass a tank and a deep ditch before reaching the Āmra-vana site. According to the rules laid down in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (Shamsastry's translation, 61) the elephant stable should be placed in the south-east of a fortified town. If Ajātaśatru's stalls for elephants were similarly placed, it would be an additional reason for holding that the

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Chinese pilgrims started towards the Āmra-vana site from some point in the southern part of Rājagṛha.

In Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, directions have been given for the construction of the treasury-house, various store-houses, armoury, jail, etc. The treasury was a building constructed over a square dry well with a stone floor as well as stone sides and compartments of strong wood. The ladies' apartment, it appears, used to consist of many rooms, "one within the other," surrounded by a parapet and a ditch, and provided with a door (Shamsastry's translation, 44–45). The king's palace used to be constructed like the treasury with an underground chamber contained in a square well with the sides and the floor paved with stone and provided with secret passages and other contrivances for the safety of the king. Square wells of a similar description, and specially one with a curious structure, viz. the lower part square and the upper, round, have been found by Mr Jackson in the southern part of the city (*A.S.R.*, 1913–14, 270). All these point to the fact that the "*Rājaniveśana*" or the king's palace was in this locality. This would completely reconcile the Chinese accounts with those contained in Buddhist literature. It is more than probable that Hiuen Tsiang was living in one of the *Saṅghārāmas* which he found at the south-west angle of the "palace precincts" and which were meant for travelling *bhikṣus*. That would explain why he first visited the sites on this side of Rājagṛha, and in his trips to the places to the north of the old city had always to go out through the north gate to which the distances and directions given by him refer invariably.

Gṛdhrakūṭa had a peculiar sanctity in the history of Buddhism. It was a most favourite resort of the great Teacher and some of his important sermons were delivered here. It was here that the *Uposatha* ceremony was first instituted at the instance of king Bimbisāra and the *bhikṣus* had their first confessional. The *Mahāvastu* (Paris Ed., II. 257) relates that Buddha met here the divine musician Pañcaśikha and many of the important *Mahāyāna sūtras* are associated with this mountain (e.g. *Karunā-puṇḍarīka*). The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* both state in the opening chapters that Buddha was at that time living in the Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain. From the Pāli texts it is clear that Gṛdhrakūṭa was approached from the Eastern gate of the city, the Āmravana and the Maddakucchi being on the way. It is mentioned that this

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mountain lay to the south of the Vipula (*Saṃyutta*, II. 185). In the account about Devadatta's attempt to kill Buddha by rolling down a boulder from the top of the mountain while he was taking his customary exercise in the western shade of the mountain, the *Cullavagga* of *Vinayapiṭaka* states that a broken piece from the missile struck his foot and inflicted a severe wound. That part of the mountain where he used to stay was sufficiently spacious for seating large congregations. The Pāli scriptures, however, mention no caves of which Hiuen Tsiang speaks.

The Indra-sāia-guhā should next claim our attention. The *Sakka-panha-sutta* places it in a mountain north of the Ambasanda village which lay to the east of Rājagṛha. The name of the mountain was Vedivaka from its having a flat top and a luxuriant growth of vegetation on all sides. The *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* tells us that the cave was situated *between two mountains* and had a *sāl* tree at its opening. In the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, I.X., there is mention of a meeting between "*Indako Yakkho*" and Buddha in the house of "*Indako Yakkho*" in the "*Indakuṭo*" mountain at "*Rājagaha*." Indrakūṭa was perhaps one of the peaks at the eastern extremity of the Rajgir range, and it is quite probable that at a later time, the peak having been associated with the tradition about the *Yakṣa*, came to be named Yakṣagiri or "Giri-yak." The position of the cave between two hills to the east of Rajgir entirely coincides with that of the one found by Cunningham and, after him, by Stein. The Ambasanda village was to the south of the cave and between the hills and the Panchanan River. The *Saṃyutta* mentions another peak, Patibhamakūṭa with a "fearful" precipice (Vol. V, 449), not far from Gijjhakuṭa. Was this Śailagiri?

No other site to the south-west of Rājagṛha is mentioned in the Pāli texts excepting Laṭṭhivana (Sanskrit, Yaṣṭhivana). In *Sāriputta-Moggalānakathā*, *Mahā-khaṇḍaka* of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, we are told that after leaving Gaya, Buddha went on to Rājagṛha and stopped under a banyan tree (*Supratittha Cetiya*) in Laṭṭhivana, which, the annotator tells us, was a palm grove and not, as is generally understood, a bamboo forest. "Laṭṭhi" meant in those days any small or young tree, e.g. "*amba-laṭṭhi*." The annotator translates it as "*taruna tāla rukkha*" or young palm tree. Hiuen Tsiang made the same mistake, and adorned the story with a tale which his guide must have told him. The *Mahāvastu* speaks

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of "Yaṣṭhivana" as lying inside the mountains ("*antara girismin*").

Ajātaśatru's *Stupa* : We have, on the authority of the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, that Ajātaśattu built a *stupa* over the body-relics of Buddha with due ceremony (p. 112, Burmese edition). In the commentary on *Vimāna-Vatthu* (p. 170, P.T.S.), we are told that Sunandā, who was an *Upāsikā* used to send garlands and perfumes as votive offerings to the *stupa* which Ajātaśatru had erected at Rājagṛha over his share of the body relics of Tathāgata. The same commentary tells us that another *Upāsikā* of Rājagṛha, after having finished her morning ablutions, gathered a few *kositaki* flowers for worshipping the *stupa*, and, entirely absorbed in the thought about the relics, proceeded towards the tower. In a fit of absent-mindedness, she did not notice a cow which had just given birth to a calf and was goaded to death by the infuriated animal. In all these passages there is not the slightest suggestion of the existence of a *New* Rājagṛha as distinguished from *old* Rājagṛha. The site of such an important *stupa* must naturally be to the north of the old city near the important hermitages of the Buddhist monks, perhaps, as Hiuen Tsiang says, to the east of Veṇu-vana. The commentary on the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (p. 429–432, Colombo ed.) mentions a *dhātu-nidhāna* (literally, a treasure-house for body-relics) which was built by Ajātaśatru at the request of Mahākassapathero. From the accounts given it appears that the *dhātu-nidhāna* was meant to be a secret underground store for concealing the precious relics. We are further told by the annotator that Aśoka took out the relics from this place of concealment for the eighty thousand *stupas*—which he erected in *Jambu-dvīpa*. The *dhātu-nidhāna* was made by cutting away a piece of rock in the south-east of the city (*Rājagahassa pācina-dakkhina disā-bhāge*) and making a hole eighty cubits deep in which a strong chamber was constructed for preserving the relics. Strict secrecy was observed for keeping the fact concealed from the public. Ajātaśatru's *stupa* was at some distance to the east of Veṇu-vana, otherwise it would not have escaped Fa Hian's observation. It is highly improbable that Ajātaśatru should build the memorial tower in such an unsavoury locality as the *sitavana*, and not very far from the cremation ground. The existence of New Rājagṛha during Ajātaśatru's time is still problematic, the slender ground on which it rests being

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absolutely inadequate for drawing such a large conclusion as I have already mentioned before. I would, therefore accept Hiuen Tsiang's identification.

Kusāgārapura: It was a great puzzle to me why Hiuen Tsiang calls old Rājagṛha by the name Kusāgārapura. I have not found this name in the Buddhistic literature of the Little or Great Vehicle Fa Hian used the name old Rājagṛha. His accounts are however nowhere as full as those of the later traveller. Fa Hian for example does not even mention Nālandā and did not apparently visit it. He is also guilty of some bad mistakes such as the identity of the hill of Indra and the persons who took part in the first Council. All this seems to indicate that when Fa Hian came to India the national memory was growing rather dim about things Buddhistic and that like the heaps of debris which covered and concealed many of the famous sites, there was a luxuriant growth of legend and gossip upon which the pilgrim had to depend for his narrative. The great development at Nālandā were subsequent to Fa Hian's visit and mark undoubtedly a fresh renaissance which gave impetus to the Nālandā movement, and to the growth of similar other places of Buddhistic culture in India. It is significant that when Hiuen Tsiang visited Rajgir even the name of the place had been forgotten and for the old Pāli names Sanskrit names had been substituted as in the case of Yaṣṭhivana which was known as Laṭṭhivana during Buddha's time. Kuśāgārapura is a Sanskrit name and a transformation of Kuśāgra-nagara or Kuśāgra-pura and is mentioned in Jaina literature, this being the birth-place of the Tirthaṅkara Muni Subrata (*Outlines of Jainism* by Jaini, table facing page 6).

In reading the Chinese accounts we must discriminate between actual record and second-hand gossip and remember that the distances and directions mentioned by them are not the result of accurate measurement but of rough estimate for which the travellers had often to depend upon their guides.

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ON THE LOCALITIES MENTIONED IN THE BHANDAK PLATES OF KṚṢṆARĀJA I; ŚAKA. 694.

By K. N. Dikshit, M.A.

The Bhandak plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇarāja I have been edited in the XIVth Volume of the *Epigraphia Indica* by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, with a note by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, now Deputy Commissioner in the Central Provinces. The Bhandak grant is the first record of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheta to be discovered so far north-east of their domains. But the mere fact of the discovery of a copperplate in a particular locality cannot prove that the tract in question formed part of the dominions of the prince, whose record it is. It is necessary that the localities mentioned in the grant should be identified with a degree of certainty, before such a conclusion is arrived at. In the present case, Rai Bahadur Hiralal has proposed to identify the places mentioned with several places in the Amraoti and Wardha Dts. of Berar and the Central Provinces. The identification is however open to objection and as I did not feel satisfied with it, I consulted a friend of mine from Yeotmal, Mr. Y. K. Deshpande who has a good knowledge of the localities concerned and who happened to come here during Xmas. With the help and information received from him I am now able to identify the localities and hope that they will be found completely satisfactory.

The name of the *Samāvāsaka*, i.e. place where the king encamped was Nandīpuradwārī. The modern phonetical equivalent of Nandipura would be Nandura. There is a Nandura in Yeotmal Taluq, which is situated on the river Bembla, a tributary of the river Wardha, and has still got a camping ground and a modern Dak Bungalow. The scarcity of water, which must have made itself felt in Berar, then as now, makes it incumbent on travellers to choose convenient sites on the banks of rivers, as their camping grounds. We can very well imagine therefore, why Kṛṣṇarāja touring in the height of summer (—the grant was issued on the 23rd June) encamped at Nandipura, situated on the bank of a perennial river. The place suggested by Rai Bahadur Hiralal was Nandora in Wardha Tahsil, which has to be rejected, as it has no such natural advantages.

We then pass on to the object of the grant, the village of Ṇagaṇa-

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purī, situated at the distance of a *gavyūti* to the east of Udumvaramanti, the donee being the Bhaṭṭāraka or enshrined god at the temple of Āditya erected in the town of Udumvaramanti. The boundaries of the village granted are given as; the village Nāgāma to the east, the village Umvara to the south, the village Antarāi to the west and the village Kapiddha to the north. As Rai Bahadur Hiralal points out, Umraoti is the modern equivalent of Udumvaramanti, but the modern town of Amraoti, besides being too far from the localities in question, has no pretension to antiquity, as Rai Bahadur claims for it. The old town of Udumvaramanti is the modern village of Rāṇī Umraoti in Yeotmal Taluq, about 5 miles to the south-west of Nāndurā, the place of encampment. The prefix Rāṇi was added to this ancient village, some three centuries ago, when the village came into the possession of the Rāṇa Rajputs from Udaipur, the present descendants of which family, though converted to Muhammadanism are still the Deshmukhs of the village. The record besides granting the village of णगणपुरी mentions: तथापरं उम्बरमन्तितलसीमायां देवतडाकस्योत्तरे राजिणितडाके पश्चिमतो नदी एवं निवर्त्तनशतं i.e. "a hundred *nivartanas* of land within the boundaries of Umvaramanti, as follows: to the north of Devataḍāka, and to the west of Rājiṇitaḍāka and (to the south and east of) the river." There is still a rivulet running within the boundaries of Rāṇi Umraoti and there are depressions to the south and east at some distance, which may be the silted remains of the tanks mentioned in the grant. My friend expects to locate the site of the ancient temple of the Sun at Rāṇi Umraoti.

The village of णगणपुरी which was a गव्यूति (or two *krośas* or 4 miles) distant from Udumvaramanti is to be identified with the village Gaṇorī, four miles to the east of Rāṇi Umraoti. I cannot recall to my mind any place name beginning with *ṇa* and I presume the initial *ṇa* of Ṇagaṇapurī was either a mistake of the scribe or a pedantic attempt to Sanskritize the name. It will be seen that गणोरी is a correct equivalent of गणपुरी. Rai Bahadur Hiralal could not identify the village but he tried to identify some of the boundary villages in a locality, 60 miles to the east of Amraoti. A *gavyūti* can never by any stretch of imagination be supposed to cover a distance of 60 miles. His identification of only two villages out of five which he has tried to justify in spite of the discrepancies as regards the direction, have therefore to be completely rejected.

The present boundaries of Gaṇorī are Antargaon (ancient Antarā-

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gram) to the west; Umbarda (ancient Umvaragrāma) to the south; Nāigām (ancient Nāgāma) to the east; and Bābhulgaon to the north. The ancient village of Kapittha named after a woodapple tree, which bounded Gaṇapurī on the north has apparently disappeared, giving place to a village also named after another tree, the *Babul*.

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